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History.

A N
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
A N D

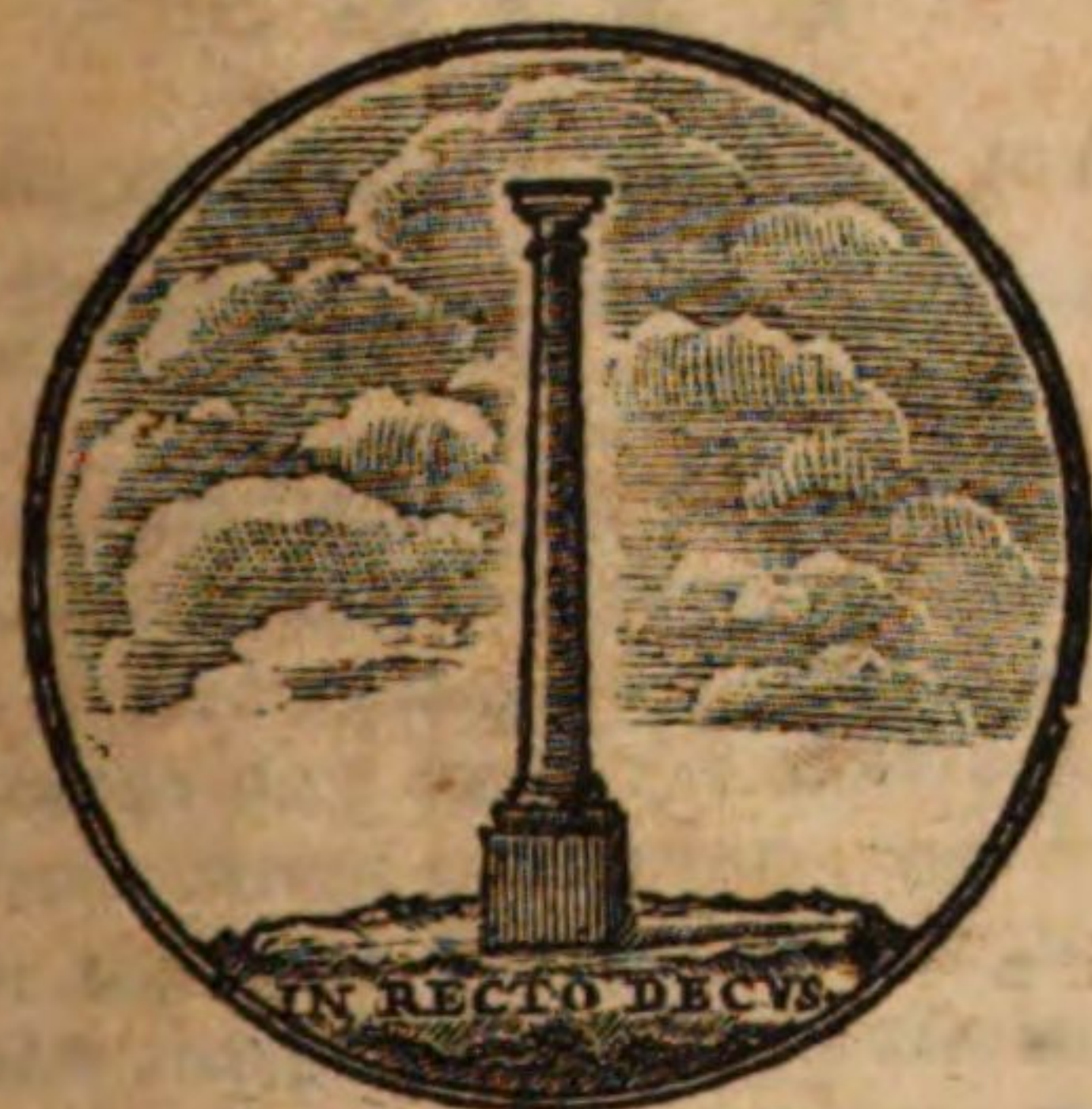
Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, &c.

W I T H
A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

*Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεται μὴ κατανόει· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις
ἀκόπως, ἀπὲρ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.*

Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil

V O L. VII.



L O N D O N:

Printed for T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*; A. MILLAR, in
the *Strand*; and J. OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row*.

MDCCXLVII.

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Universal History

FROM THE

Barbich Account of Time

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ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

AND

Illustrated with Maps, Cuts, Notes, &c.

WITH

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

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München



LONDON:

Printed for T. Osborn, in Gray's Inn; A. Millar, in
the Strand; and J. Osborn, in Paternoster Row.

MDCCLXXII

A N

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time.

V O L. VII.

B O O K II.

The GRECIAN and ASIATIC History.

C H A P. I.

*The History of Sparta, from Lycurgus, to its being joined
by Philopœmen to the Achæans.*

WE are, in this chapter, to give the history of the *Lace-* *The scope*
dæmonians, from the time of *Lycurgus*, till they *of this*
ceased to be an independent state; that is, for a long *chapter.*
series of years, while they were the most considerable people
in *Greece*, not from extent of territory, not from their num-
bers, or wealth, not from the convenience of their situation,
or, in short, from any other accidental or external cause, but
from their wisdom and virtue, their valour, their moderation,
their strict regard to honour, their love of liberty, and con-
tempt of luxury, under all its various disguises. The stability,
as well as glory, of the *Lacedæmonian* government was derived
from the wise institutions of *Lycurgus* the celebrated lawgiver
of *Sparta*, with whose administration we are to begin this chap-
ter: but, previous thereto, it will be necessary to continue the

list of the kings of *Sparta*, begun in the foregoing volume *, that we may preserve the same order which has hitherto obtained throughout this work.

A TABLE of the *Lacedæmonian* Kings.

The <i>Agidæ</i> , or family of <i>Agis</i> .			The <i>Proclidæ</i> , or family of <i>Procles</i> .		
18	<i>Archelaus</i>	60	18	<i>Gharilaus</i>	64
19	<i>Teleclus</i>	40	19	<i>Nicander</i>	
20	<i>Alcamenes</i>	37	20	<i>Theopompus</i>	
21	<i>Polydorus</i>		21	<i>Zeuxidamus</i>	
22	<i>Eurycrates</i>		22	<i>Anaxidamus</i>	
23	<i>Anaxander</i>		23	<i>Archidamus</i>	
24	<i>Eurycrates</i>		24	<i>Agasicles</i>	
25	<i>Leon</i>		25	<i>Aristo</i>	
26	<i>Anaxandrides</i>		26	<i>Demaratus</i>	
27	<i>Cleomenes</i>		27	<i>Leotychides</i>	22
28	<i>Leonidas</i>		28	<i>Archidamus</i>	42
29	<i>Plistarchus</i>	I			
30	<i>Plistonax</i>	68	29	<i>Agis</i>	42
31	<i>Pausanias</i>	14	30	<i>Agefilaus</i>	41
32	<i>Agefipolis</i>	14			
33	<i>Cleombrotus</i>	9	31	<i>Archidamus</i>	23
34	<i>Agefipolis</i>	I	32	<i>Agis</i>	9
35	<i>Cleomenes</i>	61	33	<i>Eudamidas</i>	
36	<i>Areus</i>	44	34	<i>Archidamus</i>	
37	<i>Acrotatus</i>		35	<i>Eudamidas</i>	
38	<i>Areus</i>	8	36	<i>Agis</i>	
39	<i>Leonidas</i>				
40	<i>Cleombrotus</i>	40	37	<i>Eurydamidas</i>	
41	<i>Cleomenes</i>		38	<i>Epiclidus</i>	

The wise
conduct of
Lycurgus
protector
of Sparta.

LYCURGUS, at first, held the crown in his own right, till it was known, that his sister-in-law, the relict of *Polydectes*, was with child: *Lycurgus* then declared, that he acted only as his guardian, or protector, who should be born of the queen (in case she should be delivered of a son); which was a thing already common among the *Spartans*. The queen, who was an ambitious and profligate woman, privately intimated to *Lycurgus*, that she would make use of means to make herself miscarry, if he would promise to marry her. *Lycurgus* returned her many thanks, accepted a part of her proposal, but intreated her not to hazard her own health by adventuring on any such violent method; assuring her, that for her sake he would take the trouble of making away the child upon himself. The queen, amused by his fair speeches, reckoned on her pro-

ject as already accomplished, when she fell in labour; of which she immediately gave notice to *Lycurgus*, who sent some of his confidants to be present, with instructions, if it was a son, to bring it to him where-ever he was, or whatever he was about; but, if it was a daughter, to deliver it to the women: accordingly, the queen being delivered of a boy, his agents brought it to him, where he was at supper with some of the principal persons of the city. *Lycurgus*, taking the child in his arms, immediately produced him at the table; *My lords of Sparta*, said he, *here is a king born unto us*: then, laying the child down on the chair of state, when he observed that all who were present were extremely overjoyed at the sight of so worthy and disinterested an action, he called the young prince *Charilaus*, i. e. *the joy of the people*. He then laid down all pretences to the royal authority, which he had exercised for about eight months, and took the title of protector only. This conduct of his, as it rendered him wonderfully beloved and admired by the people, so it exceedingly irritated the queen with all her family and faction; insomuch that they immediately began to calumniate *Lycurgus*, and to allege, that, notwithstanding all this fair shew, he intended nothing less than to resign the crown to his nephew; nay, *Leonidas* the brother of the queen, had the assurance to tell him, in a dispute which happened between them, *that he was confident it would not be long before he should see him king*. The queen too pretended much concern on the same account, and bewailed to her attendants the fate of her unhappy child. *Lycurgus*, greatly alarmed at these practices, and desiring to avoid not only evil, but the very suspicion of evil, resolved to stifle the voice of malice itself, by going into a voluntary exile; which resolution he carried into execution soon afterwards, notwithstanding all the intreaties of the people.

THE injuries which he had received, and the base constructions which had been put on his best actions, did not hinder *Lycurgus* from applying himself with the same diligence abroad to the study of that science which might render him useful to his country, that he was wont to practise while at home: to this end he devoted all his travels; and, like a true patriot, was careful that neither time nor place should alter his attachment to his fellow-citizens. Full of these noble conceptions, he first visited *Crete*, an island famous, in the most antient times, for the laws whereby it was governed, and for that artificial polity which had been established there in the most early ages. As far as can be gathered from *Plutarch*, it was, at this time, governed by several princes, or was, at least, cantoned into various independent states, through all which *Lycurgus* travelled, procuring to himself the acquaintance of persons

He travels into Crete.

Find
there, and
brings
over into
Greece,
the works
of Homer.
Goes into
Egypt.

sons of the first rank; and, by their means, a perfect knowledge of their laws; some of which he greatly approved, others he slighted. Amongst all the friendships which he contracted in *Crete*, that which stood him in most stead was his intimacy with *Thales* the lyric poet, whom he persuaded to be the companion of his voyages, and afterwards to return with him to *Sparta*. This poet was not a writer of amorous or drunken songs, but one who made use of the sweetness of poetic numbers to recommend temperance, modesty, obedience, and civil harmony, and whose songs paved the way to the admission of *Lycurgus's* laws, by removing that ferocity, and querulous disposition, to which the *Lacedæmonians* had till then been addicted. From *Crete*, *Lycurgus* passed over to the continent of *Asia*, that he might philosophize on the *Ionian* mode of life, which differed greatly from the *Cretan*. Here, as *Plutarch* conjectures, this noble inquirer after truth and virtue found the works of *Homer*, which he eagerly transcribed, and brought over with him into *Greece*, whereas yet they had only scattered episodes of that famous author's poems, which were, however, highly esteemed. From *Ionia*, *Lycurgus* went into *Egypt*, a place never forgot by such as went in quest of wisdom; and there he met with that method of distinguishing military men from mechanics, which he afterwards introduced at *Sparta*. As to his voyages to *Spain*, *Afric*, and the *Indies*, *Plutarch* says, the credit of them rests solely upon one author: at this distance of time, therefore, we can affirm nothing about them. Instead of entering into a field of conjectures, from whence it might be difficult to get out, we will pass to the affairs of *Sparta*, during his absence^a.

THE inhabitants of *Lacedæmon*, being in their nature bold and turbulent, were continually quarrelling amongst themselves, or trespassing on the prerogative of their princes; the kings, on the other hand, sometimes joining with the prevailing faction, practised a kind of tyranny; and, at other times, had much ado to support a legal authority: these confusions were greater or less, according as the princes were men of parts, or otherwise. At this time neither of the kings had any shining genius; *Archelaus* had the most wit, but *Charilaus* was the better man, more affable, and more beloved: the people, however, regarded neither of them so much as they did *Lycurgus*: wherefore, taking it into their heads, that many things went wrong; and that, in short, the whole frame of the government was out of order since this great man's departure; they sent ambassadors to solicit him to return: which ambassadors told him, that though they had indeed kings, whom

^a PLUT. in vit. Lycurg.

their birth, their title, and their robes, shewed to be such; yet, as to royal qualities, and that disposition of the mind which deserves to rule, they had observed nothing among them, since his departure, of that kind. We use the words of *Plutarch*, who observes farther, that though this language seemed to bear a little hard upon the princes, yet they were far from being averse from his return, hoping that his presence would serve as a bulwark, to defend them from the growing insolence of the people. To gratify the unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens, *Lycurgus* shaped his course homewards, in order to put in practice that wisdom which with so much industry and pains he had acquired. On his arrival at *Sparta*, he found all things in a very bad way, the people mutinous, the kings timorous, and no middle rank of people who durst interpose between them. He acted, in this case, like a great physician; for, knowing that palliatives would do little or nothing, he resolved to alter the whole political constitution, in order to introduce health by thoroughly purging out all peccant humours. A glorious undertaking, but attended with mighty difficulties, and no less danger! To surmount those, and to avoid this, he endeavoured, first, to gain the confidence of the most eminent men of *Sparta*, by communicating to them his scheme, and shewing them the reasons upon which it was founded; and, secondly, he sought to secure the obedience of the people, by pretending to the sanction of divinity, and ascribing all he did to the counsels of *Delphian Apollo*. Having made a journey to *Delphi*, and there offered sacrifice, he returned with an oracle, which stiled him, *Beloved of God, and The laws rather GOD than man; declared the laws he had framed perfectly good; and promised to make the commonwealth wherein framed as they were observed, the most famous in the world.* This divine proved by manifesto having wonderfully awed the people, the next thing the oracle he had to do was to publish these laws, which that he might of *Delphi*. perform with security, he appointed thirty of his friends to appear by break of day, armed, in the market-place: but, of these, twenty-eight only appeared. At the news of these preparations, *Charilaus*, who, though honest, was very timid, fled to the temple of *Minerva* the protectress, fearing that it was some conspiracy against his person; but, when *Lycurgus* sent to inform him of his real design, the king not only quitted the sanctuary, but repaired to the market-place, and entered into the confederacy. The first step taken was, the establishing a senate, consisting of twenty-eight persons, or of thirty including the two kings: this alone was of very great consequence, since it fixed the form of the government, which had hitherto fluctuated between tyranny and democracy; the senate pos-
siding the authority both of the kings and the people,

siding with the former, if the latter were seditious ; and with the latter, if the former were too enterprising. That the people might not apprehend their condition to be worse than it was before, *Lycurgus* allowed them to meet in a general assembly, which was to be held *sub dio*, and wherein they were not permitted to deliberate, but had barely a power of assenting or dissenting to or from what the kings and senate proposed.

He new-models the common-wealth.

WHEN *Lycurgus*, by constituting a senate, had secured to himself an accession of power, he proceeded intirely to new-model the commonwealth, and to adjust all things to the scheme he had formed, without any respect whatsoever to their

former state and condition: a mighty project, which if we consider, and take at the same time a strict view of those laws which he introduced, we shall have a just idea of his mighty genius, of the form of the *Spartan* government, and of the means whereby a state, which was not considerable either

for the number or wealth of its people, maintained itself so long in the sovereignty of *Greece*. We have the rather taken upon us to enter into a distinct detail of the laws of *Lycurgus*, because hitherto only general and imperfect accounts of the *Spartan* republic have been inserted in our histories of *Greece*, and even in books relating more strictly to politics ; whereas we shall make it evident, that these superficial draughts of a constitution are by no means sufficient to give us a just idea of its force and effects. The laws of *Lycurgus* may be properly divided into twelve tables, according to the subjects of which they treated ; and, by a proper attendance to the contents of these tables, we shall come at that perfect notion of *Lycurgus's* scheme, which is absolutely necessary for the thorough understanding of the *Lacedæmonian* history.

The laws of *Lycurgus* divided into 12 tables.

I. table. Laws regarding religion.

IN the first place, we shall comprehend such of the *Spartan* laws as regarded religion. The statues of all the gods and goddesses, worshiped by this people, were represented armed, even to *Venus* herself ; the reason of which was, that the people might conceive a military life the most noble and honourable, and not attribute, as other nations did, sloth and luxury to the gods. As to sacrifices, they consisted of things of very small value ; for which *Lycurgus* himself gave this reason, that want might never hinder them from worshiping the gods. They were forbidden to make long or rash prayers to the heavenly powers, and were enjoined to ask no more, than that they might live honestly, and discharge their duty. Graves were permitted to be made within the bounds of the city, contrary to the custom of most of the *Greek* nations ; nay, they buried close by their temples, that all degrees of people might be made familiar with death, and not conceive it such a dreadful thing as it was generally esteemed elsewhere : on the same account,

the

the touching of dead bodies, or assisting at funerals, made none unclean, but were held to be as innocent and honourable duties as any other. As to the mode of burying, it was also rendered simple and unexpensive by law: there was nothing thrown into the grave with the dead body; magnificent sepulchres were forbidden; neither was there so much as an inscription, however plain or modest, permitted. Tears, sighs, outcries, were not permitted in public, because they were thought dishonourable in *Spartans*, whom their lawgiver would have to bear all things with equanimity. Mournings were stinted to eleven days; on the twelfth the mourner sacrificed to *Ceres*, and threw aside his or her weeds. In favour of such as were slain in the wars, however, and of women who devoted themselves to a religious life, there was an exception allowed as to the rules before-mentioned; for such had a short and decent inscription on their tombs. When a number of *Spartans* fell in battle, at a distance from their country, many of them were buried together under one common tomb; but if they fell on the frontiers of their own state, then their bodies were carefully carried back to *Sparta*, and interred in their family sepulchres.

UNDER the second table, let us place the statutes relating II. *Laws* to the lands, and to the city. *Lycurgus* divided all the country relating to of *Laconia* into thirty thousand equal shares: the city of *Sparta* the lands, he divided into nine thousand, as some say; into six thousand, and to the as others say; and, as a third party will have it, into four city. thousand five hundred. The intent of the legislator was, that property should be equally divided amongst his citizens; so that none might be powerful enough to oppress his fellows, or any be in such necessity as to be therefrom in danger of corruption: with the same view, he forbade the buying or selling these possessions. If a stranger acquired a right to any of these shares, he might quietly enjoy it, provided he submitted to the laws of the republic. The city of *Sparta* was unwalled, *Lycurgus* trusting it rather to the virtue of its citizens than to the art of masons. As to the houses, they were very plain; for their cieling could only be wrought by the ax, and their gates and doors only by the saw; and their utensils were to be of a like stamp, that luxury might have no instruments among them.

As to the third table, it shall consist of the laws regarding ci- III. *Laws* tizens. In the first place, they were to be neither more nor regarding less than the number of city-lots; and if, at any time, there citizens. happened to be more, they were to be led out in colonies. As to children, their laws were equally harsh and unreasonable; for a father was directed to carry his new-born infant to a certain place, where the gravest men of his tribe looked upon the infant; and, if they perceived its limbs strait, and thought it had

had a wholesome look, then they returned it to its parents, to be educated; otherwise, it was thrown into a deep cavern, at the foot of the mountain *Taygetus*. This law seems to have had one very good effect; viz. making women very careful, when they were with child, of either eating, drinking, or exercising, to excess: it made them also excellent nurses; for which they were in mighty request throughout *Greece*. Strangers were not allowed to reside long in the city, that they might not corrupt the *Spartans*, by teaching them new-fangled customs. Citizens were also forbid to travel for the same reason, unless the good of the state required it. Such as were not bred up, in their youth, according to the law, were not allowed the liberty of the city, because they held it unreasonable, that one who had not submitted to the laws in his youth, should receive the benefit of them when a man. They never preferred any stranger to a public office; but if, at any time, they had occasion for a person not born a *Spartan*, they first made him a citizen, and then preferred him.

IV. *Laws relating to marriage.* THEIR laws relating to marriage shall be comprehended under the fourth table. Celibacy in men was infamous, and punished in a most extraordinary manner; for, in the first place, the old batchelor was constrained to walk naked, in the depth of winter, through the market-place: secondly, while he did this, he was obliged to sing a song in disparagement of himself: and, thirdly, he had none of the honours paid him which otherwise belonged to old age; it being held unreasonable, that the youth should venerate him who was resolved to leave none of his progeny behind him, to revere them when they grew old in their turns. The time of marriage was also fixed; and, if a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to an action; as were such also as married above or below themselves. Such as had three children had great immunities; such as had four were free from all taxes whatsoever. Virgins were married without portions, because neither want should hinder a man, nor riches induce him, to marry contrary to his inclinations. When a marriage was agreed on, the husband committed a kind of rape upon his bride, who was not a tender raw girl, but one in the flower of her age, and fit to bring healthy children. Husbands went, for a long time, secretly, and by stealth, to the beds of their wives, that their love might not be quickly and easily extinguished. Husbands were allowed to lend their wives; but the kings, however, were forbid to take this liberty. Some other laws, of the like nature, there were, which it is not necessary for us to dwell on, because, as they were evidently against modesty, so they were far from producing the ends for which *Lycurgus* designed them, since, though the men of *Sparta* were generally remark-

remarkable for their virtue, the *Spartan* women were as generally decried for their boldness, and contempt of decency.

UNDER the fifth table, shall stand the laws relating to eating. It was the care of *Lycurgus*, that, from their very non-age and infancy, the *Lacedæmonians* should be inured to conquer their appetites: for this reason he directed, that nurses should accustom their children to spare meals, and now-and-then to fasting; that they should carry them, when twelve or thirteen years old, to those who should examine their education; and who should carefully observe, whether they were able to be in the dark alone; and whether they had got over all other follies and weaknesses incident to children. He directed, that children of all ranks should be brought up in the same way; and that none should be more favoured in food than another, that they might not, even in their infancy, perceive any difference between poverty and riches, but consider each other as equals, and even as brethren, to whom the same portions were assigned, and who, through the course of their lives, were to fare alike. Only youths were allowed to eat flesh; older men eat their black broth and pulse; the lads slept together in chambers, and after a manner somewhat resembling that still in use in *Turky* for the *Janizaries*: their beds, in the summer, were very hard, being composed of the reeds plucked by the hand from the banks of the *Eurotas*: in winter their beds were softer, but by no means downy, or fit to indulge immoderate sleep. They eat all together in public; and, in case any abstained from coming to the tables, they were fined. *Xenophon* seems to have penetrated farther into the reason of this institution than any other author, as indeed he had better opportunity to do; for whereas the rest say, that this was only intended to repress luxury, he very wisely remarks, that it was also intended to serve for a kind of school or academy, where the young were instructed by the old, the former relating the great things that had been performed in their memory, and exciting the growing generation therefrom to perform great things also. It was likewise strictly forbidden for any to eat or drink at home, before they came to the common-meal; even then each had his proper portion, that every thing might be done there with gravity and decency: the black broth was the great rarity of the *Spartans*, which was composed of salt, vinegar, blood, &c. so that, in our times, it would be esteemed a very unfavoury soup. If they were moderate in their eating, they were so in their drinking also; thirst was the sole measure thereof, and never any *Lacedæmonian* thought of drinking for pleasure: as for drunkenness, it was both infamous, and severely punished; and, that young

men

men might perceive with how great reason, slaves were compelled to drink to excess, that the beastliness of the vice might appear. When they retired from the public meal, they were not allowed any torches or lights, because it was expected, that men who were perfectly sober, should be able to find their way in the dark: and, besides, it gave them a facility of marching without light; a thing wonderfully useful to them in time of war.

VI. Laws THE laws relating to their habit fall under the sixth table. *relating to* As the poor eat as well as the rich, so the rich could wear nothing better than the poor: they neither changed their fashion, *their apparel.* nor the materials of their garments; they were made for warmth and strength, not for gallantry and shew: and to this custom even their kings conformed, who wore nothing gaudy in right of their dignity, but were contented, that their virtue should distinguish them rather than robes. The young lads wore a tunic till they were twelve years old; afterwards they had a cloke given them, which was to serve them a year: and their cloathing was, in general, so thin, that a *Lacedæmonian* vest became proverbial. Boys were always used to go without shoes; but, when they grew up, they were indulged to them, if the manner of life they led required it; but they were always inured to run without them, as also to climb up and slip down steep places with bare feet; nay, the very shoe they used was of a particular form, plain and strong, and, from the place of its invention, *Laconic*. Boys were not permitted to wear their hair; but, when they grew up, they did not cut it. Baths and anointing were not much in use among the *Lacedæmonians*; the river *Eurotas* supplied the former, and exercise the latter. In the field, however, their sumptuary laws did not take place so strictly as in the city; for, when they went to war, they wore purple habits; they put on crowns, when they were about to engage the enemy; they had also rings, but they were of iron; which metal was most esteemed by this nation. Young women wore their vests, or jerkins, only to their knees, or, as some think, not quite so low; a custom which both *Greek* and *Roman* authors, censure, as indecent. Gold, precious stones, and other costly ornaments, were permitted only to common women: which permission was the strongest prohibition to women of virtue, or who affected to be thought virtuous. Virgins went abroad without veils, with which married women, on the contrary, were always covered. In certain public exercises, in which girls were admitted, as well as boys, they were both obliged to perform naked. *Plutarch* apologizes for this custom, urging, that there could be no danger from nakedness to the morals of youth, whose minds were

were fortified by, and habituated to, virtue (A). One of *Lycurgus's* principal views, in his institutions, was to eradicate

(A) Some learned men have endeavoured to account for the motives of *Lycurgus* in this part of his institution, by supposing, that he had a view to cultivate, by it, the natural propensity of the sexes to each other, in order to prevent the *Spartan* youth from taking that vile and unnatural bias, so dishonourable to human nature, and so destructive to society; and which, as the sacred historians acquaint us, was frequent in the earliest ages, even soon after the flood. But we think another and better reason may be given for it.

When we consider, that there is such a perverseness in human nature, that prohibition, however reasonable and beneficial to individuals, as well as to society in particular cases, too often serves to excite those appetites which prudence should check; and that those nations are the most inordinate in their passions, where the free and innocent conversation of each with the other is denied, and where the one is immured and restrained by the tyranny of the other; in *Spain* and *Italy*, for instance (1), as well as in the eastern nations; we say, that, when this is considered, we may presume, that *Lycurgus*, by thus publicly familiarizing the sexes to each other, in their athletic exercises, judged it to be the best and most likely method to take away the curiosity, and weaken the temptation.

The author of the *travels of Cyrus*, a piece full of admirable instruction, and which is generally founded upon the truth of history, sets this matter in the same light with us. He introduces *Cyrus* desiring to be present at the assemblies of the young *Lacedæmonians*; "which were held, says he, within a large inclosure, surrounded with divers seats of turf, raised one above another, in form of an amphitheatre: there he beheld young girls, almost naked, contending with boys in running, wrestling, dancing, and all sorts of laborious exercise. The boys were not permitted to marry any, but such as they had vanquished at these games.

"*Cyrus* was shocked to see the liberty which reigned in those public assemblies, between persons of different sexes; and could not forbear representing it to *Chilo*. There seems, said he, to be a great inconsistency in the laws of *Lycurgus*: his aim was only to have a republic of warriors, inured to all sorts of labours; yet, nevertheless, he has not been afraid to expose them to sensuality, which may weaken their courage.

"The design of *Lycurgus* in establishing these festivals, replied *Chilo*, was to preserve and perpetuate military virtue in his republic. That

(1) Dr. Burnet, late bishop of Salisbury, in his travels into Italy, observes to this effect, that in France, where a greater freedom reigns than in Italy or Spain, women are often induced, by the delicacy of intrigue, as he calls it, to go greater lengths than at first they intended; but that, in Italy, their very first deviation is into downright lewdness.

" great

cate the very seeds of civil dissensions, in his republic. Hence proceeded the equal divisions of estates enjoined by him; hence the contempt of wealth; and the neglect of other distinctions, as, particularly, birth, he considering the people of his whole state as one great family; distinctions which, in other commonwealths, frequently produce tumults and confusions that shake their very foundation.

VII.
Laws re-
garding
discipline
and man-
ners.

THE rules regarding discipline and manners shall fall under the seventh table. Though the *Spartans* were always free, yet it was with this restriction, that they were subservient to their own laws, which bound them as strictly in the city, as soldiers, in other states, were bound by the rules of war in the camp. In the first place, strict obedience to their superiors was the great thing required in *Sparta*. This they looked upon as the very basis of government, without which neither laws nor magistrates availed much. Old age

“ great lawgiver was well ac-
“ quainted with human nature;
“ he knew what influence the
“ inclinations and dispositions
“ of mothers have upon their
“ children. His design was, to
“ make the *Spartan* women he-
“ roines, that they might bring
“ the republic none but heroes.
“ Besides, continued *Chilo*,
“ gross sensuality, and delicate
“ love, are equally unknown at
“ *Lacedæmon*. It is only in
“ these public festivals that the
“ familiarity, which so much
“ offends you, is allowed. —
“ *Lycurgus* thought it possible
“ to deaden the fire of volup-
“ tuous desires, by accustoming
“ the eye sometimes to those ob-
“ jects which excite them. At
“ all other times the women are
“ very reserved; nay, it is not
“ permitted, according to our
“ laws, for new-married people
“ to see one another often in
“ private. And thus our youth
“ are formed to temperance and
“ moderation even in the most
“ lawful pleasures.”

To this we may add, that it will be found, on inquiry among

travellers, that those nations are far from being the most libidinous, where it is the custom for the persons of the sex to be most exposed. The naked statue of the *Venus* of *Medicis* is not, perhaps, so inflaming as an half-robed *Atalanta* would be. Custom and fashion, in short, sanctify every thing. And this we may be allowed to observe, without descending from the dignity of history, especially in this place, that there are fashions among our modern ladies, which are more censurable than the short jerkins of the *Spartan* virgins; as they are much more troublesome to the wearer; much more unnatural to the human shape; and, occasionally, as much expose those limbs, which fashion among us has made it a degree of indecency to expose.

Thus much we thought it not amiss to observe on a custom so extraordinary, as some of our less learned readers will think this; choosing rather to defend than censure so illustrious a lawgiver as *Lycurgus*.

was

was an indubitable title to honour in *Sparta*: to the old men the youth rose up, whenever they came into any public place; they gave way to them when they met them in the streets, and were silent whenever their elders spoke. As all children were looked upon as the children of the state, so all the old men had the authority of parents: they reprehended whatever they saw amiss, not only in their own, but in other peoples children; and by this method *Lycurgus* provided, that, as youth are every-where apt to offend, they might be no-where without a monitor. The laws went still further: if an old man was present where a young one committed a fault, and did not reprove him, he was punished equally with the delinquent. Amongst the youths there was one of their own body, or at most two years older than the rest, who was stiled *iren*: he had authority to question all their actions, to look strictly to their behaviour, and to punish them, if they did amiss; neither were their punishments light, but, on the contrary, very severe, whereby the youth were made hardy, and accustomed to bear stripes, and rough usage. Silence was a thing highly commended at *Sparta*, where modesty was held to be a most becoming virtue in young people; nor was it restrained only to their words and actions, but to their very looks and gestures, *Lycurgus* having particularly directed, that they should look forward, or on the ground, and that they should always keep their hands within their robes. A stupid, inconsiderate person, one who would not listen to instruction, but was careless of whatever the world might say of him, the *Lacedæmonians* treated as a scandal to human nature; with such an one they would not converse, but threw him off as a rotten branch, and worthless member of society.

THE studies and learning of this people fall naturally into VIII. the eighth table. The plainness of their manners, and their *Laws re-* being so very much addicted to war, made the *Lacedæmonians* garding less fond of the sciences than the rest of the *Greeks*. They *studies and* measured the worth of all things by their usefulness; and there- *learning.* fore, if they wrote to be read, and spoke to be understood, it was all they sought. For this the *Athenians*, who were excessively vain of their learning, held the *Spartans* in great contempt; insomuch that *Thucydides* himself, in drawing the character of *Brasidas*, says, he spoke well enough for a *Lacedæmonian*. These, on the other hand, valued themselves no less on their roughness, and their steady adherence to the maxims of their ancestors, as, amongst other instances, appears from this answer of a *Spartan* to one of the learned *Athenians*, who upbraided him with the ignorance of his country: *All you say may be true, and yet it amounts to no more, than that we only amongst the Greeks have learned no evil customs from you.* Arts were in
no

no greater credit with them than sciences. A soldier was the only reputable profession in *Sparta*; a mechanic or husbandman was thought a low fellow. The reason of this was, that they imagined professions, which required much labour, some constant posture, being continually in the house, or always about a fire, weakened the body, and depressed the mind; whereas a man, brought up hardily, was equally fit to attend the service of the republic in time of peace, and to fight its battles when engaged in war (B). Such occupations as were necessary to be followed, for the benefit of the whole, as husbandry, agriculture, and the like, were left to their slaves, the *Helotes*; but, for curious arts, and such as served only to luxury, they would not so much as suffer them to be introduced in their city; in consequence of which, rhetoricians, augurs, bankers, and dealers in money, were shut out. The *Spartans* admitted not any of the theatrical diversions among them; they would not bear the representation of evil, even to produce good; but other kinds of poetry were admitted, provided the magistrates had the perusal of pieces, before they were handed to the public.

ABOVE all things, they affected brevity of speech, and accustomed their children from their very infancy, never to express themselves in more words than were strictly necessary; whence a concise and sententious oratory is to this day stiled *Laconic*. In writing they used the same conciseness; of which we have a signal instance in a letter of *Archidamus* to the *Eleans*, when he understood, that they had some thoughts of assisting the *Arcadians*: it ran thus; *Archidamus to the Eleans, It is good to be quiet*. And therefore *Epaminondas* thought, that he had reason to glory in having forced the *Spartans* to abandon their monosyllables, and to lengthen their discourses.

WE need not wonder, that *Lycurgus*, who intended that his citizens should be governed by laws and customs so pecu-

(B) “ <i>Lycurgus</i>, as a modern “ author observes (2), had re- “ marked, that subtle specula- “ tions, and all the refinements “ of science, served often to “ spoil the understanding, and “ corrupt the heart; for which “ reason he made little account “ of them; nothing, however, “ was neglected to awaken in “ children the taste of pure rea- “ son, and to give them a	“ strength of judgment; but all “ kinds of studies, which were “ not serviceable to good man- “ ners, were looked upon as “ useless and dangerous occupa- “ tions. The <i>Spartans</i> were of “ opinion, that, in the present “ state of human nature, man “ is formed rather for action “ than knowlege, and better “ qualified for society than con- “ templation.”
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(2) *The chevalier de Ramsay, in his travels of Cyrus above-mentioned.*

liar,

liar, should strictly prohibit, as he did, those of their neighbours, or other states, to be so much as made the subject of discourse in his; but those who have inferred from thence, that the *Lacedæmonians* were equally solicitous to prevent strangers from gaining acquaintance with their own laws and customs, are somewhat mistaken; for, in this point, they were not so strict.

THE greatest part of their education consisted in giving their youth right ideas of men and things: the *iren*, or master, proposed questions; and either commended the answers that were made him, or reprov'd such as answered weakly. In these questions, all matters either of a trivial or abstruse nature, were equally avoided; and they were confined to such points as were of the highest importance in civil life; such as, Who was the best man in the city; Wherein lay the merit of such an action; and, Whether this or that hero's fame was well founded. Harmless raillery was greatly encouraged; and this, joined to their short manner of speaking, rendered *Laconic* replies universally admired.

MUSIC was much encouraged; but, in this, as in other things, they adhered to that which had been in favour with their ancestors; nay, they were so strict therein, that they would not permit their slaves to learn either the tune or the words of their most admired odes; or, which is all one, they would not permit them to sing them, if they had learned them. Tho' the youth of the male sex were much cherished and beloved, as those that were to build up and continue the future glory of the state, yet, in *Sparta*, it was a virtuous and modest affection, untinged with that sensuality which was so scandalous at *Athens*. The good effects of this part of *Lycurgus's* institutions were seen in the union that reigned among his citizens; and which was so extraordinary, that, even in cases of competition, it was hardly known, that rivals bore ill-will to each other; but, on the contrary, their love to the same person begat a secondary friendship among themselves, and united them in all things, which might be for the benefit of the person beloved.

SOME authors have been very free, in accusing this great lawgiver of encouraging theft in his institutions; which, they say, was not held scandalous among the *Spartans*, if it were so dextrously managed as that the person was not detected in it. If this were true, no apology could be made for this encouragement, which would not equally disgrace both the defenders and the lawgiver. But this is certain, and seems to be a strong contradiction of the heinous charge, that, when a theft was discovered, it was punished with the utmost severity. A person even suspected of it would endure the heaviest punishments

nishments rather than acknowledge it, and be branded with so base a crime (B).

IX. *Laws relating to exercises.* THE exercises instituted by law fall under the ninth table. In these all the *Greeks* were extremely careful; but the *Lacedæmonians* in a degree beyond the rest: for, if a youth, by his corpulence, or any other means, became unfit for these exercises, he underwent public contempt at least, if not banishment. Hunting was the usual diversion of their children; nay, it was made a part of their education, because it had a tendency to strengthen their limbs, and to render those who practised it, supple and fleet: they likewise bred up dogs for hunting with great care. They had a kind of public dances, in which they exceedingly delighted, and which were common alike to virgins and young men: indeed, in all their sports, girls were allowed to divert themselves with the youths; insomuch that, at darting, throwing the quoit, pitching the bar, and such-like robust diversions, the women were as dextrous as the men. For the manifest oddity of this proceeding *Lycurgus* assigned no other reason, than that he sought to render women, as well as men, strong and healthy, that the children they brought forth might be so too. Violent exercises, and a laborious kind of life, were only enjoined the youth; for, when they were grown up to mens estate, that is, were upwards of thirty years old, they were exempted from all kinds of labour, and

(B) “ In reality (says the author above quoted) great care was taken of the education of children at *Sparta*. They were chiefly taught to obey, to undergo labour, to conquer in combats, and to face pain and death with courage. They went with their heads bare, and feet naked, lay upon rushes, and eat very little; and this little they were obliged to procure by dexterity in the public banqueting-rooms. Not that the *Spartans* authorized thefts and robberies; for as all was in common in their republic, those vices could have no place there. But the design was to accustom children, who were destined for war, to surprise the vigilance of those who

“ watched over them, and to expose themselves courageously to the severest punishments, in case they failed of that dexterity which was expected of them.” A dexterity, we may add, that would have been attended with very pernicious effects to the morals of any youth but the *Spartan*, educated, as that was, to condemn riches and superfluities, and guarded by balancing virtues, and great severity of life and manners; and which would well have deserved the name of theft bestowed on it by some authors, and the law to be justly censured, which encouraged such dextrous surprises, if allowed in states less virtuous and austere.

employed

employed themselves wholly either in affairs of state, or in war. They had a method of whipping, at a certain time, young lads in the temple of *Diana*, and about her altar; which, however palliated, was certainly unnatural and cruel. It was esteemed a great honour for lads to sustain these flagellations without weeping, groaning, or shewing any sense of pain; and the thirst of glory was so strong in these young minds, that they very frequently suffered death, without shedding a tear, or breathing a sigh. A desire of overcoming all the weaknesses of human nature, and thereby rendering his *Spartans* not only superior to their neighbours, but to their species, runs through many of the institutions of *Lycurgus*; which principle, if well attended to, thoroughly explains them, and without attending to which it is impossible to give any account of them at all.

THE tenth table shall comprehend their laws respecting contracts and money-matters. Gold and silver were, by the constitutions of *Lycurgus*, made of no value in *Sparta*. He was so well apprised of the danger of riches, that he made the very possession of them penal; but, as there was no living without some sort of money, that is, some common measure or standard of the worth of things, he directed an iron coinage, whereby the *Spartans* were supplied with the useful money, and, at the same time, had no temptation to covetousness afforded them; for a very small sum was sufficient to load a couple of horses, and a great one must have been kept in a barn or warehouse. The coming in of all foreign money was also prohibited, that corruption might not enter under the name of commerce. The most antient method of dealing, viz. by barter, or exchange of one commodity for another, was preserved by law in *Sparta*, long after it had been out of date every-where else. Interest was a thing forbid in the *Spartan* commonwealth, where they had also a law against alienation of lands, accepting presents from foreigners, even without the limits of their own country, and when their authority and character might well seem to excuse them. Thus, by all possible methods, *Lycurgus* sought to shut out corruption, to oblige his citizens to live simply and innocently, without admitting amongst them those seeds of luxury and dissension, which, he saw, had produced such fatal effects in the regions through which he traveled.

SUCH of the laws of *Sparta*, as related to courts of justice, XI. Laws may be brought under the eleventh table. Thirty years must have passed over the head of him, who had a right to concern himself in juridical proceedings. Young men were thought unfit for them; and it was even held indecent, and of ill report, for a man to have any fondness for law-suits, or to be

busying himself at the tribunals, when he had no affairs there of his own. By these rules, *Lycurgus* thought to shut out litigiousness, and to prevent that multiplicity of suits, which is always scandalous in a state. As young people were not permitted to inquire about the laws of other countries, and as they were hindered from hearing judicial proceedings in their courts, so they were likewise forbidden to ask any questions about, or to endeavour to discover, the reasons of the laws by which themselves were governed. Obedience was their duty, and to that alone they would have them kept. Men of abandoned characters, or who were notoriously of ill fame, lost all right of giving their votes in respect of public affairs, or of speaking in public assemblies; for they would not believe, that an ill man in private life could mean his country better than he did his neighbour.

XII. *The military laws.*

THE military laws of *Sparta* shall compose the twelfth table. Till a man was thirty years old, he was not capable of serving in the army, as the best authors agree; though some think, that the military age is not well ascertained by antient writers. They were forbidden to march at any time before the full-moon; the reason of which law is very hard to be discovered, if indeed it had any reason at all, or was not rather founded on some superstitious opinion, that this was a more lucky conjuncture than any other. They were likewise forbidden to fight often against the same enemy; which was one of the wisest maxims in the political system of *Lycurgus*: and we shall see, that *Agésilas*, by offending against it, destroyed the power of his country, and lost her that authority, which, for many ages, she maintained over the rest of *Greece*; for, by continually warring against the *Thebans*, to whom he had an inveterate hatred, he at last beat them into the knowledge of the art of war, and enabled them, under the command of *Epaminondas*, to maintain for a time the principality of *Greece*. Maritime affairs they were forbidden to meddle with; though the necessity of things compelled them, in process of time, to transgress this institution, and, by degrees, to transfer to themselves as well the dominion at sea as land, as the reader has already seen in the *Athenian* history: but, after the *Peloponnesian* war, they again neglected naval affairs, from a persuasion, that sailors and strangers corrupted those with whom they conversed. As they never fortified *Sparta*, they were not ready to undertake sieges: fighting in the field was their proper province, and, while they could overcome their enemies there, they rightly conceived, that nothing could hurt them at home. In time of war, they relaxed somewhat of their strict manner of living, in which they were singular. The true reason for this was, in all probability, that war might be less burdensome

some to them; for, as we have more than once observed, a strong desire to render them bold and warlike was the reigning passion of their legislator. They were forbidden to remain long encamped in the same place, as well to hinder their being surprised, as that they might be more troublesome to their enemies, by wasting every corner of their country. They slept all night in their armour; but their outguards were not allowed their shields, that, being unprovided of defence, they might not dare to sleep. In all expeditions, they were careful in the performance of religious rites; and, after their evening meal was over, the soldiers sung together hymns to their gods. When they were about to engage, the king sacrificed to the muses, that, by their assistance, they might be enabled to perform deeds worthy of being recorded to latest times. Then the army advanced in order to the sound of flutes, which played the hymn of *Castor*. The king himself sung the pæan, which was the signal to charge. This was done with all the solemnity imaginable; and the soldiers were sure either to die or conquer: indeed they had no other choice; for, if they fled, they were infamous, and in danger of being slain even by their own mothers, for disgracing their families. History informs us, that a *Spartan* lady, on the news of her son's having fled from a battle, wrote him this short letter, *Fame speaks ill of you; efface it, or be no more*. In this consisted all the excellency of the *Spartan* women, who, if possible, exceeded in bravery the men, never lamenting over husbands or sons, if they died honourably in the field; but deploring the shame brought on their house, if either the one or the other escaped by flight. The throwing away a shield also induced infamy; and, with respect to this, mothers, when they embraced their departing sons, were wont to caution them, that they should either return armed as they were, or be brought back so when they were dead; for, as we have observed, such as were slain in battle were nevertheless buried in their own country. When they made their enemies fly, they pursued no longer than till victory was doubtful; because they would seem to fight rather for the honour of conquering, than of putting their enemies to death. According to their antient rules of war, they were bound not to spoil the dead bodies of their enemies; but, in process of time, this, and indeed many other of their most excellent regulations, fell into desuetude. He who overcame by stratagem, offered up an ox to *Mars*; whereas he who conquered by force, offered up only a cock; the former being esteemed more manly than the latter. After forty years service, a man was, by law, no longer required to go into the field; and consequently, if the military age was thirty, the *Spartans* were not held invalids till they were seventy. Thus we have com-

prised the most considerable of the *Spartan* laws in twelve tables. Some indeed we have omitted, because we shall be obliged to speak of their being enacted elsewhere ^b.

LYCURGUS did not put any of his laws into writing, because he would have them written in the hearts of the people; and, to impress them the more strongly there, he took pains to make it be believed, that they were given to him by *Apollo*; wherefore he stiled them *rhetræ*, i. e. *divine sanctions*. It is not clear, whether or not *Lycurgus* was the author of that political contrivance, which prevailed among his countrymen, for lessening the number of their slaves, whenever they grew dangerous to the state, and which was stiled *cryptia*, i. e. the youth, picked out the stoutest of them, and, having armed them with daggers, sent them out to destroy their unhappy slaves; which they did, either by surprising them in the night, or falling upon them in the day when they were at their work, without any crime being pretended against them, and for no other reason, than that the state might be safe from their attempts, by this reduction of their number. *Plato* greatly condemns this law; for which reason *Plutarch* denies, that it was made by *Lycurgus*: but, when or however it was made, it was indubitably against common equity, or, to speak with greater propriety, against humanity; a cruel and unnecessary expedient, and unworthy of a virtuous people ^c (A).

IT

^b PLUT. in vit. *Lycurg.* & in institut. *Lacon.* ARISTOT. polit. PLAT. de legib. & de repub. XENOPH. instit. *Lac.* ÆLIAN. var. hist. HERAC. PONT. in fragm. ^c PLUT. in vit. *Lycurg.* PLATO de legib. l. i. p. 633.

(A) The cruelty of the *Lacedæmonians* towards their slaves or *Helotes*, is frequently spoken of, and generally decried by all authors; though *Plutarch*, who was a great admirer of the *Spartans*, endeavours every-where to palliate it as much as may be. To give the reader a distinct account of this matter, we must first acquaint him who these *Helotes* were: *Helos* was an antient city in *Laconia*, against which, on some pretence or other, the *Lacedæmonians* made war; and, having subdued it, they made all the inhabitants thereof, and of the adjacent district, slaves (1). And in process of time, when they had enlarged the number of persons in this unhappy condition, by subjugating other places, they still kept up the old name, and called them all *Helotes*; which, ceasing then to be a proper name, became common to all who were in this state of servitude. As to

(1) *Homer, Iliad.* β. v. 385. *Strab. geogr.* l. viii. p. 363. *Pausan. Lacon.* 201.

It is not to be conceived, that such mighty changes could *Sedition in* be wrought in a country without any opposition ; neither indeed Sparta. were

the terms of it, they were these : First, their lords could not set them free ; and, secondly, they had no power to sell them, so that they might be transported out of the *Lacedæmonian* dominions (2). Hence it came to pass, that they were prodigiously numerous, which sometimes alarmed the *Spartans*, and made them devise the law above recited to keep them under. *Aristotle* expressly affirms, that it was devised by *Lycurgus* (3). *Plutarch* would gladly have this disbelieved, merely because he thinks it injurious to that legislator ; for he offers no other reason for it whatsoever, and at the same time owns, that *Plato* himself had been displeased with *Lycurgus* for the cruelty and injustice of this law (4). *Plutarch* elsewhere informs us, that the *Helotes* were employed to cultivate the lands of their lords ; that they did not give an exact account of their produce, but paid a small settled rent, which their lords could not raise without incurring public censure (5). This is *Plutarch's* account of the matter : from whence one would be led to conceive, that these *Helotes* were a kind of bailiffs, stewards, or lower sort of farmers. But other authors speak quite a different language ; they tell us, that liberty and slavery were in their extremes at *Sparta* ; that none were so perfectly free as the citizens of *Lacedæmon*, nor any such despicable slaves as

these *Helotes* ; they were distinguished, that is, marked out for slaves in their dress, their gesture, and, in short, in every thing ; they wore dog-skin bonnets, and sheep-skin vests ; they were forbidden to learn any liberal art, or to perform any act worthy of their masters : when their lords were so disposed, these poor men were obliged to drink themselves drunk, that the free-born *Spartans* might see the beastliness of that vice in their behaviour. Once a day they received a certain number of stripes, for fear they should forget they were slaves ; and, to crown all, they were liable to this *cryptia*, which was sure to be executed on all such as spoke, looked, or walked like freemen (6). To take off somewhat from the horror and scandal of such a practice, the ephori, after they were instituted, at their coming into office, declared war against them (7) ; against whom ? why, against poor naked slaves, who tilled their lands, dressed their food, and did all those offices for them which they were too proud to do for themselves. *Plutarch*, according to custom, endeavours to place all this cruelty far lower than the times of *Lycurgus* ; and alleges, that it was introduced on account of the *Helotes* joining with the *Messenians* after a terrible earthquake, whereby a great part of *Lacedæmon* was overthrown (8) ; but *Ælian* tells us expressly, that it was the com-

(2) *Strabo*, lib. viii. *Pollux*, lib. iii. c. 8. (3) *Polit. lib. ii.* (4) *In vit. Lycurg.* (5) *Instit. Lacedæm.* (6) *Miron. Prien. apud Athen. deipnos. l. xiv.* (7) *Arist. polit. l. ii.* (8) *Plut. in vit. Lycurg.*

Lycurgus
wounded
in the eye.

were they : for, when *Lycurgus* proceeded to the division of property, a great sedition arose, wherein at last the people proceeded to blows ; and he found himself obliged to quit the assembly, in order to fly to a sanctuary. Some of them, however, closely pursued him, and, amongst the rest, one *Alcander*, a young nobleman of a generous, but too hasty disposition, who, on *Lycurgus's* looking back, struck him on the eye, and, as some say, beat it out. The legislator then stopped ; and, shewing his face all covered with blood, the people were so struck thereat, that they immediately asked his pardon, and delivered up *Alcander* into his hands, to be treated as he thought fit. *Lycurgus* accepted the proposal, and carried *Alcander* home with him, where, instead of punishing, or even reproving him harshly, he received him as his attendant, caused him to wait on him at meals, and kept him always near his person. This mildness was of great service to them both ; for *Alcander* perceiving, that *Lycurgus* was not, as he had supposed him, a man of a rough and morose disposition, but of a most sweet and affable temper, he became, from his fiercest enemy, his greatest admirer ; which wrought mightily on the minds of the people, and engaged them to receive as oracles the instructions of *Lycurgus*. Another good it wrought was this, that it became immediately a law, from which they never receded, that no weapon whatsoever, not even so much as a staff, should be brought into their assemblies, or public councils^a.

Method
taken by
this legis-
lator to
settle his
laws.

WHEN *Lycurgus* had fully perfected his design, and wrought the commonwealth into that form, which, from the consideration of the nature of men, and of the different effects of various governments upon them, he thought most eligible, his next care was to render this fixed and stable, and to prevent his countrymen from overturning that structure which he had raised, and running back to the condition wherein he found

^a PLUT. ubi supra.

mon opinion in Greece, that this very earthquake was a judgment from heaven upon the Spartans for treating these *Helotes* with such inhumanity (9). *Thucydides* gives us a glaring instance of the jealousy of the *Lacedæmonians* on account of these poor men ; he says, that about two

thousand of them, being manumitted by law, for their great service in the *Peloponnesian* war, were crowned with garlands, led about to the temples, and entertained with shews ; after all which they disappeared on a sudden, nor could any body ever tell what became of them (10).

(9) *Hist. var.* l. iii.
Ubb. Emm. de repub. Lac.
l. ii. c. 6.

(10) *Thucyd. de bello Peloponnes.* lib. iv. vide etiam
Crag. de repub. Lac. l. i. c. 11. *Meurs. misc. Lacon.*

them.

them. After some time, he fell upon a method of effecting it, which was this: he called a general assembly, wherein he declared, that he now thought every thing was brought into its proper order, and that there remained but one point to be settled, which was indeed of the highest importance, and what he could not acquaint them with, till he had consulted the oracle at *Delphi*; to which place he was ready to go, provided they would engage themselves to observe his *retræ* inviolably till his return. To this all ranks and degrees of people readily assented; and, to bind their assent, *Lycurgus* took an oath upon the spot from the two kings, the senate, and the commons; after which he departed, as he had proposed, and went to *Delphi*. There he proposed this question to the oracle, *Shall the laws established in Sparta make that city virtuous and happy?* The response was, *The laws given to Sparta are excellent, and the city shall continue in the highest renown, while it observes the polity of Lycurgus.* This he took in writing, and sent to *Sparta*; after which he sacrificed a second time to *Apollo*; and, having solemnly taken leave of his friends, and of his son, he determined with himself to put an end to his life by fasting, that the *Lacedæmonians* might never have it in their power to free themselves from the oath which he had taken from them. *Plutarch* expresses himself in very high terms in respect to the death of *Lycurgus*: he commends it as one of the noblest instances of patriotism which is to be met with in antient history; because, says he, the legislator secured a double point by this manner of dying; he put a most honourable end to a virtuous and well-spent life, and he affixed his death, as a seal, to his laws, which he left as his last will and testament to his country. He tells us likewise, that his bones were carried home to *Sparta*, and buried under a plain tomb, which, as a mark of the divine favour, he says, was afterwards blasted with lightning; an accident peculiar to *Lycurgus*, and *Euripides* the poet. The *Spartans*, to do honour to his memory, erected a temple to him, and sacrificed annually thereat. But, after all this pompous account, *Plutarch* himself acknowledges, that authors are not well agreed, how or where this good man died. Some say he ended his days at *Cirrha*; *Apollonius* affirmed, that he died at *Elis*; *Timæus* and *Aristoxenus* agree, that he finished his days in *Crete*: the latter says the inhabitants shewed his tomb. *Aristocrates* the son of *Hipparchus* wrote likewise, that he died in *Crete*; but he added, that, by the direction of *Lycurgus*, the persons with whom he lodged burnt his body, and scattered the ashes thereof in the air, and on the sea, that they might never be transported to *Lacedæmon*, to prevent the people apprehending themselves released from their oath. He left behind him one son, whose name was
Anti-

Antiorus; who dying without issue, his race became extinct. His relations and friends held an annual assembly in commemoration of the deceased, and that they might therein discourse of, and exhort each other to the imitation of, his virtues. The days of this meeting were, in honour of the legislator, stiled *Lycurgides* * (B).

FROM

* PLUT. in vit. *Lycurg.*

(B) The life of *Lycurgus* was the first which *Plutarch* published, as he himself observes (11). He seems to have had a mighty liking to the *Spartans*, and their customs; for, besides this life, and those of several other *Spartan* chiefs, we have a treatise of his on the laws and customs of the *Lacedæmonians*, and another of *Laconic* apophthegms: he owns notwithstanding, that, with respect to the family, and the time of the birth, of this legislator, there is great uncertainty. He makes him, however, in all things a perfect hero, and alleges his behaviour as a proof, that the wise man, so often described, and so much commended, by philosophers, was not a mere ideal character unattainable by human nature. He is very particular as to the salutation of the prophets at *Delphi*, which, he says, ran in these words: *Welcome, beloved of God, and rather God than man* (12). This oracle was certainly very famous in *Greece*, and, generally speaking, believed; otherwise *Socrates* would not have quoted it in his defence (13), or *Plutarch* have so often urged it as a full answer to all the calumnies raised against his hero: yet something may be said, not greatly to the reputation either of the oracle

or *Lycurgus*, viz. that this was all contrivance, in order to bring about, what could otherwise never have been brought about, the imposing his harsh laws upon the *Spartans*. It is very likely, that he took this hint from the conduct of *Minos* the *Cretan* lawgiver, who ascribed all his laws to *Jupiter*; but, from whomsoever he took it, an antient author of great note affirms, that the responses of the oracle were framed by his wit, and procured by his money (14). The reader has seen, in the *Athenian* history, many instances of a like nature; and we shall hereafter shew, that *Lysander* knew how to make *Apollo* speak kindly in his favour, as well as *Lycurgus*. It is clear, that our lawgiver depended chiefly on the people's apprehending his institutions to be divine: for this cause he would never suffer his laws to be put into writing, but trusted them to the memory, that they might at once make the greater impression, and give the government greater power. *Plutarch* affords us an instance of this; he says, that, by a *rhethra* of *Lycurgus*, the people had power to assent or dissent from what was proposed to them by the kings and senate; but when by degrees they extended this power,

(11) *In vit. Thesei.*
reb. memor.

(12) *Plut. in vit. Lycurgi.*
 (14) *Polyæn. stratag. lib. i. c. 16.*

(13) *Xenophon. de*

and

FROM the death of *Lycurgus*, the *Lacedæmonian* history is, *The reign* for a long time, very perplexed, there being no other materials of *Charilaus* from whence it may be collected, than scattered passages of *Charilaus* and *Teleclus*. *Charilaus* made war on the *Argives*; but with little

and began to gloss upon the laws, to assent to one part of them, and to dissent from another; the kings and senate, that they might be even with them in their own way, added a new clause to the *rebetra*, to this purpose, that if the people should offer any cross proposal, then the senate and kings might reject it. Which clause, by dint of a little of their legislator's art, they imposed as a genuine injunction, and thereby strengthened their own authority at the expence of the people's (15). Most politicians have held *Lycurgus's* invention of a senate to have been a most excellent contrivance: *Plato* was so much charmed with it, that from thence he stiles its author a divine spirit residing in an human nature (16): yet *Aristotle*, who was an excellent politician, found great fault with that institution; he thought it unreasonable, that senators should be made for life, because frequently mens abilities decay; so that, instead of being able to mind public affairs, they become unfit to transact those of their own family. He was likewise offended, that they were left without controul; for he thought, that as all men were liable to errors, so all men ought to be accountable for them, especially if their errors might any way affect the state (17). The last act of *Lycurgus*, of which

we have any certainty, is, his sending the oracle from *Delphi* to *Sparta*, signifying the approbation given by *Apollo* to all his laws. That he starved himself there, is improbable; but that he returned no more to his country, seems to be perfectly agreeable to his manner of acting; for he was extremely ambitious of being thought somewhat more than man, as appears from the whole tenour of his behaviour; and his life could never have been concluded by an act more shining than this of quitting supreme power, when his countrymen unanimously desired, that he should retain it. This shewed that he was truly disinterested, and did not seek any other reward for the services he rendered *Sparta*, than the glory of having served her. *Solon*, though a person of a different temper, was as disinterested as he; he settled the *Athenian* commonwealth, refused the sovereignty when offered to him, traveled to avoid the importunities of his countrymen, opposed tyranny in his old age, and, when he found his opposition vain, went into voluntary exile. *Lycurgus* and *Solon* were both great men; but the former had the stronger, the latter the milder genius; the effects of which appeared in the commonwealths they founded.

(15) *Plutarch. in vit. Lycurg. l. ii. & l. vi.*

(16) *Plato de legib. l. iii.*

(17) *Arist.*

success. Afterwards he fell on the *Tageatae*, a people of *Arcadia*: but, in this war also, he had very bad fortune; for he was taken prisoner in a battle, which was won chiefly by the valour of the women; and, to purchase his freedom, was constrained to take a solemn oath, that he would never make war on this people any more; which oath, however, he kept very indifferently ^f. He then turned his arms against the *Achæans*, who had taken from the *Lacedæmonians* several frontier towns, which he and his colleague *Teleclus* recovered. Among these were *Amyclas*, *Pharis*, and *Geronthra*: the first they rased; the inhabitants of the other two cities, by agreement, were permitted to retire out of *Peloponnesus*. Such were the military exploits of *Charilaus* or *Charillus*. He retained always a great respect for his tutor *Lycurgus*, as appears from several of his sayings, which have reached our times; for, being once asked why *Lycurgus* had made so few laws, he answered, *Men of few words need but few laws*: and, it being demanded of him what kind of polity he held to be most complete, *That*, said he, *wherein most of the citizens contend in virtue, without disturbing each other* ^g. His colleague of the other regal house was *Teleclus*, a prince of indifferent parts and fortune. Being told, before he succeeded to the crown, by some who sought to flatter him, that his father had spoken slightly of him, he answered, *That he was sorry for it; because he would not have done it, if himself had not deserved it* ^h. His death gave occasion to the *Messenian* war; but, after what manner, cannot easily be determined. There was, it seems, a temple of *Diana* seated on the marches between *Laconia* and *Messenia*, to which the inhabitants of both regions resorted. Some *Spartan* virgins, repairing thither, were violated by the *Messenians*; and *Teleclus*, endeavouring to prevent this outrage, was slain: the women also famished themselves to death: this is the *Spartan* side of the story. The *Messenians* report it thus; that *Teleclus*, intending to surprise some of the principal persons of their country, went thither, with certain of his friends, in female habits, with poniards under their cloaths; and that, a fray happening, *Teleclus*, and some of his associates, were slain. But there wanted not other causes of ill-will among these people; for the *Spartans* entertained an opinion, that their kings *Eurysthenes* and *Procles* were cheated by their uncle *Cresphontes* in the assignment of their territories, the most barren being given to them, and the best reserved to himself. While things were in this situation, an injury done to a private person kindled up the fire of war. Thus it happened: *Polychares* a *Messenian* intrusted *Euephnes* a *Lacedæmonian* with

What
gave rise
to the
Messe-
nian war.

^f PAUSAN. in Arcad. ^g PLUT. in apophth. Lacon. ^h PLUT.
ubi supra. some

some cows, on condition that he should have a moiety of the profit arising from their milk. The *Spartan* sold these cows to certain chapmen, together with the herdsmen who kept them, his merchants agreeing to take them away by force. As soon as this was done, *Euephnes* went to *Polychares*, and told him a melancholy accident of certain robbers, who had stolen the cattle, and their keepers. But, unluckily for him, while he was in the midst of his tale, came one or two of his herdsmen, who had made their escape, and falsified all he said. Upon this, the *Lacedæmonian* confessed the truth, and told *Polychares*, that, if he would send his son home with him, he would give him a moiety of the money; to which the *Messenian* readily agreed: but, when they were come to *Sparta*, *Euephnes* most perfidiously murdered the lad; and *Polychares*, coming several times to *Sparta* to demand justice, was forced to retire undressed and unheeded. He, being exceedingly provoked with such barbarous usage, resolved to take vengeance of the whole nation; and, in consequence of this resolution, killed as many of the *Lacedæmonians* as he could meet with; which, on the other hand, was highly resented by that peopleⁱ. These transactions we have thrown together, though they happened at some distance of time, because we were willing to place all the causes, or supposed causes, of the *Messenian* war in the reader's view at once. We will, however, interrupt this narration a little, that we may preserve, in its just order, the succession of the *Spartan* kings.

To *Charilaus* succeeded his son *Nicander*, who reigned *The reigns* thirty-nine years; and, in the thirty-fourth year of whose *of Nicander and* reign was celebrated the first olympiad. He is said to have *Alcamen-* carried on the war with the *Argives*, and to have done them a *nes.* great deal of mischief; but, for other great actions of his life, if there were any, they were not recorded. *Teleclus* had for his successor his son *Alcamenes*, who, with his colleague before-mentioned, sent to the *Messenians* to demand justice against *Polychares*, and that he should be delivered up. The *Messenians* were at that time governed by *Androcles* and *Antiochus*, brothers. The former was much against yielding on any terms to the request of the *Lacedæmonians*, alleging, that they were the aggressors, and therefore ought to do justice first. The latter was against hazarding the public safety on account of a private person; and therefore declared, that he would give up *Polychares*, rather than break with the *Spartans*. The disputes on this occasion rose so high, that, from words, they came to blows, wherein *Androcles* was slain. *Antiochus*, now reigning alone, immediately sent ambassadors to *Sparta*, beseeching

ⁱ PAUSAN. in Messen. STRAB. l. vii. viii. JUSTIN. l. iii. c. 5.

the king and senate to consider, that they were originally of the same stock, and that therefore they ought not to be ready, on every turn, to make war on each other; offering, in the present case, to leave the decision of this matter either to the *Argives*, who were their common allies, to the *Amphictyonian* council, or to the senate of *Areopagus* at *Athens*. The *Spartans* gave no answer to these deputies; and, while things were in this situation, *Antiochus* died, and was succeeded in his dominions by his son *Euphaes*. To him the *Lacedæmonians* made no complaint; neither did they renounce their correspondence with the *Messenians*; yet were they all this time providing secretly for the war, and, when all things were ready, engaged in it, without giving the least notice. Before they proceeded to hostilities, the kings and senate called a general assembly; in which the troops, appointed for the war, took a solemn oath never to return home, till they had intirely conquered *Messenia*; which shewed, that this was a war of ambition rather than justice, and intended not to repair their own injuries, but to ravage the country of their neighbours^k.

The Mes-
senian
war com-
mences.

Year of
the flood
1696.
Bef. Chr.
652.

ALCAMENES king of *Sparta*, at the head of a complete army, entered the *Messenian* territory suddenly, and by night; in consequence of which he easily surprized the city of *Amphæa*, the gates of which were opened as usual, the inhabitants not having the least suspicion of what afterwards happened. The *Spartans* behaved, on this occasion, very cruelly; they slew, without distinction, all who came in their way; nor did even temples or altars afford a sanctuary to such as fled thither for protection. The conveniency of the city, which the *Lacedæmonians* knew would serve them as a proper magazine during the war, tempted them to this exploit, and, in all probability, engaged them to treat the people thus harshly, that they might make themselves absolutely masters of it, and its districts. *Euphaes*, the *Messenian* king, on the first news of this extraordinary stroke, assembled his people; and, having encouraged them to keep up their spirits, and not to believe, that all was lost, because *Amphæa* was in the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, he likewise gave them his opinion of the war, and of the manner in which they might best carry it on: he observed to them, that the *Lacedæmonians* were not only brave, but were also bred up to war as to a trade; nay, were indeed bred up to nothing else: whence he inferred, that it was by no means prudent for them to engage in pitched battles with such an enemy. Wherefore his counsel was, that they should carry on a defensive war, in the best manner they were able, till, by degrees, they acquired experience enough to fight the *Spartans*

* PAUSAN. & JUST. ubi supra.

upon equal terms. The *Messenians*, following his advice, maintained a defensive war for three years, in which they suffered the *Spartans* to obtain very few advantages over them. In the fourth year, *Euphaes* ventured an engagement, but it was with great circumspection; for, having intrenched his best troops, he drew out his horse and light-armed forces, skirmishing with these; and when the *Spartans* drew nearer, and thought to have brought it to a general battle, he withdrew his army behind his intrenchments: and, as the *Spartans* had no materials for filling up the ditch which lay before his works, they were constrained to retire; and, shortly after, returned to their own country, where they met with a very indifferent reception, on account of the oath which they and their forces had taken, never to return till they had thoroughly reduced *Messenia*¹. A very short time after this, both the kings died. As to *Nicander*, we find little of him in antient authors more than has been already mentioned; with respect to *Alcamenes*, *Plutarch* hath preserved some passages of his life, which shew that he was a wise and gentle prince^m. Being once asked, How a prince might best secure his government? he answered, *By despising again*. When the *Messenians* sought, by presents, to have gained him to their interest, he refused them; and the reason of this being demanded, he readily answered, *If I had taken them, the laws and I could never have agreed*. He inherited, it seems, a great deal of wealth from his father, and increased it by his own management, living still in a plain parsimonious manner; for which being reproached, he said, *Is it not a mark of virtue and good sense, when he who has abundance chuses to live rather according to reason than appetite?* It is a misfortune to us, that we know not from whom the author before-mentioned copied these sayings; and the reader, it is to be hoped, will excuse us, if, finding little to say of their deeds, we entertain him sometimes with the sayings of those *Spartan* kings.

POLYDORUS succeeded his father *Alcamenes* in the king-*Polydorus* dom, and *Theopompus* his father *Nicander*. With these princes *and Theopompus* the *Spartans* intrusted a new army, with express instructions *succeed in* not to act as their predecessors had done, but to put their country in possession of a prize which she had so long desired. *the Spartan king-* The *Messenians*, under the command of *Euphaes* their prince, *dom.* no longer fled from their enemies, as hitherto they were wont, but prepared to give them battle as soon as a proper opportunity offered. It was not long before they had occasion to make trial of each other's valour: the *Lacedæmonians* then marched

¹ PAUSAN. in Messen. JUSTIN. l. iii. c. 4.
apophthegm. Laconic.

^m PLUTAR. in

Battle between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians.

The Spartans alter their method of carrying on the war.

towards the enemy, in battalia; *Theopompus* commanding the right wing, and *Polydorus* the left. The *Messenians* disposed their army so as best to oppose the *Spartans*, *Antander* and their king *Euphaes* commanding their left, and *Pytharatas* their right. The engagement was very obstinate, the centre in both armies remaining firm; the right wing of the *Spartan* army was routed by *Euphaes*, as was the right wing of the *Messenian* army by *Polydorus*, *Pytharatas* their general being slain. These advantages, however, were so inconsiderable, that neither party durst pursue the other; and the next day a truce was agreed to, that both sides might have leisure to withdraw, and bury their dead: after which, the *Spartans*, notwithstanding the instructions they had received, thought fit to return home, the conquest of *Messenia* appearing, by this time, a thing impracticable for the presentⁿ. The reader will observe, that we have ascribed this war to motives of interest, which, at first sight, may seem to clash with what the historians, whom we have mentioned, have said about it: but that the fact was so, putting all circumstances together, is indubitably true; nay, *Polydorus* the *Spartan* king openly professed as much when he went to this war; for some of the *Messenians* having demanded of him, *If he would fight against his brethren*, alluding to their and the *Lacedæmonians* descent from the same parents, the king readily answered, *No; but I will put in my claim to an estate, to which, as yet, nobody has any good title*^o. The great resistance the *Messenians* made, on this second invasion, determined the *Spartans* not to carry on the war any longer in the same manner, but to content themselves with harassing and plundering the country, whereby the spirits of their own troops would be kept up, and the *Messenians* worn out, and destroyed; for in this lay the great advantage of the *Spartans*, that war was their business, in which if they were not engaged, they were idle; whereas the *Messenians*, having their country affairs to mind, were beggared and destroyed by being thus obliged to keep many garisons, besides a standing body of troops in the field. To add to these misfortunes, which were already almost insupportable, a distemper raged in *Messenia*, which differed little from the plague, except that it did not sweep off such numbers. These misfortunes produced a long and serious consultation among the chief persons in the kingdom, who, at length, came to a resolution to abandon such villages and little towns as were least capable of defence, and to fortify a city which stood on the top of the mountain *Ithome*, to which the inhabitants of the demolished places might repair: from this they promised them-

ⁿ PAUSAN. ubi supra.

^o PLUT. in apophthegm. Lacon.

selves two things; first, that they should be released from the expence of garisons; secondly, that, in time of distress, this might be made a place of certain safety ².

THE Spartans were, about this time, called off from the *The Ar-Messenian* war, to engage with the *Argives*. The dispute was give or about the city *Thyrea*, and its district, which, lying on the bor- Thyrean ders of *Argolis* and *Laconia*, had been an old bone of contention war. between those states ¹. To avoid a great effusion of blood, it was by both parties agreed, that three hundred *Argives*, and as many *Lacedæmonians*, should decide the quarrel between the nations, the armies on both sides retiring. In consequence of this agreement, these six hundred men engaged, and fought with such obstinate resolution, that when night came on, there were but two *Argives*, viz. *Alcinor* and *Chromius*, and one *Spartan*, whose name was *Othryades*, left alive. The *Argives* ran home to their city, to carry the news of the victory. *Othryades* remained in the field of battle, and erected a trophy: hence a new dispute commenced, both parties claiming the victory; the *Argives*, because two of their men were left; the *Spartans*, because the *Argives* fled, and left *Othryades* in possession of the field of battle. This produced a new war, in which the *Lacedæmonians* were victors, a great battle having been fought between their army, under the command of *Polydorus*, and that of the *Argives*, with a mighty slaughter of the latter. Some would have persuaded the *Spartan* king to have pursued this victory, and to have attacked *Argos* itself; but he answered with a generosity becoming his character, that the *Spartans* sent him to assert their rights, but not to rob others ³. Thus ended the *Argive* war, some circumstances of which are variously reported (C). Let us now return to the affairs of the *Messenians*, after their fortifying *Ithome*.

THE

¹ PAUSAN. ubi supra. ² HEROD. lib. i. PAUSAN. in Argol.
³ SUIDAS in voce Οθρυάδης. PAUSAN. in Lacon. PLUT. in apophthegm. Lacon.

(C) In the lesser treatise of parallels between the Greeks and Romans, generally ascribed to Plutarch, the above-mentioned fact stands thus: "The *Argives* and *Lacedæmonians* being engaged in a dispute about the city and district of *Thyrea*, the *amphictyons* decreed, that it should be decided by combat. The *Lacedæmonians* chose for their captain *Othryades*; the *Argives* *Thersander*; the battle being over, there remained only two *Argives*, whose names were *Agenor* and *Chromius*, who ran scrait to the city to carry the news of their victory. In the mean time, while all was quiet, *Othryades*, who was not quite dead, rose from the ground; and, having

The mea-
sures taken
in this
space by
the Messe-
nians.

THE desire of freeing themselves from this grievous war with *Sparta* engaged them to send a person to consult the oracle at *Delphi*. The name of this man was *Tisis*, who, on his return, was attacked by some of the *Lacedæmonian* garison in *Amphæa*, from whom, however, he escaped, though grievously wounded; of which wounds, having first revealed the oracle to the king, he died. The purport of it was, that, unless a virgin of the house of the *Æpytidæ*, that is, the royal family, was sacrificed to the gods, the war would end in the ruin of their nation. This oracle, when reported, struck the *Messenians*, and especially the royal family, with the utmost terror. Lots, however, were cast, and the daughter of *Lyciscus* taken; but, when she should have been sacrificed, *Epebolus* the soothsayer declared that she was not *Lyciscus*'s daughter, but imposed upon him by his wife, who thereby sought to escape the imputation of barrenness. While the soothsayer was setting forth this matter to the people, *Lyciscus* withdrew his daughter, and fled with her to *Sparta*. Upon this, *Aristodemus*, one of the royal house, freely offered his daughter. A young man, who was present, alleged, that he was contracted to her, and that therefore her father had no right over her; which plea being over-ruled, he set up another, that he had consummated his marriage; and that she was actually with child by him. *Aristodemus*, conceiving this to be a dishonour to his family, slew his daughter instantly with his own hand; after which, opening her womb, he shewed it to the people. The soothsayer insisted, that another should be sacrificed, the daughter of *Aristodemus* having rather died by the passion of her father, than as a victim; but all the family of the *Æpytidæ* joined with the king, who persuaded the people, that the oracle was fulfilled by the death of *Aristodemus*'s daughter. Public rejoicings therefore were made, and the *Messenians* concluded, that, whenever the war should be renewed, they would be victors.

PAUSAN. in Messen.

“ propped himself up with two
“ pieces of broken lances, he
“ drew together as many shields
“ as lay within his reach, and,
“ piling them up, wrote on the
“ uppermost, with his own blood,
“ these words: To Jupiter the
“ conqueror, guardian of trophies.
“ This creating a new dispute,

“ which was again brought be-
“ fore the *amphictyons*, they went
“ to take a view of the place;
“ and, having thoroughly ex-
“ amined all things, decreed
“ in favour of the *Spartans*.
“ This is recorded by *Chryser-*
“ *mus*, in the third book of his
“ *Peloponnesian history* (18).”

(18) *Plutarch*, in parallel. p. 606.

SIX

SIX years after the flight of *Lyciscus*, and eight from the fortifying of *Ithome*, the *Lacedæmonians* entered *Messenia* again with a great army. The *Messenians* might undoubtedly have received great assistance from their neighbours, if they had carried on the war as they were wont, that is, defensively; but they, confiding in the oracle, were eager for an engagement; which, suiting the *Spartan* method of making war, quickly fell out. This battle, like the former, though obstinately fought, was not decisive, the night parting them. *Euphaes*, however, venturing too far against *Theopompus* the *Spartan* king, was mortally wounded, and fell down. This, far from checking the spirit of the *Messenians*, made them more eager; insomuch that a warm contest began about carrying off the expiring king; in which the *Messenians* prevailed, though with the loss of *Antander*, one of their best captains. *Euphaes*, being carried back to *Ithome*, died in a few days, after a reign of thirteen years, which had been one continual scene of war and confusion. *Euphaes* leaving no issue behind him, the people claimed a right of electing out of the royal family; whereupon *Cleonnis*, *Damis*, and *Aristodemus*, put in their claims. The people elected the last, notwithstanding the soothsayers alleging he was incapable, on account of his having slain his daughter. This new monarch was no sooner seated on his throne, than he began to negotiate with the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, in order to draw them to his assistance against the *Lacedæmonians*; wherein he was very successful, almost all the *Peloponnesians* beginning to be apprehensive of the mighty power, and warlike genius, of that nation. At the same time *Aristodemus* laboured incessantly to unite the minds of his countrymen, and to engage them to behave bravely in a war, which so nearly concerned them, and on the event of which it depended, whether, for the future, they should be freemen or slaves. With this view, he showered his favours upon all; he raised his competitors to the chief dignities in the kingdom; he conferred honours on men of birth and fortune, and distributed money amongst the people. Such was the beginning of *Aristodemus*'s reign, who was an avowed and most dangerous enemy to the *Spartans*.

ABOUT this time, as the best authors agree, a great change was made in the *Spartan* republic, which is ascribed to *Theopompus*, who, seeing the necessity of leaving magistrates to execute the laws, when the kings were obliged to be in the field, appointed the *ephori*, who afterwards made so great a figure in the *Spartan* state^u. Some think, that they were at

^t PAUSAN. in Lacon. & Messen. ^u ARIST. polit. l. v. c. 11.
PLUT. in vit. Cleom. VALER. MAX. l. iv.

first the kings friends, to whom they delegated authority; which is very probable: but they soon grew to have no dependence on the kings, but, on the contrary, made the kings dependent upon them. They were five in number, chosen by the people out of their own body, sometimes out of the very dregs of it; for whoever was a bold, factious, talking citizen, was most likely to be elected into this office. They were in fact a kind of tribunes of the people, and placed as checks on the senate and kings. They were annually elected, and, in order to effect any thing, the unanimous voice of the college was requisite. As to their authority, it was, in a manner, boundless; they presided in popular assemblies, collected their suffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces that should be raised, appointed the funds to maintain them, and distributed rewards and punishments in the name of the state. They likewise held a court of justice, inquired into the conduct of all magistrates, inspected into the behaviour and education of youth, had a particular jurisdiction over the *Helotes*, and, in short, by degrees, drew the whole administration into their own hands. This *Theopompus's* queen is said to have conjectured on their first appointment; which made her reproach her husband with suffering the regal authority to descend to his children mutilated, and in a worse condition than he received it from his ancestors. *Theopompus* answered her with great prudence, that, far from having lessened or injured the regal authority, he had strengthened and secured it; because the people, being satisfied by this institution, would have less inclination to run into tumults and seditions, in which princes are never safe^z. One great privilege of the ephori was, that they did not rise up at the presence of the kings, as all other magistrates did^y; another, that, from the first electing of these magistrates, the year was denominated, as at *Athens* from the first of the archons^x: the third high mark of their authority was, that, if the kings offended against the laws, or were guilty of any excess, the ephori took cognisance thereof, and punished them^a. Some disputes there are as to the nature and extent of this office, which will be discussed in the note (D). But it is now time to resume the thread of our history.

THE

^x ARIST. polit. l. ii. PLUT. in vit. Agesil. PLAT. de legib. l. iii. POLYB. l. iv. ^y XENOPH. de repub. Lacedæmon. ^z PAUSAN. Lacon. ^a PLUT. institut. Lacedæmon.

(D) We have, in the text, *ephor*i under the reign of *Theopompus*; though it must be owned, that

THE administration of affairs at home being thus provided *The Spar-*
 for, the Spartan kings renewed the *Messenian* war; and, hav- *tans again*
 ing invade *Messenia*.

that not only *Herodotus*, in his history (19), but *Xenophon* also, treating expressly of the republic of *Lacedæmon*, ascribe the settling the *ephor*i to *Lycurgus* (20). It is fit therefore, that we give our reasons why we have rejected these authorities, which certainly would be admitted in any other case, and have placed the *ephor*i an hundred and thirty years lower than *Lycurgus*. First, then, we think that the nature of this office very little agrees with that legislator's scheme of government, since he seems to have fought, as far as in him lay, to support the authority of the kings and nobility; otherwise, why did he institute the senate? or why did he leave to the people, in their general assembly, nothing more than a negative voice? We admit that these arguments would be of no weight at all against such authorities as *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*, if there had not been writers of no less character on the other side. For, secondly, *Aristotle* is express in placing their institution lower (21). *Plutarch*, in his life of *Cleomenes*, introduces that prince, assigning them the same institution which we have done; besides, *Theopompus*'s answer to his queen is recorded by authors of the best credit (22). So that, on the whole, it is by far more probable, that this office began under the reign of *Theopompus*, and his colleague, rather than under that of *Charilaus*. Undoubtedly their power grew by very slow degrees; so that, at their first institution, they were far from having that authority, which, in after-times, they exercised with so high a hand. Some have imagined, that they were at first appointed by the kings at their pleasure; but that afterwards the people got the power of electing them into their hands: nay, those who have this notion have assigned the time, *viz.* in the fifty-fifth Olympiad, when *Cbilo* was the first of the *ephor*i, that is, the *epinomos*, or him from whom the year took its name; but as there is no authority of any antient author offered in support of this notion, and as it is founded only on the supposed sense of a passage in *Diogenes Laertius*, it is sufficient, that we have mentioned it; nor are we bound to refute it. It is true, that *Cleomenes*, in his speech recorded by *Plutarch*, alleges the same thing, that they were originally appointed by the kings; though he does not assign the time when their election was vested in the people, which yet it would have been natural for him to have done, if that time had been exactly known: the truth seems to be, that the election was always in the people; but that king *Theopompus* first devised this expedient of creating *ephor*i for the preservation of the public peace; nor are we to regard what *Cleomenes* says, as the opinion of *Plutarch*, or as an authority indubitable in all its circumstances; for he delivered

(19) *Herod.* l. i. c. 65. (20) *Xenophon de repub. Lacedæmon.* (21) *Arist.*
polit. l. v. (22) *Arist.* ubi supra, *Plutarch.* in vit. *Lycurg.* *Valer. Max.* l. iv.

Year of the flood 1625. Bef. Chr. 723. ing engaged the *Corinthians* to lend them some assistance, they marched with a great army towards *Ithome*. *Aristodemus*, like a great captain, disposed his own forces, and those of his confederates, in the best manner possible: himself, and *Cleonnis*, commanded the heavy-armed forces, those who were light-armed being committed to the care of *Damis*; the *Argives* and *Sicyonians* he opposed to the *Corinthians*; and the choicest of the *Arcadian* troops, with the flower of the *Messenian* infantry, he ranged against the *Lacedæmonians*; the light-armed soldiers were posted behind the hill: and, all things thus disposed, the battle began, with great vigour, on both sides. The *Lacedæmonians*, though hard pressed, stood firmly in their posts, and the *Corinthians* behaved very bravely for a long time; but when, on a signal given, the light-armed forces commanded by *Damis* took them in flank, and, by a shower of missive weapons, destroyed a great many men, they were, at last, constrained to betake themselves to flight, with very considerable loss, though the number be not ascertained. The *Spartans* were exceedingly afflicted at this miscarriage, and the *Corinthians* greatly distressed; for they knew not which way to retreat, having, on every side, an enemy's country to pass through before they could reach home^b. The *Lacedæmonians* continued the war, and sent deputies to consult the oracle at *Delphi*, on its event; the *Messenians* did so too: to the former, the oracle answered to this purpose; *By fraud (i. e. of Cresphontes) Messenia was obtained, and by fraud it must be subdued.* To the latter the oracle also gave an answer, but so perplexed and obscure, that nobody either could explain it, or pretended to explain it. The *Spartans*, in pursuance of their response, contrived many stratagems, and at last fixed upon this: they pretended to condemn an hundred men for treason, secretly instructing them to fly to *Ithome*, as suppliants;

The Spar-
tans de-
feated.

Both par-
ties consult
the oracle
of Delphi,
and the
oracle's
answer.

^b PAUSAN. Messen.

this discourse to the people, after he had taken away the *ephori*; and therefore it is to be presumed he would say any thing which might serve to colour his designs: but we find it elsewhere recorded by the same author, that the *ephori* gave this account of the institution of this office; that they were intended to be arbitrators between the kings, when their disputes were likely to

prove fatal to the state (23). We shall hereafter have occasion frequently to mention the conduct of these magistrates, and the methods they took to enlarge their authority; at present we have done all that was necessary in producing the reasons which have engaged us to believe, that the *ephori* were set up under the reign of *Theopompus*, but were always elected by the people.

(23) Plut. in vit. Agid.

from

from whence they might easily give their fellow-citizens notice of all the enemies counsels: in this they followed the example of *Ulysses*, but not with the like success; for *Aristodemus*, immediately penetrating the fraud, obliged the pretended deserters to return home; and directed them to tell the *Spartans*, *That though their injustice was new, yet their trick was stale* ^c. Some time after, they began to be extremely alarmed by ill omens at *Ithome*: *Aristodemus* himself had ill-boding dreams, wherein his daughter appeared to him, and upbraided him with her death. They had recourse to the old remedy, sending deputies to *Delphi*; and these deputies brought them advice, that whoever first dedicated an hundred tripods, in the temple of *Jupiter*, at *Ithome*, should remain masters of the place. This raised the spirits of the *Messenians* again, who, having no money to make the tripods of brass, immediately fell to cutting them out in wood. The oracle being sent from *Delphi* to *Sparta*, one *Oebalus*, a crafty workman, made an hundred little tripods in clay; and, disguising himself like a fowler, got into *Ithome*; and, having placed them in the temple of *Jupiter*, escaped. The *Messenians* at this were again struck with despair, especially when they found the city invested by a great army from *Sparta*. *Aristodemus* encouraged them a while; but, perceiving all things go ill, and that the city, in spite of all his care, would, at last, fall into the hands of the enemy, he was seized with a deep melancholy; and, going one night to the tomb of his daughter, there laid violent hands on himself ^d. On his demise the *Messenians* did not elect any other king, but chose *Damis* their chief, by the title of general only. He did for them whatever man could do; but, all proving ineffectual, such of the *Messenians* as had any hopes of a good reception, fled into the adjacent countries; the rest, together with the city of *Ithome*, were constrained to submit themselves to the *Spartans*, who treated them with great rigour. *Polyænus* indeed tells us, that *Ithome* was taken by the following stratagem: *Theopompus*, with part of the army, pretended to desert his colleague, actually removing from the camp, and pitching behind the city: the *Messenians* greedily laid hold of this opportunity of falling on *Polydorus*; with whom they were no sooner thoroughly engaged, than *Theopompus*, with his forces, attacked the city, and took it by storm ^e. However this matter happened, *Ithome* was certainly raised by the *Lacedæmonians*; and the *Messenians* who remained in their own country, were tied to these conditions: first, that they should cultivate their lands with all diligence,

Aristodemus lays violent hands on himself.

The Messenians submit to the Spartans.

^c PAUSAN. Lacon. tag. lib. i. c. 15.

^d PAUSAN. Messen. & Lacon.

^e Stra-

and render half their fruits to the *Spartans*: and, secondly, when any of the nobles of *Sparta*, or either of the kings, died, they and their wives were to attend at the funeral procession, in their weeds, on pain of suffering the highest penalties, if they neglected. Besides, the *Spartans* gave away a part of their territories, which bordered on the sea, to the *Asinei*, and another part to the descendents of *Androcles*^f. This was the end of the famous *Messenian* war, which makes such a figure in the *Greek* historians; that is to say, at this time; for we shall see it break out again hereafter, and create new troubles to the *Spartans*.

Sparta
loses both
her kings
after the
Messenian
war.
Their cha-
racters.

SOME time after this war was over, the *Spartans* lost both their kings; whose characters therefore we shall take this opportunity of giving our readers, with all the certainty and impartiality we may. *Theopompus* was a wise and gentle prince, as, in a great measure, appears from an answer he made to the following question; *By what means a monarch might live with the greatest safety?* Let him (answered the king) permit his friends to advise him freely, and be himself always ready to punish the wicked strictly, and with a good will^g. He lost his son *Archidamus* a little before the *Argive* war, which was the reason that the conduct thereof was committed to his colleague. It is very probable, that there were great stirs in *Sparta* during their reigns; for, besides establishing the ephori, these kings had recourse to the contrivance before-mentioned, of substituting a new clause in the *rhētra*, concerning laws, whereby they restrained the power of the people^h. The *Pylians*, having received great favours from this prince, were inclined to pay him excessive honours, which he declined, by this short message; *Moderate honours time increases, but takes the immoderate away*. He died in peace, a natural death, after a long and glorious reignⁱ. *Polydorus* was a prince of the most amiable qualities, brave in war, prudent in peace, mild and just in both: he was prodigiously beloved by his people; yet, in the end, died a violent death; for one *Polemarchus*, a *Spartan* of a considerable family, and who was himself eminent in the state, killed him; for what reason is unknown^k. The *Lacedæmonians*, as a grateful testimony of their just sense of his merit, honoured his memory with a statue; and, which surpassed the usual measure of their favours, ordered his effigies to be engraven on the seal which their public magistrates were to make use of for the future, as if they were desirous of placing the example of this excellent prince continually be-

^f PAUSAN. Lacon.

Lacon.

^h PLUT. in vit. Lycurgi.

^k Idem ibid.

^g PLUT. apophthegm. Lacon. & inst.

ⁱ PAUSAN. Lacon.

fore their eyes; a noble instance, surely, of their gratitude, and his virtues^l.

EURYCRATES succeeded his father *Polydorus*, and *Zeuxi-* Eurycra-
damus, the son of *Archidamus*, his grandfather *Theopompus*. tes and
 These princes reigned with great tranquillity, there happen- Zeuxida-
 ing no foreign war in their time, neither the *Messenians* nor mus.
 the *Argives* having yet recovered spirit enough to begin any
 new disturbances; at home, however, a conspiracy was dis- Year of
 covered, which might have been very prejudicial to the state: the flood
 the accounts we have of it are various, from various authors; 1641.
 but to us it seems reasonable, that the relation of *Ephorus* the Bef. Chr.
 historian should be preferred^m. The *Spartans*, when they 707.
 were engaged in the *Messenian* war, having been ten years ab-
 sent from the city, because of the oath they had made, not to
 return till they had intirely subdued that country, the women
 sent to them, to put them in mind, that, while they were so
 careful to subdue their enemies, they neglected the city; upon
 which they decreed, that such young men amongst them as
 came out of *Sparta* under age, and so were not obliged by the
 oath, should return; and, associating themselves promif-
 cuously with the unmarried women, preserve the city from
 falling to decay. This project being carried into execution,
 such as were born of these young women were stiled *Parthe-* The Par-
niæ, i. e. *sons of virgins*. When the *Lacedæmonians* returned, theniæ.
 after the reduction of *Messenia*, they visibly neglected these
 young men, who, at the same time, found themselves under
 great difficulties, having neither parents to apply to, nor inhe-
 ritage to expect; they, therefore, began to intrigue with the *Plot a-*
Helotes, who were as unhappy as themselves, determining *gainst the*
 to fall upon the citizens at a general assembly, and to open *state.*
 a path to riches and honours with their swords. They
 went so far as to appoint the signal for the attack, which was to
 be the throwing up of a cap; but some of the *Helotes*, dreading
 the consequences, discovered the whole matter; and when the *Their plot*
 time was come for the assembly, in which the conspiracy was *discovered,*
 to be executed, the crier, by command of the ephori, made *and they*
 proclamation, that no man should throw up his cap; whereby *sent into*
 the *Partheniæ* understood, that their design was discovered. Italy.
 The *Lacedæmonians* did not, however, treat them harshly;
 but, weighing the hardships they were under, and considering
 at the same time their numbers, and their intrigues with the
Helotes, they wisely agreed to pass the matter over; and, by
 a public decree, permitted *Phalantus*, who had been the ring-
 leader in this plot, to sail with them over into *Italy*, where

^l PAUSAN. in Lacon. HEROD. hist. l. vii. PLUT. in apophtheg.

^m Apud STRABON. geogr. l. vi. JUSTIN. l. iii. c. 5.

they

they settled themselves in *Tarentum* ⁿ. Such was the issue of a very dangerous business; and which fully proves the shallowness of human policy, which, in this case, was driven to undo what it had before brought to pass; and which, when it was brought to pass, no doubt, was interpreted as an extraordinary stroke of wisdom. Farther particulars of these kings we have none, except a few sayings of *Zeuxidamus*, which are of no great importance ^o.

Anaxander and Anaxidamus.

Year of the flood 1663.
Bef. Chr. 685.

The second Messenian war.

The Spartans defeated.

ANAXANDER succeeded his father *Eurycrates*, as *Anaxidamus* did his father *Zeuxidamus*: in their reign the second *Messenian* war began; for these poor people, having for a long time borne the cruel treatment of their insulting lords, became, at last, unable to sustain it longer. *Aristomenes*, the son of *Nicomedes* of *Andania*, descended of the royal blood, was the chief promoter of this revolt; he was bold, enterprising, intrepid, a man of strong judgment, strict honour, and enthusiastically fond of liberty, and his country. He perceived that the *Argives* and *Arcadians* were friends only by force to the *Spartans*, wanting and wishing an opportunity to revenge the many injuries which had been done them by this haughty nation. To these *Aristomenes* applied; and, receiving an answer more conformable to his wishes than his expectation, he engaged his countrymen unanimously to take up arms, thirty-nine years after the taking of *Ithome*, as *Pausanias* relates, though *Justin* and *Eusebius* allow an interval of eighty years between the first and second *Messenian* war ^p; which is far from being probable, though, as we shall hereafter shew, this variance is not altogether unaccountable. About a year after the revolt began, and before either party had received any auxiliaries, the *Spartans* and *Messenians* met at a village called *Derae*, where an obstinate engagement ensued: *Aristomenes* behaved himself so well therein, that he brought victory to his side; and was conceived to have performed more than mortal achievements: in gratitude therefore, respect being also had to his descent from *Epytus*, his countrymen unanimously saluted him king; which title he modestly waved, alleging, that he took up arms to set them free, and not to make himself great: he consented, however, to accept the title of general, with a power of doing whatsoever he thought requisite for the service of the public. Knowing well the superstition of the age in which he lived, he resolved to intimidate the *Spartans*, by shewing them what he was sure they would take for an ill omen. Disguising himself therefore, he went privately to the

ⁿ STRABO ubi supra. HERACL. de polit. EUSEB. in chron. can.

^o PAUSAN. in Lacon. PLUT. in apophthegm. Lacon. ^p PAUSAN. in Messen. JUSTIN. l. iii. EUSEB. in chron. can.

city, where, in the night, he hung up a shield on the wall of the temple of *Minerva*, with this inscription: *Aristomenes dedicates this, out of the spoils of the Spartans, to the goddess.* It was easily perceived, that this war would be both long and bloody: the *Lacedæmonians* therefore sent deputies to *Delphi*, to inquire of the oracle concerning its event: the answer they brought was, *That it behoved the Spartans to seek a leader from Athens.* The *Athenians*, naturally envious of the *Spartans*, *Tyrtæus* granted their request indeed, but in such a manner as manifested their spite; for they sent them for a general *Tyrtæus*, an Athenian schoolmaster and poet, lame of one foot, and who was suspected to be a little out of his wits. But here their skill failed them; for this captain, notwithstanding his despicable appearance, proved of mighty consequence to *Sparta*, teaching them how to use good, and how to bear up under evil fortune ⁹.

In the mean time, *Aristomenes* had drawn together a mighty army, the *Eleans*, *Argives*, *Sicyonians*, and *Arcadians*, having sent troops to his assistance; the *Spartans* in this, as in the former war, having no ally but *Corinth*. The *Spartan* kings, according to the custom of their city, no sooner took the field, than, notwithstanding their inferiority in number, they offered the enemy battle; which *Aristomenes* readily accepted: it was long, obstinate and bloody; but, in the end, the *Messenians* were victorious, and the *Lacedæmonians* put to flight, with a great slaughter. *Aristomenes* pursued them, notwithstanding ^{The Spartans defeated a-} *Theocles* the soothsayer called him back, perceiving *Castor* and ^{new.}

Pollux in a tree, by which there was a necessity of passing in the pursuit, which he continuing notwithstanding, when he came to that tree, he lost his shield; which gave the *Lacedæmonians* an opportunity of withdrawing, without further loss. It is scarce to be conceived how much the *Spartans* were struck with this defeat: they grew weary of the war, dissatisfied with their kings, diffident of their own power; and, in a word, sunk into a state of general uneasiness, and want of spirit. It was now that the *Athenian* general convinced them, that he was capable of fulfilling all the promises of the oracle; he encouraged them by his poems, he directed them by his counsels, and recruited their broken armies with chosen men from among the *Helotes*; he shewed them the folly of diffidence, and roused them to the practice of those virtues for which *Sparta* had been famous. *Aristomenes*, on the other hand, acted with no less prudence and vigour; he thought it not enough to restore the reputation of the *Messenians*, if he did not also restore their wealth and power: he therefore taught them to act offensively against their enemies; and, entering the territories of

⁹ STRAB. geogr. l. viii.

Pharæ taken from them.

Sparta, he took and plundered *Pharæ*, a considerable borough in *Laconia*, putting all such as made any resistance to the sword, carrying off, at the same time, an immense booty. This, however, was an injury which the *Spartans* could not brook with patience; they therefore sent immediately a body of forces to overtake the *Messenians*; which accordingly they did, but little to their profit; for *Aristomenes* routed these pursuers, and continued to make a mighty slaughter of them, till such time as he was disabled, by having a spear thrust through his thigh, which occasioned his being carried out of the battle^r. His cure, which took up some time, being finished, he resolved to carry the war even to the gates of *Sparta*; and, to that purpose, raised a very great army; but, whether he found his design impracticable, or was really diverted by some dream, he gave out, that *Castor* and *Pollux*, with their sister *Helena*, had appeared to him, and commanded him to desist. A short time after this retreat, going with a small party to make an incursion, and attempting to take prisoners some women, who were celebrating religious rites near *Egila*, a village in *Laconia*, those zealous matrons fell upon him and his soldiers with such fury, that they put them to flight, and took him prisoner: however, he soon afterwards made his escape, and rejoined his forces^s. In the third year of the war, the *Spartans*, with a great force, entered *Messenia*, whither *Aristocrates* king of *Arcadia* was come, with a great body of troops, to the assistance of his allies: *Aristomenes* therefore made no difficulty of fighting when the *Spartans* approached; but they, entering privately into a negotiation with *Aristocrates*, engaged him with bribes and promises to betray his confederates. When therefore the battle began, the deceitful *Arcadian* represented to the forces under his command, the mighty danger they were in, and the great difficulty there would be of retreating into their own country, in case the battle should be lost: he then pretended, that the sacrifices were ominous; and, having terrified his *Arcadians* into that disposition of mind fittest to serve his purpose, he not only drew them off from both wings, but, in his flight, forced through the *Messenian* ranks, and put them too in confusion. *Aristomenes* and his troops, however, drew themselves into close order, that they might defend themselves the best they could: and, indeed, they had need of all their valour and skill; for the *Lacedæmonians*, who expected this event, immediately attacked and surrounded them on all sides. Fortune was, on this occasion, too powerful either for the courage or the conduct of the *Messenians*; so that, notwithstanding their

The *Messenians* overthrown by the treachery of *Aristocrates* king of *Arcadia*.

^r PAUSAN. *Messen.* POLYÆN. *stratag.* l. ii. c. 31. ^s Idem ib.

utmost

utmost efforts, most of their army were cut to pieces, and, amongst them, the chief of their nobility. *Aristomenes*, with the poor remains of his shattered forces, retired as well as he could; and, perceiving that it was now impossible to maintain the war against the *Lacedæmonians* upon equal terms, he exhorted his countrymen to fortify mount *Era*, and to make the best dispositions possible for a long defence. He likewise placed garisons in *Pylus* and *Methone* on the sea-coasts; and to these three places he gathered all the inhabitants, leaving the rest of *Messenia* to the mercy of the *Spartans*. They, on the other hand, looked on the war as now, in a manner, finished; for which reason they divided the lands amongst their citizens, and caused them to be carefully cultivated, while they besieged *Era*. But *Aristomenes* quickly convinced them, that the war was far from being over: he chose out of all the *Messenians* three hundred men, with whom he ravaged all the adjacent country, carried off a prodigious booty, and, when *Messenia* could no longer supply the wants of his garison, penetrated into *Laconia*, and bore away corn, wine, cattle, and whatever else was necessary, to the subsistence of his countrymen shut up in *Era*; so that at last the *Spartans* were constrained to issue a proclamation, forbidding the cultivation, not only of the *Messenian* territory in their hands, but also of *Laconia* in its vicinity; whereby they distressed themselves more than their enemies, inducing at last a famine in *Sparta* itself, which brought with it its usual attendant sedition. Here again all things had gone wrong, if the wisdom of the poet *Tyrtæus* had not supported the *Spartan* courage; nor was it without much difficulty that he influenced them to continue the blockade of *Era*, and to maintain a flying camp for the security of the country.

ARISTOMENES, in spite of all these precautions, committed terrible depredations with his small corps of three hundred men. Amongst other places which he plundered, the city of *Anyclæ* was one, from whence he carried not only a great quantity of riches, but also many carriages laden with provisions. The kings of *Sparta*, lying with their troops in its neighbourhood, as soon as they heard of this expedition, marched after *Aristomenes* with the utmost diligence; and, as the *Messenians* were incumbered with their booty, came up with them before he could reach *Era*. In this situation of things, *Aristomenes*, prompted rather by despair than prudence, disposed his troops in order of battle, and, notwithstanding they were so few, made a long and vigorous resistance against the whole *Lacedæmonian* army. At length, however, num-

The Messenian war continued with vigour.

: PAUSAN. in Messen.

bers

The Messenians
defeated,
and their
general
taken.

He is cruelly
used.
His wonderful
escape.

Seized by
some Cre-
tans, he
kills them,
and makes
his escape.

bers prevailed, the greatest part of the *Messenians* were slain on the spot, and *Aristomenes*, with about fifty of his men, who survived the slaughter, were taken prisoners, that chief having received so many wounds, that he was senseless when they carried him away. The *Lacedæmonians* expressed the loudest joy at the sight of this illustrious captive, who, for so many years, by his single abilities, had enabled his exhausted country to defend itself against the whole force of *Sparta*. When he was recovered of his wounds, they decreed him, and all his fellow-prisoners, to be thrown together into a deep cavern; which was the common punishment of the lowest kind of offenders. This judgment was executed with the utmost severity, excepting that *Aristomenes* had leave to put on his armour. Three days he continued in this dismal place, lying upon, and covered over with, dead bodies. The third day, he was almost famished through want of food, and almost poisoned with the stench of corrupted carcases, when he heard a fox gnawing a body near him. Upon this, he uncovered his face; and, perceiving the fox just by him, he, with one hand, seized one of its hind legs, and, with the other, defended his face, by catching hold of its jaw, when it attempted to bite him. Following, as well as he could, his straggling guide, the fox at last thrust his head into a little hole; and *Aristomenes* then letting go his leg, he soon forced his way through, and opened a passage to the welcome rays of light, from which the noble *Messinian* had been so long debarred. Feeble as he was, *Aristomenes* wrought himself an outlet with his nails; and, travelling by night with all the expedition he could, at length arrived safe at *Era*, to the great joy and amazement of his countrymen. When this news was first blazed abroad, the *Spartans* would have had it pass for a fiction; but *Aristomenes* soon put the truth of it out of doubt, by falling upon the posts of the *Corinthians*, who, as the allies of the *Spartans*, had a considerable body of troops before *Era*. Most of their officers, with a multitude of private men, he slew, pillaged their camp, and, in short, did so much mischief, that the *Spartans*, under the pretence of an approaching festival, agreed to a cessation of arms for forty days, that they might have time to bury their dead. On this occasion, *Aristomenes*, for the second time, celebrated the *hecatomphonia*, or the sacrifice appointed for those, who had killed an hundred of the enemy with their own hands. He had performed the same before and after his second battle, when he lost his shield; and he lived to do it a third time, which must appear wonderful to the reader, when he is informed, that, notwithstanding this truce, certain *Cretan* archers, in the service of the *Spartans*, seized *Aristomenes* as he was walking without the walls, and carried him away prisoner.

prisoner ^u. There were nine of them in all ; two of them immediately flew with the news to *Sparta*, and seven remained to guard their prize, whom they bound, and conducted to a lone cottage, inhabited only by a widow and her daughter. It so fell out, that the young woman dreamt the night before, that she saw a lion without claws, bound, and dragged along by wolves ; and that she having loosed his bonds, and given him claws, he immediately tore the wolves to pieces. As soon as *Aristomenes* came into the cottage, and her mother, who knew him, had told the daughter who he was, she instantly concluded, that her dream was fulfilled ; and therefore plied the *Cretans* with drink, and, when they were asleep, took a poniard from one of them, cut the thongs with which *Aristomenes* was bound, and then put it into his hands. He presently verified her vision, by putting all his guards to death ; and then carried her, and her mother, to *Era*, where, as a reward for her service, he married the young woman to his son *Gorgus*, then about eighteen years of age.

WHEN *Era* had held out near eleven years, it fell into the *Era falls* hands of *Sparta* by an accident : the servant of one *Empiramus*, a *into the* Spartan commander, driving his master's cattle to drink at the *hands of* river *Neda*, met frequently with the wife of a *Messenian*, whom *the Spar-* he engaged in an amour. This woman gave him notice, that *tans*. her husband's house was without the wall ; so that he could come to it without danger, when the good man was abroad ; and she likewise gave him intelligence when her husband was upon duty in the garison. The *Spartan* failed not to come at the time appointed ; but they had not been long in bed before the husband returned ; which put the house into great confusion : the woman, however, secured her gallant, and then let in her husband, whom she received, in appearance, with great joy, inquiring again and again, by what excess of good fortune she was blessed with his return. The innocent *Messenian* told her, that *Aristomenes* being detained in his bed by a wound, the soldiers, knowing that he could not walk the rounds, had a grant to retire to their houses, to avoid the bitter inclemency of the season. The *Spartan* no sooner heard this, than he crept softly out of doors, and hastened away to carry the news to his master. It so happened, that the kings were at this time absent from the camp, and *Empiramus* had the chief command of the army. As soon as he received this information, he ordered his army to begin its march, though it rained excessively, and there was no moonlight. The fellow guided them to the ford, and managed mat-

^u PAUSAN. in Messen. POLYÆN. stratag. l. ii. c. 31. sect. 2.
STEPHAN. in voce *Avδavia*.

ters so well, that they seized all the *Messenian* posts ; yet, after all, they were afraid to engage, darkness, an high wind, heavy rain, together with the dread of *Aristomenes*, keeping them quiet in the places they had seized. As soon as it was light, the attack began ; and *Era* had been quickly taken, if only the men had defended it ; but the women fought with such fury, and, by their mingling in the fray, brought such an accession of numbers, as made the event doubtful. Three days and two nights this desperate engagement lasted : at last, all hopes of preserving the city being lost, *Aristomenes* drew off his wearied troops. Early the fourth morning, he disposed the women and children in the centre, the *Messenian* youth in the front and rear, the less able men in the main body : himself commanded the van ; the rear-guard was brought up by *Gorgus* and *Mantichus*, the former the son of *Aristomenes*, the latter of *Theocles*, a *Messenian* of great merit, who fell with much glory in this attack, fighting valiantly in the cause of his country. When all things were ready, *Aristomenes* caused the last barrier to be thrown open, and, brandishing his spear, marched directly towards the *Spartan* troops, in order to force a passage. *Empiramus*, perceiving his intent, ordered his men to open to the right and left, and fairly gave them a passage ; so that *Aristomenes* marched off in triumph, as it were, to *Arcadia*. It should seem, that, writing, as we do, the history of the *Lacedæmonians*, we should here have done with the *Messenian* captain, the war being now at an end ; but it falls out otherwise ; there is no keeping to the story of *Sparta*, without following this man to his last hour *.

Aristomenes kindly received and supplied by the *Arcadians*.

THE *Arcadians*, when they heard, that *Era* was taken, were very desirous of succouring their old confederates in this deep distress : they therefore intreated their king *Aristocrates* to lead them into *Messenia* ; but he, corrupted by the *Lacedæmonians*, persuaded them that it was too late ; that the *Messenians* were all cut off ; and that such a step would only expose them to the fury of the conquerors. When the thing appeared to be otherwise, and it was known, that *Aristomenes* was on the frontiers of *Arcadia*, they went in crouds to carry him provisions, and to testify their readiness to afford him, and those under his command, all the assistance in their power. *Aristomenes* desired to be heard before a general assembly ; which being accordingly convoked, he there opened one of the boldest and best-laid schemes recorded in history : he said, that he had yet five hundred undaunted soldiers, who, at his command, would undertake any thing ; that it was very probable, most of the *Spartans* were employed in pillaging *Era* ;

* PAUSAN. in Messen. JUSTIN. lib. iii. c. 5.

and that therefore he was determined to march and surprise *Intends to Sparta*; which appeared so feasible, that all the assembly loudly *surprise* commended his great capacity, and unshaken courage. *Aristocrates*, however, took care to betray him, having, by various pretences, retarded the execution of the project. The *Arcadians*, who began to suspect him, waited for, and surprised his messengers as they came back. They took the letters from him, and read them openly in the assembly. The purport of them was, that they acknowledged his great kindness both now and in the battle; and promised, that the *Lacedæmonians* would be grateful. As soon as the letters were read, the *Arcadians* fell to stoning their king, frequently calling upon the *Messenians* to assist them; which, however, they did not, waiting for *Aristomenes's* orders; who, far from triumphing in this spectacle, stood still, with his eyes fixed on the ground, which he wet with his tears, his soul pierced with sorrow to see a crowned head so shamefully and so deservedly put to death. The *Arcadians* afterwards erected a monument over him, with an inscription to perpetuate his infamy. As for the *Messenians* under the command of *Gorgus* and *Mantichus*, they passed over into *Sicily*; where they founded the city of *Messene*, one of the most famous in the island. *Aristomenes* remained, however, in *Greece*, where he married all his daughters, except the youngest, to persons of great rank. A prince of *Rhodes*, inquiring of the oracle at *Delphi* whom he should espouse, that his subjects might be happy under his posterity, was directed to marry the daughter of the most worthy of the *Greeks*; which answer was immediately understood to point at the virgin daughter of *Aristomenes*. Her therefore he demanded, and received, *Aristomenes* accompanying him back to his dominions; where he formed a scheme of uniting the *Lydians* and *Medes* against the *Spartans*, resolving, with this view, to go into *Media*, and to the court of *Sardis*; but, while he meditated these great things, death surprised him, and thereby freed *Lacedæmon* from the most inveterate enemy she ever had. His son-in-law honoured his memory with a most magnificent tomb. And, as for his fame, all historians have shewn the utmost regard in conserving it (E).

MESSENIÆ

PAUSAN. in Messen. POLYB. l. iv. p. 301.

(E) The history of *Aristomenes*, as we have related it from the best authorities among the *Greeks*, though it contains a great many wonderful circumstances, hath not in it, however, any thing absurd or incredible; but it is not to be wondered, that such as prefer the marvelous to consistent history, have laid hold of this great man's character, to give colour to some of their

Messenia MESSENA once more reduced, the Spartans treated the divided by remaining inhabitants with a severity that became proverbial, the Lacedæmonians making them all slaves, and dividing the whole country, excepting the district of *Methone*, which they gave to the *Argives*, among their own citizens; whereby they became much more

their strange stories. *Pliny* has one concerning him, which may perhaps vie with any legend antient or modern: he says that, when he was a third time taken, they were resolved to see wherein he differed from other men; for they could not conceive, that, after so many accidents had befallen him, he could possibly keep up his spirits by the ordinary supplies of nature; they therefore cut open his bosom, and thereby discovered, as they conceived, the cause of this extraordinary courage; and what should this be, but that his heart was hairy! a very probable cause truly (20)! In the beginning of the last *Messenian* war, or rather when *Era* was first besieged, persons were sent to consult the oracle at *Delphi* concerning the event: the answer was very disagreeable, being to this purpose;

*Thy fate, Messene, now is near at hand;
Nor can I longer the decree withstand,
Than till the he-goat from its banks shall try
To taste of Neda's streams, which swiftly fly.*

In the *Greek*, the word translated *he-goat* is *tragos*; and from hence it came to pass, that the *Messenians* were scrupulously careful, that no *he-goat* should come near the river; but, when the fate of *Era* really approached, it appeared that the oracle had been quite misunderstood; for *Theocles*, the soothsayer, observing certain wild fig-trees which grew by the river's side, no longer shooting their leaves upwards as they were wont to do, but bending them down towards the river, recollected, that though the other *Greeks* called this tree *olynthos*, yet the *Messenians* called it *tragos*: he therefore gave notice of this to *Aristomenes*, and told him plainly, that he apprehended the oracle was fulfilled thereby; whereupon *Aristomenes* took a certain sacred depositum, which *Lycus* the son of *Pandion* had foretold should be preserved till the *Messenians* were totally destroyed; this he interred in the most private part of the mountain *Ithome*; in doing which, he hazarded his life, by venturing without the walls of *Era* (21). There is nothing farther which deserves to be added to this note, unless it be the explanation we promised of the different dates assigned to the last *Messenian* war, which is however purely conjectural. It is this, that *Eusebius* did not say, that the second *Messenian* war began eighty years after the first, but that it ended at that time; which is true, if we compute from the first disturbances on account of the death of *Teleclus* (22).

(20) *Plin. hist. nat. l. xi. c. 37.* *Steph. Byzan. in voce 'Ανδανία.* *san. in Messen.*

(22) *Justin. l. iii. c. 4.* *Euseb. chron. canon.*

(21) *Pan-*

formidable than hitherto they had been, and began already to affect the sovereignty of Greece. We find nothing farther which deserves notice recorded of either of the *Lacedæmonian* kings, unless it be a saying of *Anaxander*, of whom it being demanded, why the *Lacedæmonians* kept no money in their exchequer, he answered, *That the keepers thereof might not be tempted to be thieves*^z.

EURYCRATES succeeded his father *Anaxander*, as *Archidamus* did his father *Anaxidamus*. Of their reigns we know nothing more, than that they passed them in peace and quietness; for, though various authors have recorded the names of these princes^a, remembrance of their actions we find none, unless it be the following wise saying of *Eurycrates*, whom *Plutarch* calls *Eucratides*; who, when it was asked him, *Why the ephori sat every day to determine causes about contracts*, answered, *That we may learn to keep our words even with enemies*^b. *Archidamus* was also called *Agasicles*; which is the reason, that *Herodotus*, making use of the *Ionian* dialect, writes his name *Hegisicles*.

EURYCRATES was succeeded by his son *Leo*, and *Archidamus* by his son *Aristo*; princes concerning whom historians are not so silent. *Leo* was a man of great capacity, and very solicitous for the strict execution of justice; for it being demanded of him, *Under what government a man might live safest*, he answered immediately, *Where the inhabitants are neither wealthy nor poor; where integrity is sure to meet with many friends, and fraud with none*. At the *Olympic* games, when every body commended the victors, *How much better*, said he, *would it have been, if these men had laid out the pains they have taken to be swift, in learning to be honest*^c! *Aristo*, his colleague, is remarkable in history for some extraordinary things which fell out in his family: he had two wives; but was so unfortunate as to have children by neither of them, which put him upon taking a third, though the wife of his friend *Agetus*, the most beautiful woman in *Sparta*. In order to obtain her, he contrived this scheme: he took his friend *Agetus* one day in a gay humour, and, having first sworn to give him whatever precious thing he chose belonging to himself, drew from him a like oath; and, when *Agetus* had chosen, the king, in consequence of that oath, demanded his wife. *Agetus* protested, that he did not comprehend his wife to be included in the promise that had passed between them; but *Aristo* insisted, that an oath was to be understood in the sense he who received it

^z *PLUT.* in apophthegm. *Lacon.* *PAUSAN.* in *Lacon.* ^a *HERODOT.* l. i. c. 65. *PAUSAN.* ubi supra. ^b *PLUT.* apophth. *Lacon.* & in apophthegm. reg. ^c *PLUT.* apophth. *Lacon.*

took it. *Agetus* submitted; and the king accordingly took his wife. About seven months after he had taken her, as he sat with the ephori hearing causes, a servant came in great haste to tell him, that the queen was brought to-bed: upon which, telling the months upon his fingers, he dropped some expressions as if he doubted whether the child was his; however, he owned the boy, and called him *Damaratus*^d. During the reigns of *Leo* and *Aristo*, the *Lacedæmonians* were engaged in a war with the *Tegeatæ*, wherein they were successful, as it should seem from *Pausanias*'s account of the matter, though *Herodotus* tells it otherwise^e.

Anaxan-
drides suc-
ceeds his
father
Leo.

ANAXANDRIDES succeeded his father *Leo*, during the lifetime of his colleague *Aristo*. In his time, the body of *Orestes*, or rather his bones, were recovered, and removed. He is reported also to have had two wives, which was a singular thing in *Sparta*, for whom he built separate houses. The reason of it was, that the ephori commanded him to divorce his first wife, because she bore him no children; but he, not being able to bring himself to this, contented himself with taking another wife, by whom he might have children. By her, not long after his marriage, he had *Cleomenes*. His first wife then also conceived, and brought him a child, who was called *Dorieus*. The ephori pretending to make some scruple, whether this was really her child or not, the business was quickly after effectually cleared up, by her bearing *Leonidas* and *Cleombrotus*^f. This king *Anaxandrides* was certainly a very wise man, and had very just notions of government; as, amongst others of his sayings recorded by *Plutarch*, appears from this; that it being demanded of him, *Why the Spartans were so cautious in passing capital judgments; and why, notwithstanding his acquittal, they still demanded a recognisance of a person accused;* he answered, *Because, in capital cases, execution can never be recalled; and, in the other case, they kept that recognisance, that, if it so fell out, that the guilt of the person acquitted should afterwards appear, he might be liable to a juster judgment*^g. *Aristo* was also a prince of great worth and probity, and, in consequence thereof, mightily beloved by his people. In the reigns of these princes, *Cræsus* king of *Lydia* was vanquished, taken prisoner, and an end put to his kingdom, by *Cyrus*. He was, during his prosperity, a great lover of the *Greeks*, and particularly of the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom he had frequent intercourse, and with whom he endeavoured to make a league, in obedience to the command of the oracle, which directed

^d PAUSAN. in Lacon. HEROD. l. vi. c. 62. PLUT. ubi supra.

^e Lib. i. c. 66.

^f PAUSAN. in Lacon. HEROD. l. v. c. 39-42.

^g PLUT. apophth. Lacon.

him to ally himself to the chief among the *Greeks*; which he immediately understood of the *Spartans* ^b.

ANAXANDRIDES was succeeded by his son *Cleomenes*, as *The reigns* *Aristo* was by his son *Demaratus*. It was strict regard to hereditary right which induced the *Lacedæmonians* to place *Cleomenes* on the throne; for he was known to be, at certain times, out of his senses: and, when he had them, he was cunning, ambitious, and deceitful, out of measure; whereas his brother *Dorieus* was remarkable for his prudence, the gentleness of his temper, and his skill in the art of war: he was so much disgusted, however, at his brother's being preferred before him, that he demanded leave to lead out a colony; whereby he obtained an honourable excuse for quitting his country ⁱ. In the very beginning of his reign *Cleomenes* engaged in a war with the *Argives*, whom he beat; and, having driven a considerable body of them into a wood, he caused the *Helotes* to set that wood on fire, whereby numbers of them were destroyed. In all his actions he appears to have been a man of a fierce, untractable temper, a great lover of war, in which he sought only victory, without inquiring whether the means by which he sought to obtain it were just or not: yet he had sometimes flights of fancy which had the appearance of a great genius; for example, he was wont to say, that *Homer* was the poet of the *Lacedæmonians*, *Hesiod* of the *Helotes*, because the former made war his subject, and the latter treated of husbandry ^k. He was early suspected of having views not much for the advantage or honour of the state; for, at his return from the war with the *Argives*, he was accused of having let slip manifest opportunities of taking *Argos* itself; but the answers he gave, when the matter came to be heard before the ephori, were so satisfactory, that he was acquitted. He was a great friend to *Clisthenes* the *Athenian*, and his party, at whose request he drove the *Pisistratidæ* out of *Athens*; afterwards he joined with *Isagoras*, whom the *Athenians* had banished, and endeavoured all he could to vest in him the sovereignty of that city; whereby he created great mischiefs to the *Greeks*. The *Corinthians*, who, as we have elsewhere seen, were the fast friends and steady allies of the *Lacedæmonians*, disgusted at the haughty behaviour of *Cleomenes*, and at his wasting the territory of *Eleusina*, without regard either to the laws of God or men, deserted them: *Demaratus* his colleague also, who was a very worthy and excellent person, opposed him; and, while he was gone into *Ægina*, where he pretended to seize the principal persons in the island, under colour that they were in the

^b HEROD. l. i. c. 16, 69. ⁱ HEROD. l. v. c. 42. PAUSAN. ubi supra. ^k PLUT. apophth. Lacon.

Demaratus deposed.

Demaratus retires into Persia, and is received there with great civility.

Persian interest, *Demaratus* accused him to the ephori and the senate, of being an enemy to peace, a disturber of *Greece*, and one who would provoke all the neighbouring states to look with an evil eye on *Sparta*¹. These discourses had at first their effect; but, when *Cleomenes* returned, he found means not only to get himself acquitted, but also his colleague deposed; which he wrought after the following manner: he suggested, that *Demaratus*'s birth was liable to great suspicions, alleging the expression of his father before-mentioned. The *Spartans* sent to the oracle at *Delphi*, in order to have this intricate question decided: *Cleomenes* foresaw this, and therefore took care to corrupt the oracle, whereby he carried his point; for, on the return of the deputies with the response, *Demaratus* was deposed, and *Leotychides* his cousin, the eighth in descent from *Theopompus*, was raised to the regal dignity. Such was the moderation of the deposed king, that, instead of quitting his country, he still endeavoured to render it all the service he could, being content to execute inferior magistracies. But the intemperance of his successor vanquished, at length, his patience; for *Leotychides*, being one day informed, that *Demaratus* was sitting as inspector in the place of public exercise, sent a servant to insult him, by asking him this question, *How he liked his present office, after executing that of king*. To which *Demaratus* fiercely answered, *That himself knew the weight of both, which he who sent him did not; but that this question should either prove the cause of great misery, or of great felicity, to Sparta*. Then, covering his head, he retired to his own house; where, having first sacrificed to *Jupiter*, he then sent for his mother, and earnestly intreated her to tell him the truth as to his birth, whether, as reputed, he was the son of king *Aristo*, or whether, as his enemies suggested, *Agetus* was his father. She having, in the most solemn terms, assured him of his legitimacy, he pretended to take a journey to *Delphi*; but, indeed, resolved to quit *Sparta* for ever, and to retire where he might be absolutely safe: with this view he went first to *Elis*, from thence to *Zacynthus*, and, at length, into *Persia*, where he was received by king *Darius* with the utmost civility, had large revenues assigned him, and was, in every respect, used as a prince^m. In his exile he behaved in a manner suitable to his dignity, and without shewing any rancour against his country: as an instance of the former, it is recorded of him, that when the *Persian* monarch would have punished a nobleman who had revolted, and afterwards, at *Demaratus*'s persuasion, submitted himself to the king, the *Spartan* generously

¹ HEROD. l. vi. c. 51. PAUSAN. Lacon. c. 70. vii. c. 3. PAUSAN. Lacon.

^m HEROD. l. vi.

interposed, addressing the *Persian* king, in these words: *It is dishonourable, O king, not to have had it in thy power to punish him when he was a rebel, and as dishonourable to exert a power of punishing now he is become thy friend*ⁿ. With respect to the latter, when he found, that the *Persian* was determined to make war on *Greece*, we are told he sent the first advice thereof, cut in tables, which he afterwards covered with wax. He was the only king of *Sparta* who was victor in the *Olympic* games: in a word, he was a person of such merit, that none of the *Persians* envied the honours and revenues which he acquired in their country, where his posterity flourished many ages after^o.

Year of
the flood
1863.
Bef. Chr.
485.

LEOTYCHIDES, as he was raised to the kingdom by the craft of *Cleomenes*, so he was intirely governed by him in all that he did: he went with him to *Ægina*, from whence they brought away some of the principal inhabitants prisoners, and left them with the *Athenians*, their mortal enemies; for which he afterwards suffered, though he acted merely by the advice, and under the influenc, of *Cleomenes*. As for that prince, he continued to act as inconsistently as formerly; that is, sometimes with extraordinary virtue, and at other times without the least regard to justice. When *Aristagoras* the *Milesian* tyrant came to *Sparta*, with an intent to persuade *Cleomenes* to make war upon the *Persian* king, he heard his proposals, both as to the method of the war, and the private advantages which might accrue to himself: but he advised his country against the former, and absolutely refused to have any thing to do with the latter; wherein he acted with great penetration as well as integrity; for the same prince, prevailing with the *Athenians*, thereby kindled that war which had well-nigh brought on the total destruction of *Greece*. He likewise resisted all the solicitations of *Mæander* the tyrant of *Samos*, who also would have tempted him with money; and not only so, but complained of him to the ephori, telling them, that if they did not banish this man out of their territories, he would teach the *Lacedæmonians* to be knaves. When by degrees his contrivances against *Demaratus* came to light, and the *Spartans* began to shew some inclination to examine strictly into that matter, he thought it best to fly first into *Thessaly*, and then into *Arcadia*, where he immediately excited new troubles; drawing about him a multitude of *Arcadians*, and endeavouring, by a solemn oath, to bind them to his service. The *Spartans*, knowing well his enterprising genius, and being afraid lest he should excite the *Arcadians* to invade them, called him, and restored him to his dignity: but, a short time

Leotychi-
des suc-
ceeds De-
maratus.

He flies to
Thessaly;
but is re-
called, and
restored to
his dignity.

ⁿ PLUT. apoph. Lacon. ^o HEROD. l. vii. c. 239. PAUSAN. Lac.

after he returned, he fell mad, running people in the face with his sceptre, as he met them in the streets: upon which they were constrained to confine him, and to put him in fetters of wood P. In this condition he was attended by an *Helot*, who was his keeper, from whom, partly by fair means, partly by threats, he obtained a sword, wherewith, beginning at the calf of the leg, he ripped himself up; and, having, at length, cut out his bowels, fell down dead. Many of the *Spartans* imputed this extraordinary fact to his corrupting the oracle of *Delphi*, and thereby procuring the deposition of *Demaratus*; the *Athenians* attributed it to his sacrilege at *Eleusina*; the *Argives* were as positive, that it befel him for burning their sacred grove (F). As for those who were for ascribing his end to natural causes, they alleged, that drinking immoderately with

P PAUSAN. LACON. HEROD. l. v. c. 48, 74, 75.

(F) There is no part of *Cleomenes*'s character more unjustifiable than that which regards the *Argives*, against whom he made war, without observing any laws of honour or justice. The accounts we have of his exploits against this nation are so dissonant, and the circumstances contained in them so incompatible, that it is far from being easy to judge whether the facts mentioned fell out in one and the same war, or in several; and, if the latter be the truth, in what parts of his reign they happened. Without troubling our readers with a nice inquiry into these particulars, we will give them in few words a detail of the principal matters laid to the charge of *Cleomenes*. He is said to have been promised by an oracle, that he should take *Argos*; in confidence of which he marched with his army directly towards the city (23); but between him and it lay a considerable army of the *Argives*, who prepared to defend themselves in the best manner

they might, though under great discouragements from certain responses which they had received, which gave them to apprehend, that they should be overcome by fraud. In order to guard against this, in the most probable manner they could devise, they determined to govern their motions by the enemy's signals, which they esteemed a certain preservative against being surprised (24). But this precaution served only to ruin them; for *Cleomenes*, having intelligence thereof, gave order to his forces to attack the *Argives*, when the signal was made for them to go to dinner. This being exactly followed, the army of *Argos* was intirely defeated; for they, beholding the *Spartan* signal for dinner, went immediately to refresh themselves; but, before they were settled at their meal, the *Spartans* fell upon them, and slaughtered them almost without resistance. Their only refuge in this distress was a thick wood in their rear, into

(23) Herodot. hist. l. vi. c. 76--8c. Pausan. Argol.

(24) Herod. ubi supra.

which

with the *Scythian* ambassadors, his drunkenness issued in madness ⁹. He left behind him a daughter named *Gorgo*, one of the most celebrated women of her time. The inhabitants of *Ægina*, upon his death, applied themselves to the *Spartans*, complaining loudly against *Leotychides*, for that he, in conjunction with *Cleomenes*, had been concerned in carrying off the principal men of their island, and putting them into the hands of the *Athenians*. The *Spartans*, who, as a nation, piqued them-

⁹ PAUSAN. ubi supra. HEROD. ubi supra.

which they retired with all the expedition possible. *Cleomenes* instantly devised a new stratagem for destroying them there. He caused some who were well acquainted with the *Argives* to call them by name, and promise them quarter; yet, as fast as they came out, he ordered them to be slain. Thus he cut off fifty, those in the grove, because of the thickness of the trees, perceiving nothing of what passed without. At length an *Argive*, getting upon an high tree, discovered from thence what was doing. The *Lacedæmonians* then called in vain; no more of the *Argives* ventured out, which put *Cleomenes* on a more cruel expedient: he caused his *Helotes* to surround the grove with brush-wood, and other combustible matter; and then setting it on fire, burned all the unhappy wretches. He then inquired to whom the grove was dedicated? To *Argos*, replied a priest. *Alas!* cried *Cleomenes*, *This oracle has deceived me; this is all the Argos I shall take.* He afterwards sacrificed, by force, on the altar of *Diana*, and caused the priest, who would have hindered him, to be chastised. The sacrifices, as some say, proving

unlucky, he desisted; and was accused at his return for not taking *Argos*, but, on hearing his defence, acquitted (25). The general opinion is, that he actually attacked the city with his colleague *Demaratus*, but was constrained to retire by the following means: There was in that city a lady named *Telissilla*, who, being of a very weak constitution, was directed by the oracle to addict herself to the muses. In consequence of this response, she studied poetry with such success, that though, on the approach of the *Lacedæmonians*, there were none but women in the city, she inspired them with such resolution, that they shut the gates, took arms, and forced *Demaratus*, who was already in the suburbs, to retire; as also *Cleomenes* himself, and his army. In memory of this extraordinary event, an anniversary solemnity grew into use at *Argos*, in which women went about in mens cloaths, and men put on womens habits (26). It is agreed by all the antient writers, that *Cleomenes* laughed at and despised oracles; the reason is clear, because he had corrupted them (27).

(25) *Plut. apophthegm. Lacon.*
I. viii. c. 33. *Plut. de virtut. mulier.*

(26) *Herodot. ubi supra. Polyæn. stratag.*

(27) *Plut. apophth. Lacon.*

selves much upon their justice, disclaimed the whole of this proceeding; and offered the inhabitants of *Ægina* to deliver up *Leotychides* into their hands: but the deputies of that island wisely declined carrying the king of *Sparta* away; they contented themselves therefore with desiring he might go with them to *Athens*, there to use his utmost endeavours to rectify the mischief he had done them, by procuring their hostages to be delivered up; which accordingly he did: but his and their applications being fruitless, they suffered him to return again to *Sparta*, where he still retained the regal dignity, though he never reigned in the hearts of the people, who, as it is their custom, regretted their absent prince, and were angry with the work of their own hands; the consequences of all this we shall hereafter have occasion to explain^r. Let us, in the mean time, pass to the story of his colleague.

Leonidas
succeeds
Cleome-
nes.

The Spar-
tans re-
solve to
oppose the
Persians,

LEONIDAS, the son of *Anaxandrides*, half-brother to *Cleomenes*, succeeded him in the kingdom, and married his daughter *Gorgo*. He was a prince of great moderation, and of a valour superior to most men of his age: some of the *Spartans*, however, who disliked his family, could not help speaking disrespectfully to him; one of them particularly, told him to his face, *That, except being a king, he was no better than they*. To which, *Leonidas* smiling, answered, *If I had not been better than you, I had not been a king*^s. When *Miltiades* the *Athenian* fought the famous battle of *Marathon*, the *Spartans* had promised an army, but had sent none; they arrived a little after the battle, went to the spot where it was fought, where having considered attentively the prodigious difficulties the *Athenians* had overcome, after highly commending them, they returned home again to *Sparta*. When, as the wisest of the *Greeks* had foreseen, this battle at *Marathon* only excited the *Persians* to attempt again the conquest of *Greece*, the *Spartans*, with a resolution worthy of the disciples of *Lycurgus*, determined to oppose them. *Demaratus* their king was constrained to accompany *Xerxes* in this expedition, though, in respect to his country, he had sent early notice thereof to *Gorgo* the wife of *Leonidas*, and the daughter of his greatest enemy. When it was apparent, that *Xerxes* would enter *Greece* in person with a prodigious army, a general assembly was held at the isthmus, the resolutions of which were these: *That the states of Greece should unanimously join in defending its liberty against the Persians; that, for the present, all their quarrels amongst themselves should be suspended; that the tenth of the spoil should be dedicated to Apollo; and that, of those who deserted the common cause, a decimation should be made; that is, a*

○ ^r PAUSAN. & HERODOT. ubi supra. ^s PLUT. in apophtheg.
tenth

tenth part should be put to death without mercy ¹. Warm and generous resolutions, if the same spirit had accompanied them in the execution ; but, alas ! when words were to be changed into deeds, of all the confederates, the *Spartans* and *Athenians* only seemed ready to do any thing. The *Thessalians* were the first who were to feel the weight of *Xerxes*, and his myriads ; they therefore sent to the *Greeks*, to beseech them to quicken their preparations, or not to blame them if they submitted to an enemy they could not resist. Upon this, ten thousand men were sent by sea to *Thessaly*, under the command of *Evenetus* a *Spartan*, and *Themistocles* the *Athenian* : but, when they came thither, they were convinced, that this measure would prove ineffectual ; for, in a plain country, as *Thessaly* is, there could be no hopes of opposing such multitudes of men with a few, especially when it was known, that many of the *Thessalian* princes could not be depended on ; and that many of the passages into *Thessaly* were in the power of *Alexander* king of *Macedon* : the army therefore returned, without doing any thing. At the next general council, however, it was resolved ^{and to de-} to defend the streights of *Thermopylæ* ; in pursuance of which ^{send the} resolution six thousand foot were appointed for that service, ^{streights of} and the command of them given to *Leonidas* ². Of these three *Thermo-* hundred only were *Spartans*, according to the direction of the *pylæ*. king ; and when some principal persons demanded of him, whether he had not a secret design in his head, he answered frankly, *I pretend to defend the streights of Thermopylæ ; but, in truth, I go to die for my country* : and, when they still wondered at the small number of men he took with him, he, turning to those to whom he had communicated his secret, said, *The intrepidity of* ^{Leonidas.} *There are enow, considering the design we go upon*. When he took his leave of his wife, she asked him, if he had nothing particular to say to her (G) : *Marry some brave man*, said he, *and*

¹ HERODOT. l. vii. c. 177. DIOD. SIC. l. xi. ² PAUSAN. in Lacon. HEROD. ubi supra.

(G) The character of *Gorgo*, the daughter of *Cleomenes*, and wife of *Leonidas*, deserves to be particularly considered. *Plutarch*, who was so fond of the *Lacedæmonians*, besides his institutes, wrote also a particular treatise of the women, which was indeed extraordinary ; and the reason of it was, because the *Spartan* dames were of a very masculine disposition, and spoke and acted with a freedom denied to their sex every-where else. *Gorgo*, who is the subject of this note, makes a very considerable figure in that treatise : we have already given a remarkable history recorded of her by *Herodotus* (1) ; to which we shall add here what we read

(1) See vol. v. p. 213, 214, in the notes.

and bring him brave children^x. But of this memorable action we have spoken at length elsewhere^y. *Leonidas* not only repulsed the *Persians*, with great slaughter, at the streights of *Thermopylæ*; but, being informed that they had marched round the mountain, and were advancing to fall on his rear, he resolved not to wait their attack, but to go and find them out: yet, looking on his *Spartans*, and observing some striplings who had scarce attained the age of men, his heart relented: calling them therefore to him, one by one, he pretended to send by each of them a billet to the ephori: he would have afterwards done the same thing, in favour of some persons of extraordinary merit; but they, penetrating his design, refused to obey him, one of them answering, *Sir, I came to serve you as a soldier, not as a courier*. Another, *Let us fight first, sir, and then I will carry your account of the battle*. Having made the proper dispositions, he passed the streights, and fell upon the enemy: he, and all his *Spartans*, were slain, together with the *Thespians*; but the *Thebans*, holding up their targets, cried out for quarter, which was given only to a few, and they were stigmatized. This victory, if we must call it so, cost the *Persians* twenty thousand men. The body of *Leonidas* being found, *Xerxes* ordered it to be nailed to a cross; an action which reflected dishonour upon himself, and could do no hurt to a dead body. As to the fame of *Leonidas*, it was out of the reach of *Xerxes*, and hath remained still fresh three thousand

Leonidas
and all the
Spartans
slain.

^x PLUT. in apophthegm. Lacon. ^y Vol. v. p. 236, & seqq.

of her in *Plutarch*: that writer tells us, that when she saw *Aristagoras* suffer his man to put on his shoes, she cried out in amazement, *Father! father! see this stranger! has he no hands?* At another time, when a soft and delicate foreigner was about to have paid his compliments to her, she put him away with her hand, adding, *Stand by, poor creature; thou hast not so much of a man in thee as a woman* (29). As the last and most noble commendation recorded of her, let us remark, that *Demaratus*, though she was the daugh-

ter of his deadly enemy, trusted her rather than any of the *Greeks* with the intelligence he sent concerning the motion of the *Barbarians*; or, if we take this as *Herodotus* does, it may be placed in a stronger light; for he says, that a slave from *Demaratus* brought a waxen tablet to *Sparta*, with nothing written on it; and, when the *Spartans* knew not what to make of this, *Gorgo* immediately bid them scrape off the wax; whereupon they found *Demaratus's* letter cut on the wood underneath (30).

(29) Plut. in apophthegm. mulier. Lacon.

(30) Herodot. l. vii. c. 239.

years after his decease (H). The *Persian*, after this, consulted *Demaratus* again, adjuring him, by the kindness he had shewn

(H) The action at *Thermopylæ* makes so great a figure in history, and so justly, at the same time that it so nearly concerns the *Lacedæmonian* history, that it would be unpardonable in us not to give such particulars thereof as may serve to set it in the clearest light, and do honour to that nation of whose affairs we are treating. In the first place, let us remark, that *Leonidas* acted all along with great equality of mind, a philosophic courage, and the true spirit of a patriot. He went in the common cause of *Greece*, to give a check to the *Persians* at their first entrance, that thereby the numerous army of *Xerxes* might receive a taste of the opposition it was to meet with; and the king, if he were not headstrong and irreprehensible, have an opportunity given him of retiring in time, before multitudes of his men were cut off, and the strength of *Asia* wasted to no purpose. In fighting at *Thermopylæ*, *Leonidas* made use at first of all the advantages of ground afforded him by his own situation, and that of the enemy. He drew up his troops in the narrowest part of the passage, and, when he retired from the field of battle, he disposed his battalions in such a manner, that they readily wheeled about, and received the enemy, who attempted to harass them, in such a manner, that there were more slain in the retreat than in the fight. If *Epbialtes* had not led the Barbarians round the mountains, *Leonidas* would have carried his first point, that is, he would have constrained *Xerxes* to retire (31). But when the augur *Megistias*, upon inspecting the sacrifices, declared, that all the *Grecians* were threatened with death; and when this declaration was backed by intelligence, that the enemy were actually passing the mountains; *Leonidas* put in practice his second resolution, which was the devoting his *Spartans* and himself to death for the safety of *Greece* in general, and of *Sparta* in particular (32). This resolution was founded upon two reasons; the first, that the streights of *Thermopylæ* ought not absolutely to be abandoned, but sold to the enemy as dear as might be; the second rested it upon this oracle which the *Lacedæmonians* had received:

*Thy plains, O Sparta, Persian rage shall feel;
Thy sons shall slaughter'd fall by foreign steel,
Unless a king of the Herculean race,
In war, to save the rest, shall death embrace.*

This prompted *Leonidas* to receive that death which he knew must some time or other happen to him, when it might avert evil from his country: it was to prevent an unnecessary carnage, that *Leonidas* dismissed the greatest part of the allies, and retained with him only fourteen hundred men, viz. three hundred *Spartans*,

(31) *Polyæn. stratag. l. i. c. 32. l. vii. c. 15.*

(32) *Justin. l. ii. c. 11.*

tans,

shewn him, to give his sentiments sincerely as to the method in which it was proper to carry on the war. The *Spartan* thereupon proposed to him seizing the isle of *Cythera*, which lay over-against *Laconia*; and from whence he might have made the *Spartans* so uneasy, as would infallibly hinder their sending assistance to the *Athenians*, or impeding him in his design of penetrating into *Greece*; but *Achæmenes*, the king's brother, being quite of a different opinion, fearing, that if the fleet parted from the land-army, both might be ruined, *Xerxes* preferred his council; and thereby failed in his design^z. The *Grecian* fleet, in the mean time, lay at *Artemisium*, under the command of *Eurybiades*, a *Spartan*, a man of great personal courage, but timorous as a commander, and unexperienced in sea-affairs. But, of the battle fought there between the two fleets, we have given an account in the history of *Persia* (see vol. v. p. 242--244). The first step that was taken afterwards, was to prepare a great fleet, to prosecute this victory, the command of which was given to *Leotychides* king of *Sparta*: but it soon after appeared, that the *Persians* had not totally abandoned their design, *Mardonius* remaining in *Greece*, at the head of a very considerable army, with which he threatened, in the spring, to revisit *Attica*: the *Greeks* therefore found themselves under a necessity of raising a land-army also.

^z HEROD. ubi supra. PAUSAN. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra, & in vit. Themist.

tans, seven hundred *Thespians*, and four hundred *Thebans*; he then advanced without the narrow passage, because he no longer thought of defending his own party, but how he might most injure the enemy; and in that desperate attack he fell. *Xerxes* lost two brothers in this engagement, and an incredible number of troops. On the field of battle there were three monuments raised.

It is alleged, that *Eurytus* and *Aristodemus*, two of the three hundred *Spartans*, being ill of sore eyes, retired to *Alpeni* with the permission of *Leonidas*, and were there in the time of the last battle; on the news of which

Eurytus caused his armour to be put on, and ordered his servant to conduct him directly to the field, where running, blind as he was, into the midst of the enemy, he was suddenly covered with wounds, and fell down dead; but *Aristodemus* returned to *Sparta*, where he met with a very indifferent reception, being treated as a man who had not courage enough to die with his companions: to aggravate their ill usage, they surnamed him the *Fugitive*: he redeemed his credit, however, at the battle of *Plataea*, where having devoted himself to death, he performed such actions as are scarce credible (34).

(34) Herodot. l. vii. c. 231, & l. ix. c. 70. Diodor. Sic. l. xi. Plut. in apophth. Lacon. & in vit. Aristid.

PAUSANIAS, the son of *Cleombrotus*, took upon him the character of tutor or protector to *Plistarchus*, the son of *Leonidas*; and, in right thereof, was the first magistrate in *Sparta*, the other king, as we have said, being absent, having the command of the confederate fleet. In this situation of things, the dilatoriness of popular counsels eminently appeared; for, when the army ought to have been in the field, the *Athenian* ambassadors found the *Lacedæmonians* celebrating the *Hyacinthia*: in vain these ministers represented, that the common cause was neglected; and that the *Athenians* had reason to expect better things, since they had hazarded all for the service of *Greece*; the ephori and senate, confiding mightily in the strong wall, which, by this time, was erected cross the isthmus, thought but little of raising troops, till *Chilæus*, a *Tegetæan*, who had a great reputation amongst them, shewed them how foolish and dishonourable this conduct of theirs was, since it was plain, if the *Athenians* were ruined through their delay, the *Persians*, being masters at sea, might land what forces they would in *Laconia*, and bring the war home to their doors, the wall cross the isthmus being, in such a case, useless ^b. Roused by this representation, they sent five thousand *Spartans*; and, which was an unusual thing with them, gave arms to seven thousand of their *Helotes*, *Pausanias* commanding in chief. This, however, did not hinder *Mardonius* from Mardo- taking *Athens*, or from seeking the *Greek* army, and offering nius at- battle. *Pausanias* had the command in chief of the whole tempts the *Grecian* forces, which were no less than one hundred thousand conquest of men. The *Persians* were certainly double their number; Greece. nay, according to *Diodorus's* account, *Mardonius's* army consisted of five hundred thousand men. When they came into the neighbourhood of *Platæa*, an engagement happened between a great body of *Persian* horse, commanded by *Masistius*, and a corps of *Greeks*, wherein, after a great effusion of blood, the *Persians* were routed, and their commander killed ^c. A general battle being delayed, the *Greek* army suffered much by desertion, as, on the other hand, did the *Persians*, for want of provisions. *Pausanias*, at length, thought fit to decamp, that he might procure his army fresh and more advantageous quarters; in which, however, he was opposed by *Amompharetus*, an old *Spartan* commander, who insisted, that it was derogatory to the *Spartan* honour to retire, in fight of an enemy. *Pausanias*, like a wise man, and a great captain, answered, That marching this way or that, was not dishonourable, when it proceeded from a right motive; but,

^b HEROD. l. ix. c. 9. DIOD. SIC. l. xii. PAUSAN. in Lacon.

^c HEROD. l. ix. c. 224. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PAUSAN. ubi supra.

when he found all his intreaties were in vain, and that *Amompharetus* would not be persuaded, he gave the signal, and immediately the *Lacedæmonian* and *Tegetæan* foot began to move. *Amompharetus*, who was hitherto of opinion, that *Pausanias* would not desert him, when he saw him actually on his march, ordered his standards to be taken up, and moved slowly after him. *Pausanias* kept the high ground; the *Athenians*, who very exactly obeyed his orders, marched in the plain; the rest of the confederates withdrew to the temple of *Juno*, where they were out of reach of the *Persian* cavalry.

AT the temple of *Ceres*, which was on the brow of the hill, *Pausanias* halted, with all his forces, to give *Amompharetus* and his battalion time to come up; but they had hardly rejoined the army, before the vanguard of the *Persian* horse attacked them with great vigour^d. *Mardonius* looked upon this decampment of the *Greek* troops in the same light that *Amompharetus* did, that is, as a plain flight; and therefore was eager not to fight them, but to fall upon the runaways: this eagerness, as far as we can judge at this distance of time, seems to have been the chief cause of his misfortune; for his *Persians* marching hastily, and without order, the rest of the corps, of which his numerous army was composed, did the like; which gave the *Greeks* great advantage. The troops under *Pausanias* did not much exceed fifty thousand men; and on this account it was, that he sent to hasten the *Athenians* in their march. The *Athenians*, who, on this occasion, acted with the utmost generosity, endeavoured, as well as they were able, to fulfil his orders; but were unluckily stopped short by the *Bæotians*, and other *Greeks*, in the service of the *Persians*, who, on this occasion, behaved with amazing courage and intrepidity. The *Lacedæmonians* and *Tegetæans* were forced to engage *Mardonius's* army, without assistance. It is universally acknowledged, that the *Persians* behaved very well on this occasion; but, being neither so well armed, nor so well disciplined, as the *Greeks*, their valour was of no use but to bring them to slaughter; for, as *Herodotus* rightly observes, it was all the same whether one or ten *Persians* broke into the Grecian ranks, since the next line was ready to receive them without confusion or disorder; so that they were presently slain, without effecting any thing, because they charged tumultuously, their commanders having no capacity to direct them, nor they to obey. Their number and their courage, however, kept the battle doubtful as long as *Mardonius* lived, who, mounted on a white horse, and fighting at the head of

The Persians defeated, and Mardonius killed.

^d HERODOT. l. ix. c. 70. PLUT. in vit. Themist. & Arist. DIOD. SIC. l. xi. JUSTIN. l. ii. c. 14. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Pausan.

a thousand men, gave signal demonstrations of a courage deserving a better fate; but, when he was slain, the *Persians* began to break, and to give way, which despirited all the barbarous nations, who now followed the example of their flight, though they had not drawn their swords. The *Athenians* also defeated the *Greeks* who sided with and fought for the *Persians*; so that *Artabazus*, who was next in command to *Mardonius*, and against whose advice these measures were taken, judging all to be lost, retired with forty thousand, and marched with all the expedition he was able back to *Thrace*; the rest of the *Persian* army withdrew as speedily as they could into their camp, where they strengthened the works formerly thrown up, and resolved to defend, to the utmost of their power, these posts, against the victorious *Greeks*. *Pausanias*, coming up with his *Lacedæmonians*, attacked the camp without hesitation, but, at the same time, with little success; for the *Persians*, fighting now not for victory or glory, but their lives, made a most obstinate resistance: besides, they had the same advantage over the *Lacedæmonians* here which the *Lacedæmonians* had over them in the field; for, as we have heretofore observed, the *Spartans* were unaccustomed to such attacks, avoiding, in obedience to the laws of *Lycurgus*, all sieges, as much as in them lay. Yet this state of things lasted but for a small time; for when the *Athenians* came up, who of all the *Greeks* best understood the art of defending or attacking fortifications, they quickly opened a passage to the *Lacedæmonians*; and, when that was once done, a merciless slaughter ensued, since, of three hundred thousand men, whom *Mardonius* brought into the field, scarce three thousand escaped^e. Of the *Greeks*, however, it is uncertain how many there fell: if we believe *Herodotus*, there died of the *Spartans* ninety-one; of the *Tegetæans* sixteen; and of the *Athenians* fifty-two^f. *Plutarch* owns one thousand three hundred and sixty to have fallen^g; but *Diodorus Siculus* is positive, that there were very few less than ten thousand^h. When this bloody engagement was over, the rest of the allies came up to be witnesses, rather than assistants, in gaining the victory; by which behaviour they drew on themselves contempt and scorn.

LAMPON of *Ægina* proposed to *Pausanias*, that the body of *Mardonius* should be carefully searched for, that the indignity offered to his uncle *Leonidas*, by the command of *Xerxes*, might be revenged thereon. To which *Pausanias* answered; “Friend of *Ægina*, I very kindly accept of your good intention, and the respect you express for me and my

The Persian camp forced.

^e HERODOT. l. ix. c. 68—70.
ibid.

^h Idem ibid.

^f Idem ibid.

^g Idem

Pausa-
nias's ge-
nerous be-
haviour.

“ family; but I cannot help telling you, that your zeal hath
“ drawn you to make a very wrong judgment of this matter;
“ for whereas you have highly magnified my actions, the
“ courage of my countrymen, and the action we have this
“ day atchieved, you throw all this down again, by impor-
“ tuning me to insult the dead, and persuading me, that I
“ shall heighten my glory, if I do that which is fitter for bar-
“ barians to do; nay, which we have not spared to reproach
“ even in them: I cannot therefore assent to these notions of
“ the men of *Ægina*, nor to those of any other nation, who
“ delight in such actions, being content to be commended by
“ the *Spartans*, for neither doing nor speaking an unbecom-
“ ing thing. As for *Leonidas*, whose death you would have
“ revenged, I am of opinion, that the innumerable multitude
“ we have slain, have sufficiently repaired the loss of him,
“ and those that fell with him at *Thermopylæ*. Come no
“ more therefore to me with such discourses; offer me no
“ more such counsels; but look upon it as a very great fa-
“ vour, that you have escaped, even now, unpunished.”

When this great captain beheld the magnificent tent, and rich furniture, belonging to *Mardonius*, with the mighty magazines of luxury belonging thereto, he gave orders to the cooks and bakers to prepare him such a supper as they were wont to do for that general: which when they had done, he ordered some of his own servants to dress a *Spartan* meal: this being also done, he sent for the principal officers among the *Greeks*: then pointing to both the suppers, he said, with a smile, *See, gentlemen, the folly of this king of the Medes, who, living in this sumptuous manner at home, would needs come so far to spoil us who fare so hardy.* Part of the prodigious spoils that were taken in the *Persian* camp, the *Helotes*, who were intrusted to collect them, purloined; part were dedicated to the gods, a tenth of all sorts was given to *Pausanias*, and the rest distributed among the *Greeks*. Having thus put an end to the war, *Pausanias* thought next of punishing such as had betrayed the common cause of *Greece*: with this view he marched immediately to *Thebes*, the citizens of which, at first, attempted to make a defence; but, on mature deliberation, they capitulated, and delivered up the chiefs of the *Median* faction who were in their hands. They vainly fancied they might redeem themselves with money; but in this they were greatly mistaken; for *Pausanias*, disdaining their proposal, hurried them away to *Corinth*, and caused them there to be put to death¹.

He pu-
nishes the
Thebans
of the Per-
sian fac-
tion.

¹ HERODOT. ubi supra, c: 77, 78, & 81. PLUT. ubi supra.
CORN. NEPOS, ubi supra.

THE same day that the battle of *Platæa* was fought, *Leotychides* king of *Sparta*, with *Xanthippus* the *Athenian*, gained a glorious victory at *Mycale*, where the last remains of the *Persian* fleet, and of the *Persian* armies, which had been drawn together for the destruction of *Greece*, were utterly defeated. The commanders of the *Persian* fleet greatly discouraged their men, by the pusillanimity of their conduct; for, notwithstanding they had a great number of ships, they ran them all on shore, and sought to shelter themselves under the protection of an army of sixty thousand men, which, under the command of *Tigranes*, had been left to defend *Ionia*. The *Greeks* seeing this, determined to attack them on shore; and *Leotychides*, standing in towards the coast, ordered an herald to make proclamation, when he drew near enough to be heard, in the *Greek* tongue, in these words: “Men of *Ionia*, such among you as my voice reaches, hearken with attention to what I say, the rather because the *Persians* cannot understand me: when the battle begins, every one of you ought, in the first place, to remember liberty; and, in the next, that the word in our army is *Hebe*. Let such as hear me, inform those who hear me not.” This proclamation had a double effect; for it inclined many of the *Ionians* to favour the *Greeks*; and it so frightened the *Persians*, that they knew not whom to trust. The *Persians*, before the battle began, disarmed the *Samians*, having some intelligence, that they had been intriguing with the *Greeks*; but confiding greatly in the *Milesians*, they intrusted them with the custody of the passages through the mountains behind them: these dispositions made, they prepared to defend their fortifications the best they could: yet neither their conduct nor their valour availed much; for the *Greeks* landing, the *Athenians* marched strait forward along the shore, the *Lacedæmonians* took a compass by the hills. The former, after an obstinate resistance, forced the *Persian* camp about the same time that the latter attacked them in the rear: the *Samians*, in the midst of the battle, catching up whatever came to hand, fell upon the *Persians* in their very camp; and the *Milesians*, who were to have guarded the passes, as soon as the *Persians* fled, fell upon them, and either killed them, or made them prisoners*. A very odd circumstance, which, according to the superstition of those times, passed for miraculous, contributed much to the gaining of this victory; it was this: about the time the battle began, a rumour was spread throughout the army, that the barbarians were beaten at *Platæa*; though, as we have observed, that

* HERODOT. l. ix. c. 97, & seqq.

engagement happened in the morning of that day in the evening of which this happened at *Mycale*. But of this strange business, which some modern writers have treated very obscurely, the reader will receive a satisfactory account in the note (I) ¹.

Pausanias
intrigues
with Ar-
tabazus.

PAUSANIAS was afterwards sent to take the command of the fleet, with strict orders to free the *Grecian* cities from the *Persian* garisons. On this design, he sailed with a great fleet

¹ WANLEY's history of man. BEAUCHAMP's essays, c. i. sect. 6.

(I) *Herodotus* is no mighty admirer of *Leotychides* king of *Sparta*; for he expressly gives the preference to the *Athenians*, after them to the *Corinthians*, the *Træzenians*, and the *Sicyonians* (34): yet the truth seems to be, that *Leotychides* behaved with great prudence upon this occasion, as we have said above in the text; and there is one instance of his abilities as a general, which has been little taken notice of, and which it is our duty therefore particularly to mention here: he it was who contrived that miracle, as some called it, of the victory won at *Platæa*: not in consequence of any intelligence (for that was impossible); but, believing it the best way to incline the *Ionians* to favour the *Greeks*, he industriously spread the pretended news; and, at the same time, openly invited the *Ionians* to throw off the yoke, and assert their freedom; whence, as is evident from the account in the text, this victory, in a great measure, proceeded (35). This conduct of his is very reconcilable to one of his sayings recorded by *Plutarch*: A *Spartan*, in good circumstances, asked

one day this prince, *How he might best preserve his happiness?* *Leotychides* answered, *By not trusting all to fortune* (36). It is certain, that *Leotychides* was not a very adventurous admiral, but absolutely refused to accompany *Xanthippus*, when he found the bridges removed, which *Xerxes* had thrown cross the *Hellepont*; but this may be easily accounted for, without derogating at all from the courage, and military capacity, of the king of *Sparta*: the *Athenians*, by nature, and by the constitution of their state, were inclined to maritime affairs, and enabled to obtain the empire of the sea, of which as yet *Sparta* had but little ambition, tho' she possessed it. *Leotychides* therefore did all in his power to serve the common cause, while the united fleet continued together in the *Hellepont*; but when slight descents were proposed, and the pillaging the enemy's coasts and ships, he, whose particular squadron was of no strength, did not think fit to remain long at sea, because, in all probability, he conceived, that nothing could be further done worthy of the *Spartan* name and glory.

(34) *Herodot.* l. ix. c. 101.
Frontin. stratag. l. i. c. 3.

(35) *Polyæn. stratag.* l. i. c. 33. l. vii. c. 45.
(36) *Plutarch. apophthegm. Læcon.*

to *Cyprus*, thence to *Byzantium*, which, according to his instructions, he set at liberty: and this seems to have been the last of his exploits; for, immediately upon this, he fell into a scandalous treaty with the *Persians*, affecting, by the assistance of the great king, to make himself sovereign of *Greece*. That at this time he first entered into these practices, appears from hence: he sent such persons of great quality as he took in *Byzantium* to *Gongylus* of *Eretria*, telling the *Grecian* chiefs, that he reserved them for punishment; whereas he had privately given directions, that they should be sent back in safety to *Xerxes* ^m. As soon as he had conceived these strange notions in his head, he fell into the manners of the *Persians*, affected all their luxury, and derided the plain customs of his country, of which he had formerly been so fond. Another action happened at *Byzantium*, extremely prejudicial to his character, and which, some say, disturbed him to his death: he fell violently in love with a lady named *Cleonice*, whom her parents, fearing to deny him, forced to take part of his bed; but she, in great modesty, desiring that the lights might be put out when she came into his chamber, unfortunately stumbled on an extinguished lamp; whereupon he awakening, and fearing that some assassin had broken into his room, caught up his sword, and mortally wounded her. His affliction for this accident put him almost beside himself ⁿ. The allies, in the mean time, took great umbrage at his conduct, and privately sent to accuse him at *Sparta*. In the interim, they deprived him of his command, and even besieged him in *Byzantium* ^o. Escaping, however, from thence, he fled to *Heraclea*, where he endeavoured, according to the methods then in use, to pacify the ghost of *Cleonice*. In this place, he met with certain persons, who had, or pretended to have, the power of raising the spirits of persons deceased, and who, at his intreaty, brought up that of his mistress; who, to all his questions, gave him this short answer, *When you come to Sparta, you will find an end to all your misfortunes* ^p. Accordingly, when he came home, the ephori caused him to be seized; but, having no sufficient evidence, and not caring, in all probability, to proceed with rigour against so eminent a person on bare suspicions, he was for a time enlarged.

Year of
the flood
1871.
Bef. Chr.
477.

The allies take umbrage at his conduct

THESE warnings did not deter him from carrying on the projects he had formed: *Artabazus* was the person he negotiated with; and, between them, they fixed this rule, that

^m DIOD. SIC. l. xi. CORN. NEP. in vit. Pausan. ⁿ PLUT. in vit. Cimonis. ^o DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. CORN. NEP. in vit. Pausan. ^p PLUT. in vit. Cimonis.

His in-
trigues
discovered.

His un-
happy end.

whoever brought any of *Pausanias*'s epistles should immediately be put to death, that there might be no possibility of producing witnesses against him ¹. But, growing impatient, and finding that *Themistocles*, notwithstanding the injuries done him by the *Athenians*, would not enter into his measures, *Pausanias* wrote in peremptory terms to *Artabazus*, and confided his letters to *Argilius* his particular favourite, and, as some said, his catamite. This man, considering with himself, that none of *Pausanias*'s messengers were come back again, determined to open his letters; and, finding, by their contents, that he was to have met with no better treatment than his predecessors, he carried them directly to the ephori, who discovered much from them, but yet not enough to convict *Pausanias*: but *Argilius* soon helped this out; for, retiring to *Tenarus*, and pretending there to pay his devotions to *Neptune*, he set up a double tent, in one part of which he concealed certain *Spartans*, and, in the other, he entertained *Pausanias*, who came to expostulate with him for not carrying his letters. By these expostulations, those who overheard them became direct witnesses against him; so that, at his return to *Sparta*, the ephori determined to imprison him; of which having some intelligence, he retired to the temple of *Minerva Chalcidica*, and there took sanctuary; which gave occasion to one of the most extraordinary proceedings any-where recorded in history: for the *Lacedæmonians*, not caring to invade the sanctuary, were at a loss what to do, till the mother of *Pausanias*, taking a tile in her hand, came to the temple, and laid it down at the door; after which, without speaking a word, she retired to her own house. The *Spartans*, having considered her conduct, and following her example, blocked up the gate; and thus, preventing his going out, reduced him to the necessity of starving in the temple. When they were sure he was dead, they opened the gate again, and, taking out his body, delivered it to his relations ². About this time, *Leotychides*, being sent with a great army to chastise the *Thessalians*, who had shewn themselves no friends to *Greece* in general, and expressed a particular enmity towards *Sparta*, instead of doing his duty, after he had obtained a victory, and reduced the enemy to very bad circumstances, began to receive bribes; and, informations being thereupon given in against him, he was surprised in his tent, with money in both hands. Returning to *Sparta*, and finding that the citizens were in no

¹ DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. JUSTIN. l. ii. c. 15. ² PLUT. in parallel. x. in vit. Themist. in apophth. mulier. Lacon. THUCYD. l. i. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Pausan. POLYÆN. stratag. l. viii. c. 51. DIOD. ubi supra. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

humour to dispense with his infidelity, he, to avoid their fury, fled to *Tegea*, and died there in exile, having survived his son *Zeuxidamus*, in whom he placed all his hopes^a.

PLISTARCHUS, the son of *Leonidas*, to whom *Pausanias* *The reigns* was tutor, did not live long. He was succeeded by *Plistoanax* of *Pli-* the son of *Pausanias*, the next legal heir of the royal family, as *starchus*, *Leotychides* was by his grandson *Archidamus*. As for *Plisto-* *Plisto-* *nax*, he was a prince of a very mild and peaceable disposition, *nax, and* one who gave no umbrage to his fellow-citizens, and who, in *of Archi-* their quarrels with the *Athenians*, acted according to their *damus*. directions, and did not endeavour to embroil them, that he might make himself the more necessary to them^t. *Archida-* *mus* was of a like disposition; and, it may be truly said, that, under the reigns of these princes, the *Spartans* felt no mischiefs, but what they brought upon themselves, and had no good luck, but what was derived to them from their kings, and their family; for, in the nonage of *Plistoanax*, *Nicomedes*, the son of *Cleombrotus*, acted as his tutor. At the end of the 77th *Olympiad*, a most dreadful earthquake happened at *Sparta*. *A dread-* *Diodorus* says, that twenty thousand persons lost their lives; *ful earth-* and *Plutarch* affirms, that only five houses in the city escaped *quake at* ruin. In the midst of this general confusion, *Archidamus* gave *Sparta*. such an instance of his wisdom and firmness, as must render him everlastingly admired: considering with himself, that his citizens were of far greater value than even their most valuable effects, and yet seeing, that, to save these, they were ready to risque themselves, he caused an alarum to be sounded, as if an enemy had been just at hand; whereupon in haste they armed themselves, and repaired into the field; which brought them double safety: for the *Helotes*, now conceiving that they *The He-* had a fit time to be revenged of their cruel masters, unani- *lotes re-* mously took up arms, and marched boldly to *Sparta*, expect- *volt*. ing they should find none to withstand them. But they were greatly mistaken; for *Archidamus*, with his citizens completely armed, made such a stand, that they were constrained to retire. However, knowing they could now expect no favour from their lords, whom they had so ill treated in the time of their distress, they determined with themselves to persist in their revolt, and to trust for a pacification to their swords, rather than to their intreaties^u. Many reasons contributed to strengthen the *Helotes* in this determination: the *Spartans* were already embroiled with the *Athenians*, who were inclined to dispute with

^a HEROD. l. vi. PAUSAN. Lacon. ^t Idem ibid. ^u DIO-
DOR. SIC. ubi supra. PAUSAN. in Messen. JUSTIN. ubi supra.
PLUT. in vit. Cimon.

them the sovereignty of Greece; the *Messenians* began to shew evident marks of their resentment for the indignities and oppressions which they had long groaned under; the rest of the *Peloponnesian* states were not a little dissatisfied: so that never were the *Lacedæmonians* less able to act vigorously against their rebellious subjects, than at present.

THE first step the *Helotes* took, after throwing off the yoke, was seizing a port in *Messenia*, from whence they made continual inroads into *Laconia*, burning and pillaging all the villages they came to. The *Spartans*, in this distress, applied themselves to *Athens* for assistance; which, after some opposition, was granted them, and sent under the command of *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades*. They likewise solicited their other allies; who, seeing the readiness of the *Athenians*, and considering the great services which all Greece had received from *Sparta*, likewise sent their quotas; which enabled *Archidamus* to take the field, notwithstanding the *Messenians* had joined the *Helotes*, and fortified *Ithome* ^x. It is not very clear, whether there happened any general battle, or not: but, however it was, the *Helotes* and *Messenians* thought it better to retire to *Ithome*, than to abide the *Spartan* army in the field; whereby the latter, much against their will, were constrained to form the siege of this city: for, as we have more than once observed, this was a part of the military science, in which the *Lacedæmonians* were but indifferently skilled. It was chiefly on this account that they besought the aid of the *Athenians*; and yet, when their troops came before the city, and behaved themselves more actively than the *Spartans*, they grew jealous of them; and, being fearful lest the strangers in the army might be corrupted, and, being countenanced by the *Athenians*, go over to the enemy, they dismissed the latter, telling them, they had no farther occasion for their service; which exceedingly incensed the people of *Athens*, and made them more ready to think of any method to reduce the *Spartan* greatness, than hitherto they had been ^y. While things were in this situation, the *Phocians* made war upon the *Dorians* who inhabited mount *Parnassus*, and took from them several cities, and amongst the rest their capital. These *Dorians* being originally *Lacedæmonians*, the *Spartans* dispatched an army under the command of *Nicomedes*. He quickly reduced the *Phocians* to reason, and set all things to right; but, on his return with his army, the *Athenians*, joining the *Argives* and *Thessalians*, shut up the passages into *Peloponnesus*. *Nicomedes*, upon this, retired towards

Are joined
by the
Messenians;

but reduced
with
the assistance
of the
Athenians.

^x DIOD. SIC. l. xi.
lib. i.

^y PLUT. in vit. Cimon. THUCYD.

Tanagra in *Bœotia*, whither the *Athenians* followed him, and forced him to an engagement, wherein the *Theffalians* deserting them, they had much the worst ^z. The next year, the *Lacedæmonians* assisted the *Thebans* against the *Athenians*; but were therein so unfortunate, as to be totally routed at *Tanagra*, with great loss. The *Messenian* war was still carried on, and was not like to be terminated even in the tenth year, *Ithome* being naturally a strong place, and the oracle at *Delphi* having threatened the *Spartans*, if they injured the suppliants of *Jupiter Ithome*; wherefore they were forced to turn the siege into a blockade, and at last hearken to terms of accommodation, whereby it was agreed, that the *Messenians* should depart *Pelo-* *The Mes-*
ponnesus, never to return, on pain of becoming slaves, if they *senians*
 did ^a. These poor people were thereupon received, with *obliged to*
 their wives and children, by the *Athenians*, rather out of spleen *depart*
 to *Sparta*, than any great desire to render service to the di- *Pelopon-*
 stressed. They granted them *Naupactus* for their residence, *nesus*.
 from whence they afterwards brought them to inhabit part of
 their own country, of which, in the course of the *Peloponne-*
sian war, they dispossessed the *Lacedæmonians* ^b.

THE next war the *Lacedæmonians* undertook was that stiled *The Pho-*
 the sacred, by some, the *Phocian* war. The intent of it was, *cian or*
 to put the temple at *Delphi* into the hands of the inhabitants of *sacred*
 the country, whereas it had before belonged to the *Phocians*; *war*.
 which the *Spartans* effected, and for which the *Delphians*, by
 a decree, conferred on the *Lacedæmonians* a right of first con-
 sulting the oracle; which decree they engraved on the fore-
 head of a brasen wolf, consecrated in the temple. The *Athe-*
nians soon after restored the temple to the *Phocians*, and from
 them obtained the same privilege, which the *Delphians* had
 granted to the *Spartans*; and this decree they caused to be en-
 graven on the right side of the wolf. The *Lacedæmonians* ^c,
 having induced the *Bœotians* to revolt from the *Athenians*, and
Tolmides, who attempted to reduce them, being slain, and
Eubœa at the same time shaking off the yoke, held this a fit
 season for giving a mortal blow to *Athens*; for which purpose
Plistoanax was ordered to invade the *Athenian* territories at the
 head of a great army. Being but young, *Cleondrides* was sent
 to direct him: but he proved an unlucky guardian; for, being
 a lover of money, he accepted a bribe from *Pericles*, and per-
 suaded the king to return home, without effecting any thing;
 for which the *Spartans* punished him with death, and drove *Plistoanax*
 their king into banishment. Not long after, a peace was made *banished*.

^z DIOD. ubi supra. THUCYD. ubi supra. ^a PAUSAN. Mes-
 sen. ^b THUCYD. l. iv. ^c DIOD. SIC. l. xi. PLUT. in vit.
 Periclis.

The Athenians accused of tyranny in an assembly of the states of Greece.

between this nation and the *Athenians*; which, though it lasted for some time, was far from extinguishing that hatred, which lately burnt in the bosoms of both^d. At first, the *Athenians* had the stronger party among the *Greeks*, because the *Lacedæmonians* had behaved with haughtiness while they held the sovereignty; but the *Athenians* gaining power, and making as bad use of it, or worse, almost all *Greece*, except the states immediately under their jurisdiction, and even some of them, hated them, and applied themselves to the *Spartans*. In the fourteenth year of the truce, which was to have lasted thirty, a great assembly of deputies from the states of *Peloponnesus*, and other parts of *Greece*, was held at *Lacedæmon*, where they unanimously accused the *Athenians* of tyranny, oppression, injustice, plundering them of vast sums of money, and, in fine, of a multitude of other crimes, beseeching the *Lacedæmonians* to stir in the common cause of *Greece*, and not suffer the *Athenians* to effect what the *Persian* king, with all his power, was not able to perform. Some ambassadors of *Athens*, who were by chance in the city, defended the cause of their country with all their might. The *Spartans*, however, having heard both parties, were greatly inclined immediately to declare war against the *Athenians*^e. But *Archidamus*, like a wise and good prince, interposed, and advised them to weigh well the step they were about to take. He shewed them, that, comparing their own state with that of *Athens*, not only the aid of the *Greeks*, but of the barbarians also, was necessary: he demonstrated, that the invasion of *Attica* would signify little; that, if they went slowly into this business, the *Athenians* might probably return to a proper temper, and make satisfaction to their allies; that, at least, they would preserve their own reputation, and would enable themselves to carry on the war with effect. But *Sthenelaidas*, one of the ephori, declared himself of a different sentiment: he alleged, that it was a great happiness for *Sparta*, that other states had taken umbrage at her rival; that, if she was not quickly pulled down, their united strength would be too weak; and that, if they took not this opportunity, they might never have it in their power at all. At his motion, therefore, war was immediately decreed; after which, deputies were sent to consult the oracle at *Delphi*, whence they received a response suited to their wishes. Ambassadors were likewise sent to all the allies, to desire them to prepare their quotas, and also to *Athens*, to offer peace, upon

^d DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra. THUCYD. lib. i.

^e DIOD. SIC. l. xi. PLUT. in vit. Periclis. JUSTIN. lib. iii. c. 7.

certain conditions; which, at the motion of *Pericles*, were rejected^f.

THE first action of the *Peloponnesian* war was the attempt made upon *Plataea* by the *Thebans*. Immediately after this, both parties took the field. All the *Peloponnesians*, except the *Argives* and the *Achæans*, sided with *Sparta*; without *Peloponnesus*, the *Megarians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bæotians*, *Ambrocots*, *Leucadians*, and *Anastorians*: the *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, *Sycionians*, *Pellenians*, *Eleans*, *Ambrosiots*, and *Leucadians*, furnished ships; the *Bæotians*, *Phocians*, and *Locrians*, sent cavalry; the rest of the states furnished their respective quotas in foot. *Archidamus*, at the head of a mighty army, marched to the frontiers of *Attica*, from whence he dispatched a messenger to *Athens*, being very desirous, even to the last, of avoiding, if possible, this war; but the messenger was sent back unheard: and the enemies of *Archidamus* beginning to insinuate, that, out of friendship to the *Athenians*, he betrayed the common cause, he marched into *Attica*, and penetrated within a few miles of *Athens* itself, destroying the country, and wasting all things in a terrible manner; after which, he returned through *Bæotia* into *Peloponnesus*^g. In the mean time, the *Athenian* fleet infested the coast of *Laconia*; and the troops on board it, landing, besieged *Methone*; to the relief of which *Brasidas* the *Spartan* hastened with an hundred men, and, breaking with much ado through the enemy, got safe into the town, where he made so vigorous a resistance, that the *Athenians* were forced to retire. The same year, the inhabitants of *Ægina*, being expelled by the *Athenians*, fled into *Peloponnesus*, and had the district of *Thyrea* assigned them by the *Spartans*. In the spring of the second year, *Archidamus* entered *Attica* again; but, after remaining there forty days, hearing that *Pericles*, with a great army, wasted *Peloponnesus*, he returned to assist his countrymen, the rather because the plague raged violently in *Attica*^h. In the third year, *Archidamus* besieged *Plataea*; which making an obstinate defence, he was constrained to turn the siege into a blockade. In the fourth year, he entered *Attica* the third time, and wasted all the ripe corn, whereby the *Athenians* were greatly distressed. The same year the *Mitylenians* revolted from the *Athenians*; and, in the winter of that year, *Plataea* was reduced to such streights, that part of its garison forced their way through the *Peloponnesian* guards, and escaped to *Athens*. The rest were, in the beginning of the next year, forced to yield, and were all put

The commencement of the Peloponnesian war.
Year of the flood
1917.
Bef. Chr.
431.

^f THUCYD. l. i. ^g DIOD. THUCYD. PLUT. in vit. Periclis.
^h THUCYD. l. ii. DIOD. l. xii. JUSTIN. l. iv. CORN. NEP. in vit. Cimon. PLUT. in vit. Periclis.

Archidamus dies.

to death, the city being rased to the ground, notwithstanding the general zeal the inhabitants had expressed, in the cause of Greece, in the memorable battle fought on her territoriesⁱ.

This year also *Archidamus* died in a good old age, and after a very long reign. He was one of the best kings that *Sparta* ever had; and this will, in some measure, appear from the following saying of his: being asked, *Who were governors at Sparta*, he answered, *The laws, and the magistrates according to these laws*. He left behind him two sons, *Agis* and *Agefi-laus*, the eldest of whom succeeded him^k.

The reign of Agis.

Year of the flood 1922.
Bef. Chr. 426.

The Athenians take several towns.

Some of the Helotes inhumanly murdered, and others admitted into the service.

In the spring after his father's death, *Agis* invaded *Attica*; and, while he was employed there, the *Athenians* seized *Pylus*, whither he was obliged to hasten; but to little purpose, an hundred and twenty of the nobility of *Sparta* being taken, and sent prisoners to *Athens*. Not long after, the *Athenians* seized the island of *Cythera*, and filled it with a colony of *Messenians*, who proved the bitterest enemies, as indeed they well might, to the *Lacedæmonians*^l. *Thyrea* was also taken, and the poor inhabitants of *Ægina*, who had settled there, were massacred. To remove the war to a greater distance, the *Lacedæmonians* sent *Brasidas* their famous general into *Thrace*; where he effectually answered their expectations, and humbled the pride of the *Athenians*. When he was about to march with the army, proclamation was made by the command of the ephori, that such of the *Helotes* as were willing to enlist themselves as volunteers should be manumitted; which proposition being joyfully accepted by two thousand of them, they were accordingly set at liberty: but their liberty consisted only in being shewn a short road into another world; for they, having pointed out to their jealous masters who amongst them were most warlike, were immediately dispatched privately; and seven hundred of the stoutest of the remaining *Helotes* were, together with a thousand mercenary *Peloponnesians*, sent with *Brasidas*^m. *Thucydides* the historian commanded the *Athenian* forces at that time in *Thrace*, and performed there whatever could be expected from a wise man, and experienced commander; but the fortune of *Brasidas*, the valour of his forces, and the proneness of the people of the country to side with him against the *Athenians*, gave such high advantages to the *Lacedæmonians*, and their allies, that *Amphipolis*, and several other cities, were taken. The use made of this at *Sparta* was, to set new negotiations on foot, partly because the war was very burdensome, and partly because *Brasidas* was greatly envied. With much

ⁱ THUCYD. l. iii. PLUT. ubi supra.

Lacon. ^l THUCYD. l. iv. DIOD. SIC.

DIOD. SIC. l. xii.

^k PLUT. apophthegm.

^m THUCYD. l. iv.

ado a truce was concluded for a year, at the end of which *Brasidas* fell upon *Cleon*, who commanded the *Athenian* forces in the neighbourhood of *Amphipolis*, and gained a great victory, *Cleon* himself, with six hundred *Athenians*, being slain, with the loss only of seven *Spartans*; and yet this victory was too dear, *Brasidas* being mortally wounded. He was certainly one of the bravest and one of the modestest men of his age, admired of all men for his great exploits, while at the same time he behaved with as much humility, as the meanest citizen at *Sparta*. He exactly made good the letter he sent the ephori, when he first arrived in *Thrace*, and which was conceived in these words; *What is for the honour of the state, I will perform, or die*ⁿ. *Plutarch* has recorded a saying of his, which both its good sense, and its being his, render worthy of being transcribed here. Looking one day among some dried figs, he caught a mouse, which immediately turned, and bit his fingers; whereupon he let it go: *You see*, said he to some who stood near him, *that creatures that have but little strength can get rid of invaders, if they dare exert the little they have*^o.

THE great mischiefs which this captain had brought upon the *Athenians*, and the mighty loss which the *Spartans* conceived they had sustained by his death, determined both states to put an end to the war. *Plistoanax* laboured all he could to promote this disposition, persuading himself, that, in time of peace, he should be better able to deal with his mutinous subjects, than while a war was carrying on, the various events of which put it in their power to find daily new matter of reproach against him. We have seen on what account he was banished, and we are assured, that he lived in exile nineteen years. His return was wrought by a response from *Delphi*, concerning which the *Spartans* affected afterwards to have many doubts, whether it came really from the god, or from some of *Plistoanax's* agents^p. The king, however, getting the ephori for the time being to join with him, procured a peace to be concluded, after the war had raged ten years. The peace was hardly made, before new intrigues were set on foot in *Peloponnesus*: the *Corinthians*, and in general the allies of *Sparta*, were greatly offended with the peace, because it did not exactly answer their private purposes. Besides, they were apprehensive lest *Sparta* and *Athens* should enter into a close union, whereby the dominion of *Peloponnesus* might be left to the former, and the sovereignty of the islands, with the *Grecian* colonies in *Asia*, transferred to the latter. To defeat this

A peace concluded.

Year of the flood 1927.

Bef. Chr.

421.

ⁿ THUCYD. ubi supra. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PLUT. apophth. Lacon. ^o PLUT. apophth. Lacon. ^p THUCYD. l. v. DIOD. SIC. l. xii. PLUT. in vit. Nic.

scheme, if any such there was, or should be, several of the *Peloponnesian* states leagued themselves with *Argos*, a very powerful republic, which had never any great friendship for *Sparta*, and which, at this time, seemed to threaten her. This league made the *Lacedæmonians* very uneasy, and the more when they found, that the *Argives*, and those who were allied with them, were negotiating at *Athens*. Thither therefore the *Lacedæmonians* sent their ambassadors, who, in all probability, would have carried their point, if they had depended upon *Nicias* their old and constant friend; but, suffering themselves to be deceived by the artifices of *Alcibiades*, who, acting on his uncle *Pericles*'s maxims, sought to revive the war, they themselves were drawn to give the *Athenians* great suspicion^a. The next year, the new ephori grew likewise fond of war; and, though *Nicias* strongly laboured to compose all differences, yet all he could obtain was no more than the swearing to the peace anew, which he well enough understood would not content his citizens^r. In the summer, when the ninetieth *Olympiad* was celebrated, the *Lacedæmonians* received an high affront: the *Eleans* refused to let them sacrifice, or in any manner partake of the sacred rites, placing a strong guard on the temple, in order to prevent it. The reason assigned for this was, that the *Lacedæmonians*, while former *Olympics* were held, had seized the castle of *Phoricus*, for which they were fined two hundred drachmæ; which fine they not having paid, they insisted on excluding them. The *Lacedæmonians* would have excused themselves by their ambassadors; but their excuses were not accepted; and so they were forced to sacrifice at home, which highly incensed them^s (K). A quarrel happened in

The Lacedæmonians excluded from the sacred rites at the Olympics.

^a THUCYD. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alcibiad. ^r DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Nic. ^s THUCYD. ubi supra. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PAUSAN. in Eleis.

(K) Of the *Olympic* games we have elsewhere spoken somewhat, but not enough to make either this, and many other passages, which will hereafter follow, perfectly clear; and therefore we will take this opportunity of supplying these deficiencies here. The *Olympiads* were not, as some imagine, celebrated every fifth year; nor were they, strictly speaking, celebrated every fourth year. They were held in the second month of the fifth year; or, if it be possible to express it clearer, after the completion of four full years (39). They began on the eleventh day of the lunar month, and lasted till the fifteenth, when the moon was full. There are various accounts of the institutions of these games; but the most satisfactory is that given by *Strabo*, who, in

in the winter between the *Heracleans* of *Trachinia* and the *New Thessalians*, wherein *Penares*, a *Lacedæmonian* general, was slain. However, the *Corinthians* were with-held from joining with the *Argives*; which gave some hopes, that the power of that republic might be weakened¹. The next year, the *Argives* attempted to surprise *Epidaurus*, in hopes of securing themselves on that side against the *Corinthians*, and also opening an easy passage to their allies the *Athenians*. In the winter, the *Lacedæmonians* put a garison of three hundred men into *Epidaurus*.

¹ DIOD. & THUCYD. ubi supra.

his description of *Elis*, says, that an *Ætolian* colony, together with some of *Hercules's* posterity, after having subdued many of the *Pisæan* towns, and amongst them *Olympia*, there instituted these solemnities (40). The care and management of these games belonged originally to the *Pisæans*, but afterwards to the *Eleans*, by whom the *Pisæans* were destroyed, and their very name extinguished. For the most part, this nation enjoyed a profound tranquillity, the *Greeks*, out of a religious respect to their superintendency of these games, not suffering the sound of war to be heard amongst them; which will be the less wondered at, if we consider, that, during the celebration of these games, there was a general truce, that all the inhabitants of *Greece* might be at liberty to assist at them; and, in consequence of a breach of this truce, the *Eleans*, proceeded, in the manner above described, against the *Spartans* (41). The security, which, for the generality, these people enjoyed, made them addict themselves more to husbandry than any other people

of *Greece*, because they were under no sort of restraint nor apprehension in their fields, but were considered as servants of the *Olympian Jupiter*. At first, they appointed one judge only: at the fifteenth *Olympiad* they assigned two, and, by degrees, these swelled to no less than twelve, one being chosen out of each of the *Elean* tribes (42). When the *Arcadians* became too powerful for the *Eleans*, the number decreased again; yet, even in the reign of the *Roman* emperor *Adrian*, there were no fewer of them than ten. All the persons who sought to contend in these games, were obliged to appear ten months before at *Elis*, where, from that time till the games were over, they were obliged to reside, and to prepare themselves, after a settled certain method, for their exercise. At the solemnity, the *Hellandica*, that is, the *Elean* judges, sat naked, having the victorial crown before them, which, when the games were over, they presented to him whose due they conceived it to be (43).

(40) *Geogr. l. viii.*

(41) *Diodor. Sic. l. xi.*

(42) *Pausan. in Eliac.*

(43) *Calist. Rhodiginus antiq. lect. l. xxii. c. 17. Alexand. ab Alexand. genial. distr. l. v. c. 8.*

The Spar-
tans re-
solve on a
war with
the Ar-
gives, and
their al-
lies.

THE next summer *Sparta* resolved to exert herself, and to crush, at once, the *Argives* and their allies. With this view, the ephori and senate sent to exhort all their confederates to be in readiness to take the field early, as they themselves would be. They accordingly appeared, and king *Agis*, at the head of the *Spartans*, *Arcadians*, *Bæotians*, *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Phliansians*, and *Megarians*, entered the territory of *Argos* with such an army as had not been seen since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war. The *Argives* were very ill prepared, the succours they expected from *Athens* not being arrived: however, they resolved to fight, though with inferior forces; but, at the very instant the engagement should have begun, two of the *Argive* captains cried out to king *Agis*, that their citizens were willing to do whatever was just, and to make peace with the *Lacedæmonians*; which made such an impression on the king, who was a prince of a mild and benevolent disposition, that he immediately consented to a truce of four months; which exceedingly provoked the allies of *Sparta*, who could not bear, after all their preparations, to see nothing effected. On the return therefore of *Agis* to *Sparta*, his citizens condemned him to pay a great fine; and would have rased his house, if he had not promised them to redeem his honour by some great exploit, when he should be next employed: with which, however, they were hardly to be pacified. But what seems more extraordinary is, that the *Argives* were so unreasonable as to punish their captains for having preserved them from ruin; nay, they carried their rage so far, that they had certainly knocked them on the head with stones, if they had not retired into a sanctuary^u. The true reason why the *Argives* were so warm was, because the *Athenians* had sent them a supply of one thousand foot and three hundred horse, under the command of *Alcibiades*; at whose instigation they solemnly renounced the truce made with *Agis*. When the *Spartans* were informed of this, they prepared to take the field; but they would not intrust their king with the command of the army, without assigning him ten counsellors or field-deputies, without whose approbation he was to attempt nothing. At *Mantinæa* the armies fronted each other, being the greatest that the *Greeks* had ever brought into the field against their countrymen; but the *Argives*, and their allies, were more numerous than the *Spartans*: some therefore advised king *Agis* not to fight; to which he answered coolly, *If we would rule many, we must fight many*^x. He disposed his troops in excellent order, and gave directions suitable to the occasion;

The battle
of Manti-
næa.

Year of
the flood

1931.

Bef. Chr.

417.

^u THUCYD. ubi supra. DIOD. ubi supra. PAUSAN. in Argol. PLUT. in vit. Alcibiad. ^x PLUT. apophthegm. Lacon.

but

but the generals under him did not behave so well; so that, while the right wing, which was under his command, carried all before it, the left was routed: which when *Agis* beheld, he notwithstanding continued the pursuit; and, when the enemy was intirely broken in their left and centre, he turned short, and charged their right in flank and rear, and, after an obstinate resistance, defeated them also, and gained a complete victory. King *Plistoanax*, with a body of reserve, which had been left at *Sparta*, hearing of the great assistance which the *Argives* had received, marched to the reinforcement of *Agis* and his countrymen, but arrived not till the victory was gained; so that his presence being no longer necessary, he returned presently after, with his troops, to *Lacedæmon*. The *Argives*, and their allies, lost eleven hundred men in this battle, in which there fell three hundred *Spartans*: as for the allies of *Sparta*, as they did little, so they suffered little^y. After this, things continued in *Greece* in great confusion; the faction in *Argos* who were for oligarchy siding with *Sparta*, those who affected democracy with the *Athenians*, great stir there were, and little peace: the *Athenians*, at last, ventured to break the league, by attacking the isle of *Melos*; of which, however, the *Spartans* would take no notice; only they caused proclamation to be made, that since the *Athenians* preyed upon their subjects, without regard to laws, their subjects might, if they pleased, prey upon the *Athenians*. The miseries which her ambition had brought upon her, were so evident in this state, that she began now to act with more wisdom and mildness than hitherto she had done: the *Helotes* were treated with lenity; a thousand of them were actually set at liberty, for the service they had performed under *Brasidas*; her allies were used with mildness and respect: and the consequences of these measures were, that matters began to take another aspect; the *Athenians*, grasping too many things, and acting haughtily, were despised, while *Sparta* gained the command, and the hearts of most of the *Peloponnesians*^z. In the fourth year of the ninety-second *Olympiad*, *Plistoanax* died: the last act of his life which was memorable, was resettling the affairs of the *Parrhasians*, who were torn with intestine wars. During the time of his exile his son *Pausanias* had the regal title, his uncle *Cleomenes* acting as his tutor; but when *Plistoanax* was recalled, he again assumed the regal dignity, in which the same *Pausanias* succeeded him at his death^a. Plistoanax dies.

^y THUCYD. ubi supra. DIOD. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alcibiad.^z PAUSAN. Lacon. THUCYD. ubi supra. ^a THUCYD. ubi supra. DIOD. Sic. ubi supra.

Agis enters the territories of Elis.

Year of the flood

1934.
Bef. Chr.

414.

The Peloponnesian war breaks out again.

AGIS king of *Sparta* was sent with an army against the *Eleans*, to revenge the dishonour done the republic, by forbidding them to be present at the *Olympian* games. This war was of some continuance: the first year the king penetrated as far almost as the mount *Olympus*; but an earthquake happening while he was in the field, his forces would needs return home. The next year *Agis* invaded *Elis* again, and did a great deal of mischief; whereupon *Xenias*, an *Elean*, put himself at the head of a party, and declared for the *Lacedæmonians*, seeking, in truth, to establish an oligarchy; but *Thrasylus*, who was at the head of the other faction, prevailed, and drove him out of the city. The third year *Agis* entered *Elis* again; and, after remaining there some time, he left a part of his army, under the command of *Lysistratus*, a *Spartan*, with orders to support *Xenias* and his friends. *Thrasylus* seeing plainly, that his country would be ruined, came to a composition with *Xenias*, and, by his means, treated with the *Spartans*; whereupon a peace ensued^b. The *Peloponnesian* war now broke out again. The *Athenians* had sent a great army into *Sicily*; the consequence of which being considered, the *Lacedæmonians* sent *Gylippus* to assist the *Syracussians*, with a small force, but with promise of farther supply; which was likewise performed^c. About the same time *Alcibiades* repaired to *Sparta*, being expelled his own country by a prevailing faction: he fell immediately into the *Spartan* manner of living, which equally endeared him to the men and to the women; to the former he promised, that he would put them in a short train of ending the war; and to the latter he pretended, that there were no women comparable to those of *Sparta*. *Agis* was at first so charmed with him, that he took him home to his house; but he made him a very ill return for that favour, by debauching his wife. As to the promises he had made the senate, he performed them tolerably well; for, when he went with *Agis* to invade *Attica*, he advised him to fortify the castle of *Decelia*, which had never been thought of before, and which proved such a thorn to the *Athenians*, as distressed them more than all that happened to them besides; for now the *Spartans* did not come, as formerly, once a year into their neighbourhood, but were there continually; so that either they could not plow or sow at all, or if they did, their enemies bore away the crop^d. The *Spartans* were so well pleased at this counsel of *Alcibiades*, that they extolled him as a captain far superior to any of their own chiefs: this brought

^b PAUSAN. in Eleis. ^c THUCYD. l. vi. DIOD. SIC. l. xiii.
PLUT. in vit. Nic. JUSTIN. l. iv. ^d DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.
PLUT. in vit. Alcibiad. CORN. NEP. in vit. Alcibiad.

on him the envy of the nobility; which, with the jealousy of *Agis*, made him glad to quit *Laconia*, to seek among the Barbarians a place of safety.

TIMÆA, the wife of *Agis*, brought forth, about this time, a son, who was called *Leotychides*, concerning whom *Agis* said publicly, that *Alcibiades* was his father: *Timæa* increased the suspicion as to her son's birth, by her own foolish behaviour; for she was ever telling her maids, that the boy's name ought to be *Alcibiades* instead of *Leotychides*. And thus, while the child's birth was canvased at home, *Alcibiades* confirmed all the suspicions abroad, by saying openly, that he did not debauch *Timæa* out of lust, but from the ambition he had of having some of his posterity reign over the *Spartans*^e: but his folly defeated his wickedness, as we shall see hereafter, and deprived the unhappy *Leotychides* of his succession. *Gylippus* Gylippus the Lacedæmonian gains great reputation in Sicily. all this while managed their affairs in *Sicily* with great reputation: at first, he was little esteemed even among the *Syracusians*, whom he came to assist, because of the plainness of his garb, and of his speech; but when, by degrees, they came to know him better, when they saw, that the soldiers confided in him, and that great succours were sent him from *Peloponnesus*, they treated him with more respect; and, at last, ran into the other extreme, and would have put all things into his hands. But he was far from making an ill use of his power; he knew he was sent to relieve the *Sicilians*, and not to oppress them: he was, however, covetous; and we shall see hereafter how that vice not only tarnished all his good qualities, but destroyed his fortune, and ruined his reputation^f. The defeat of the *Athenians* in *Sicily* filled the *Spartans* with great hopes: they neglected not therefore any means that could be thought of, either to depress their rivals affairs, or to raise their own; *Astyocheus* was sent to command the foreign troops which were raised with *Persian* money; king *Agis* managed the war in the heart of *Attica*, where he had all the summer a good army, besides the garison in *Decelia*^g. *Lyfander* was now employed Lyfander's character. in maritime affairs, who, as he proved the great hero of *Sparta*, and the finisher of the *Peloponnesian* war, it is fit, that we should, in this place, give the reader his character. *Plutarch* says, that though it is not certain, that he was of either of the royal families, yet it was generally agreed, that he was of the *Herculean* race. His education was truly *Spartan*; that is, he passed his younger years under all the restrictions of the *Ly-*

^e DIOD. SIC. l. xiii. PLUT. in vit. Alcibiad. & Agefil. CORN. NEP. in vit. Alcibiad. JUSTIN. l. v. c. 2. ^f DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Nic. JUSTIN. iv. 4. ^g THUCYD. l. vi. DIOD. SIC. l. xiii.

curgie institutes, which rendered him bold, hardy, patient, and capable of great things; he was naturally ambitious, had an extensive genius, was affable, in his behaviour modest, vigilant, and indefatigable: but, with these great qualities, he had some mean ones; he could, to serve his own purposes, be very supple and complaisant; which was highly repugnant to the *Spartan* customs. He was not much affected with the love of *Greece*, but conversed freely with all sorts of people; and fought, above all things, to raise his own credit and authority: the worst of all was, that he was absolutely dishonest; and, which is not a little strange, fought not to conceal it, it being a common saying of his, *That children were cheated with play-things, and men with oaths*; for which reason he never denied his when it made for his interest, or stuck at breaking it when to keep it would serve his purposes no longer. He found the *Athenians* greatly superior at sea, when he entered upon command; and yet, in a very few years, he left them without any power at all^b. The first thing of importance that he did, was restoring the state of affairs at *Ephesus*: he found that city very convenient; he therefore engaged the principal men in it to side with *Sparta*, and, above all things, to attach themselves to him: he shewed them how conveniently they were seated for trade; he brought his ships to be refitted in their port; and, when once he had gained the confidence of the *Ephesians*, he took equal care to promote their interests, and to make theirs subservient to his.

ASTYCHUS having managed foolishly, and given *Alcibiades* an opportunity of instilling into *Tissaphernes* notions prejudicial to the *Lacedæmonians*, *Lysander*, who saw clearly, that without the barbarian gold *Sparta* could not carry on the war, determined with himself to counterplot both *Tissaphernes* and *Alcibiades*, by applying himself to *Cyrus*, who then resided at *Sardis*: thither therefore he went, and fully opened to the young prince the treachery of his father's lieutenant: *Cyrus* readily heard him; and, by degrees, the *Spartan* won so much upon him, that he made him a promise, in few words, to grant him whatever he should request: *Lysander* modestly required, that a small addition might be made to the soldiers pay; which disinterestedness so much charmed *Cyrus*, that he gave him ten thousand pieces of silver, which he made use of to support his soldiers, and refit his fleet. *Agis*, in the mean time, being informed of great stirs in *Athens*, attempted to surprise it, but without effect; for the citizens, on his approach, united among themselves, and sallied with such unexpected fury, that they

^b PLUT. in vit. *Lysand.* DIOD. SIC. l. xiii. JUSTIN. l. v. c. 6. CORN. NEP. in vit. *Lysand.* THUCYD. l. vi.

killed a considerable number of his men ⁱ. They afterwards offered to make peace; but the *Spartan*, considering the unsettledness of their government, refused so much as to hear their propositions. Some short time after, *Hegesandrides*, a *partan*, reduced *Eubœa*; and, if he had prosecuted his success with ardour, might have taken *Athens* itself; but this opportunity being neglected, *Alcibiades*, in a very short space, so restored their affairs, by defeating and killing *Mindarus*, who had succeeded *Astyochnus*, that the *Spartans*, in their turn, were forced to sue to the *Athenians*, who, with great haughtiness, rejected the propositions they offered, though highly reasonable in themselves. When *Alcibiades* sailed again into the *Hellepont*, after he had been at *Athens*, *Lyfander*, finding himself too weak to engage so numerous a fleet, under so fortunate a general, kept in the port of *Ephesus*, where he carefully refitted his ships, and kept his soldiers and mariners to their exercise. At length it so happened, that *Alcibiades* had occasion to go from *Samos* to *Phœcea*; whereupon he committed the care of his fleet to *Antiochnus*, a favourite of his, who, proud of his command, quickly forgot the instructions which had been given him; and, sailing out of port with two gallies only, went with them to the mouth of the haven of *Ephesus*, where he insulted *Lyfander*. This inconsiderate action produced, in the end, a general engagement, wherein the *Athenians* were *The Athenians defeated*, though with no very considerable loss: and yet this accident destroyed all their affairs; for, upon the first news of *seated at it*, they dismissed *Alcibiades*, and with him their good fortune. *sea*.

LYSANDER, while he lay at *Ephesus*, projected a scheme for making himself, in a manner, sovereign of *Greece*: he picked up enterprising men of various cities; and engaging them to settle at *Ephesus*, advised them to live in strict friendship among themselves, and to study political affairs; for that he would suddenly find employment for them ^k. All this, and indeed the whole tenor of his behaviour, made him extremely grateful to the *Ephesians*, and the rest of the cities in that part of the world; so that, when *Callicratidas* was sent him for a successor, all the *Asiatic Greeks* were extremely uneasy. This uneasiness increased at the presence of the new admiral, who was the very reverse of *Lyfander*, a man of great parts, great courage; but withal of great virtue, and unbiafed integrity^l. *Lyfander* dealt with him very basely; he sent back what money remained in his hands to *Cyrus*; and said to his successor at parting, with a sneer, *Let us see now, Calli-*

ⁱ DIOD. l. xiii. THUCYD. l. vi. ^k PLUT. in vit. Lyfandr.
 DIOD. SIC. l. xiii. ^l THUCYD. l. vi. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.
 PLUT. in vit. Lyfandr.

cratidas, *how you can support the charges of this army.* The noble Spartan found it indeed very difficult; the people were quite drained; treasure there was none; so he was forced to go to the court of *Cyrus*, where being two or three times refused admittance, being sometimes told, that the king was busy, at other times that he was drinking, he at last said, *I must not be so eager for money as to do any thing unbecoming Sparta:* whereupon he set sail for *Ephesus*. *Cyrus*, considering better of the matter, sent him afterwards money to pay his forces, and some presents for himself; the first he took, but the latter he sent back again, with this memorable message, *That there needed no private friendship between Cyrus and him, because, if the king kept up to the terms of his league with the Lacedæmonians, he should think himself included therein*^m. He defeated *Conon* the *Athenian* admiral, and besieged him in *Mitylene*; he likewise beat a small fleet that was sent to his assistance; but hearing afterwards, that the enemy's grand fleet was at *Arginusæ*, over-against *Lesbos*, where he was stationed, he resolved to engage. When he sacrificed in the morning, the priest who consulted the intrails told him, *That the fleet should in the end prosper, but that the admiral would certainly be slain.* To which he answered, without any concern, *Very well then; let us fight; Sparta will not lose much in losing me; but she would lose her honour, if I retired in the sight of the enemy: when I fall, let Cleander be your admiral.* He was accordingly slain; and, by that means, the Spartan affairs were put into much disorderⁿ. After this mishap, both *Cyrus* and the allies of *Lacedæmon* demanded, that *Lysander* should be sent admiral again; a request directly opposite to the laws of *Sparta*. However, to gratify their request, they gave the title of admiral to one *Aracus*, but lodged the power with *Lysander*, who immediately sailed to the *Hellepont*, where, after receiving great supplies from *Cyrus*, he drew together his fleet; but, finding the *Athenians* much superior to him in numbers, he wisely avoided an engagement; and afterwards giving them the slip, appeared suddenly in the neighbourhood of *Greece*, and made descents on the islands of *Ægina* and *Salamis*. He sailed over to the coast of *Attica*, to shew *Agis*, who was come thither with a land-army, what a noble navy was under his power^o: yet, having intelligence that the *Athenian* fleet was approaching, he stood away for the *Hellepont*, where he besieged and took *Lampsacus*^p. *Conon*, with the grand fleet of *Athens*, bearing down upon him thither, he retired to the river

Callicratidas slain.

^m PLUT. apophthegm. Lacon. in vit. Lysandr.

ⁿ THUCYD.

l. vi. DIOD. SIC. l. xiii. PLUT. apophth. Lacon.

^o DIOD. SIC.

l. xiii.

^p PLUT. in vit. Lysandr. XENOPH. Hell. l. ii.

Ægos, the *Athenians* there insulting him for many days together; which *Lysander* bore with wonderful patience, keeping his soldiers and mariners continually on duty, till on a sudden, when the *Athenians* had debarked their forces, he unawares attacked them both by land and sea. *Conon* the admiral, seeing clearly that all things were lost, with eight gallies, and a very considerable body of men, fled away to *Cyprus*; the rest fell intirely into the hands of *Lysander*, who, in a single hour, put an end to the *Peloponnesian* war, and to the maritime power of *Athens* ⁹.

The Athenians defeated by Lysander.
Year of the flood

1942.
Bef. Chr.
406.

THIS mighty victory having put all things into the power of *Lysander*, he acted rather as an universal monarch than as a general from *Sparta*: he immediately visited all the neighbouring cities, and changed, whether they would or not, their government, placing in each of them a *Spartan* as chief magistrate, and with him ten of his friends from *Ephesus*, where, as we have before observed, he erected a kind of political university. These men, as they came in by force, so they kept no measures with those over whom they ruled; they treated them with the utmost haughtiness and severity: so that, from the very beginning, the *Lacedæmonian* government was rendered ungrateful, and the people universally disposed to shake it off as soon as they could ¹. As he was no hoarder of money, he collected all the mass of wealth which his victories had brought into his hands, and destined it to be sent to *Sparta*, whither he had before dispatched a messenger, with news of his victory; and with an assurance, that he would be shortly, with a fleet of two hundred sail, before the city of *Athens*: in confidence of this, the *Spartans* sent both their kings *Agis* *Athens* and *Pausanias*, with a very great army, into *Attica*; on the reduced by coasts of which, in due time, *Lysander* arrived. As to what the *Spartans* happened remarkable, in the siege of *Athens*, we have already related at length, in its proper place. Here it is enough, that we insert the *Spartan* decree, contained in the articles granted to the dejected inhabitants of that once famous place; which decree is preserved by *Plutarch*, and runs thus: *Know, this is the decree of the Lacedæmonians. Pull ye down the Piræum, and the long walls; quit all the towns you are now possessed of, and keep within your own territories. We grant you peace upon these conditions, provided you yield also to what shall be further thought reasonable, and receive again your exiles. As for the number of ships you may keep, observe the orders we shall hereafter give on that head.* *Lysander* deprived them of all their

⁹ XENOPHON. ubi supra. DIOD. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Lysandr. CORN. NEP. in vit. ejusd. JUSTIN. l. v. c. 6. XENOPHON, ubi supra. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.

vessels, except twelve; and, having their fortifications delivered into his hands, he entered *Athens* in triumph, on the anniversary of the great victory at *Salamis*. He caused the walls to be demolished, to the sound of music, which likewise played while the *Athenian* ships were burning, himself and his commanders having garlands on their heads: he also altered the government, established the thirty tyrants, and left a *Spartan* garison in the citadel, commanded by one of his own creatures^s. The next thing he did was, to send the immense treasure he had collected to *Sparta*, under the care of *Gylippus*, who had so eminently distinguished himself in *Sicily*, and who found a *glaring* way to distinguish himself no less eminently, on this occasion, *instance of* though less honourably; for he, little regarding the seals upon *Gylip-* the money-bags, ripped them open at the bottom, and, having *pus's avarice and dishonesty.* taken out what money he thought proper, sewed them up again. When he arrived at *Lacedæmon*, he delivered the money as had been directed, and desired, that particular notice might be taken of the fairness of the seals; but, unluckily for him, *Lyfander* had put in each bag a ticket, expressing the sum of money contained therein: upon comparing these notes with the sums contained, a deficiency was discovered, but still the ephori and senate were at a loss where to fix it; at last, the servant of *Gylippus* impeached him; and his crime, with all its circumstances, being detected, he was forced to leave his country, and to go into exile, with the scandalous imputation of being a cheat and a thief^t (L). The coming of this huge

^s PLUTARCH. in vit. Lyfandr. XENOPH. Hellan. l. ii. CORN. NEP. in vit. Lyfandr. ^t PLUT. in vit. Lyfandr. DIODOR. ubi supra.

(L) *Gylippus* the *Spartan* had this vice of covetousness hereditary in his family; his father *Clearchus* having, as we have before shewn, suffered banishment for accepting a bribe from *Pericles*, when he entered *Attica* with an army (42). Authors are much divided as to the character of this man. *Plutarch* every-where represents him as a person of courage, integrity, and humanity, till this last act (43); but *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* gives him quite another character: he introduces him making two long speeches at *Syracuse*, to influence the *Sicilians* to shew the *Athenians* no mercy. This is directly contrary to what other historians have written; and on what authority he reports these orations, we know not (44). It is true, the favour he was in with *Lyfander* seems to throw a shade on his character; for we do not find, that this ambitious general either loved or trusted

(42) *Diod. Sic. l. xi.* (43) *In vit. Nicias, & in vit. Lyfandr.* (44) *Diod. Sicul. l. xii.*

huge mass of wealth created great disputes at *Sparta*; many celebrated *Lysander's* praises, and rejoiced exceedingly at this good fortune, as they called it; others, who were better acquainted with the nature of things, and with their constitution, were of quite another opinion: they looked upon the receipt of this treasure as an open violation of the laws of *Lycurgus*; and they expressed their apprehensions loudly, that, in process of time, they might, by a change in their manners, pay infinitely more for this money than it was worth. At last, a compromise was proposed, and agreed to; whereby it was enacted, That the state might make use of gold and silver, but that private men should possess neither, on pain of capital punishments: which resolution of theirs, as *Plutarch* observes, was shallow, superficial, and ineffectual, because declaring money to be useful to the state, evidently justified the inclination of private men to be possessed of it, while, at the same time, the law made the gratification of that inclination penal^u.

^u PLUT. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra.

men of strict honour; and, from the beginning, *Gylippus* was one of his creatures: it was he who preferred him to the command in *Sicily*; and, in the present case, as a signal mark of his confidence, sent him, with the treasure he had collected in the war, to *Sparta*; so that, to speak the truth, this was not only a public theft, but an act of private ingratitude; and therefore we need not wonder, that his patron, who, in other respects, was ready enough to protect his friends, even in ill things, abandoned him. How *Gylippus* came to trust his servant, we are not acquainted; but the manner in which that servant of his betrayed him, *Plutarch* tells us pleasantly enough: "The magistrates, says he, finding the money in the bags less than what was expressed in the notes contained in them, were

"surprised, but did not in the
"least suspect him who had the
"care of the money, till *Gylippus's* servant betrayed the
"secret; and told them, by
"way of riddle, *That he had*
"observed a great many owls to
"roost in the *Ceramicus*. The
"ephori soon found out, that,
"by owls, pieces of money
"were to be understood, be-
"cause most of the coin then
"bore the impression of an owl
"in respect to the *Athenians*;
"and that the *Ceramicus*, a
"place in *Athens* so called, be-
"cause of a tile-kiln that had
"been there, signified likewise
"the roof of an house, by rea-
"son of the tiles, called *ceramoi*.
"Thus the mystery came to be
"understood, and *Gylippus*, hav-
"ing stained his former reputa-
"tion with this mean action,
"was ashamed to appear any
"more at *Lacedæmon* (45)."

(45) *In vit. Lysandr.*

LYSANDER,

LYSANDER, in the mean time, returning to the *Hellefpont*, returned also to his old practices there, changing governments, new-modelling cities, liberally and even profusely rewarding his friends; and, at the same time, pursuing to death, and utter destruction, such as he suspected to be his enemies. While Lysander he remained in *Greece*, he had done some very extraordinary things, which sufficiently betrayed the height of an imperious disposition; he set up his own statue, and the statues of such of his commanders who were in his good graces, in brass; he dedicated two stars, in honour of the deities *Castor* and *Pollux*, in order to keep up an opinion which his sycophants had taken care to propagate, that these stars were seen in the rigging of his ship, at the battle of *Ægos* *. But, if he acted thus in *Greece*, he set less bounds to his ambition in *Asia*, where he made not only the *Greek* cities dependent on him, but struck terror into the *Persian* governors, and particularly maltreated *Pharnabazus*. This *Persian* grandee was a man of profound capacity, and a master in *Lysander's* science of dissimulation: he saw, that little was to be expected from any representations he could make to this haughty general, surrounded by a number of powerful persons, made so merely by his favour; he cast about therefore, to find out surer protectors, though at a greater distance; and, with this view, dispatched some of his emissaries to *Sparta*. There they began to open, without apprehension of danger, the iniquity of *Lysander's* conduct; they set his ambitious designs in their proper light; they charged him with an intention to render himself a general for life, and independent of his constituents: and they alleged such probable reasons for what they said, that the ephori and senate immediately dispatched a scytale, to recall this terror of *Asia*. They began likewise to inspect narrowly the conduct of his friends in *Greece*, put some of them to death, and, among the rest, *Thorax*, one of his principal commanders, in whose house, in contravention of the late law, they found a large quantity of silver. The surprize of *Lysander* was inexpressible, when the messenger of the state presented the scytale which recalled him (M): he had no previous intelligence of it, nor could he

Is recalled,

imme-

* PLUT. ubi supra.

(M) In this note we intend to explain the scytale of the Lacedæmonians; but first, let us hear what *Plutarch* says of them: "The nature and use, says he, of this was; when the magistrates gave their commission to any admiral or general, " they took two round pieces of " wood, both exactly equal in " breadth and thickness; one " they kept themselves, the " other was delivered to their " officer; so that when they had " any thing of moment, which " they would secretly convey to " him,

immediately guess by whom it was obtained ; but, on recollection, he determined in himself, that it must have been by the procurement of *Pharnabazus*. This discovery made him more solicitous, especially when he heard what had happened at home : he therefore resolved, according to his stated maxim, *To cut out the lion's with the fox's skin* : in consequence of this, he demanded a conference ; to which *Pharnabazus* readily consented. At this meeting, *Lyfander* made use of all his art *Outwitted by* to soften the *Persian*, and to engage him, by a letter under his hand, to deny what might have been suggested, in his name, *Pharnabazus* to the ephori and senate : to which, with some difficulty, *Pharnabazus* agreed. He wrote this letter in *Lyfander's* presence, and in terms suitable to his wish ; but he had before prepared a letter of quite a different nature, and substituted it, while he pretended to fold the other ; so that here the deceiver was deceived, and *Lyfander*, with all his skill, outwitted^z. Receiv-

^y PLUT. in apophthegm. ubi sup. POLYÆN. strat. l. vii.

^z PLUT. in vit. Lyfand. DIOD. SIC.

“ him, they cut a long narrow
“ scroll of parchment, and
“ rolling it about their own
“ staff, one fold close upon an-
“ other, they wrote their busi-
“ ness on it : when they wrote
“ what they had to say, they
“ took off the parchment, and
“ sent it to the general ; he ap-
“ plied it to his own staff, which
“ being just like that of the ma-
“ gistrates, the folds fell in with
“ each other, exactly as they
“ did at the writing ; and the
“ characters which, before it
“ was wrapped up, were con-
“ fusedly disjoined, and altoge-
“ ther unintelligible, appeared
“ then very plainly (46).” —
There are many things omitted
in this account, which we shall
endeavour to supply from other
authors. *Tzetzes* calls them
wands, which the ephori de-
livered to the general or admiral,
when he set out to take upon
him the command : he says, they
were very short, and very slender,

the parchment being also narrow,
which they made use of to
fold round them (47). It is very
probable, that our author
conjectured this from the usual
shortness of the *Spartan* epistles ;
for *Demetrius Triclinius* tells us
expressly, that the *scytale* was be-
tween three and four cubits
long : he does indeed suggest,
that there was but one of them,
which was split in two ; and one
half being given to the general,
the other half remained at home
(48) ; but *Aulus Gellius* (49),
and the scholiast on *Aristophanes*,
say expressly there were two (50).
Thucydides says, the *scytale* was
round, smooth, and long (51) ;
the scholiast on *Pindar*, that it
was made of a black wood (52).
It should seem, that, beside this
state *scytale*, private men made
use of a contrivance of the like
nature, to prevent deceits in
contracts ; but then these were
exactly like our tallies.

(46) *Plut. in vit. Lyfandr.* (47) *Joan. Tzetzes, var. hist. chil. ix. c. 28.*
(48) *Ad Pindar. Olymp. od. vi.* (49) *Noët. Attic. l. xvii. cap. 9.* (50) *Ad*
aves Aristoph. (51) *Bell. Pelop. l. i.* (52) *Olymp. vi.*

ing this letter, he set out immediately for *Sparta*; but, when he was informed of its contents, he was mightily disturbed; and, fearing lest he should be called to an account, pretended that he had seen a vision, wherein *Jupiter Ammon* had commanded him to come immediately, and consult his oracle. The ephori and senate shewed a good deal of reluctance in granting his request; but, as soon as he was gone, the kings of *Sparta* began to contrive the destruction of his friends, that he might no longer have such an interest in *Asia* as at this time he had. The *Athenians* at this time taking arms against their tyrants, *Lyfander* hearing thereof, returned suddenly to *Sparta*, where he vehemently pressed the government to support those he had established at *Athens*; and that they would make use of him as commander in chief, in that expedition. This greatly alarmed the kings; wherefore they determined to make use of all their interest to prevent it: *Pausanias* therefore procured the command of the army to be vested in him; and marched, as it was generally understood, to support the tyrants against the people of *Athens*; but, in truth, his design was to reconcile the *Athenians*, and to compromise their differences with *Sparta*, that *Lyfander* might not have the honour of conquering this city twice; which he also effected, and which *Lyfander* highly resented. Not long after, he had an opportunity of venting his spleen, and of reconciling himself to the people; for the *Athenians*, according to the fickleness of their temper, flying out again, the *Spartans* were highly incensed against *Pausanias*, and extolled *Lyfander* for a man of integrity, and true public spirit^a. While things were in this situation, king *Agis* died: he was taken ill at *Heræa*, in *Arcadia*; and, being conveyed to *Sparta*, died there. In his last moments he owned *Leotychides*, moved thereto by his tears, and earnest intreaties: and, at the same time that he did this, he besought the *Lacedæmonians* who were present, to bear witness of the sincerity of his declaration; and that he, from his heart, retracted what at any time he might have rashly said of his suspecting the legitimacy of *Leotychides*. But this late recognition of his son was, as we shall presently shew, altogether ineffectual, *Leotychides* losing not only his pretensions to the crown, but to his paternal estate^b.

The people
reconciled
to him.

King Agis
dies.

Agefilaus succeeds Agis, and sets aside Leotychides. AGIS left behind him a younger brother, whose name was *Agefilaus*, and who became not only an honour to *Sparta*, but to *Greece* itself. This *Agefilaus* set up for the crown against *Leotychides*; and, as he was a man of exemplary virtues, and of great capacity, he, on his first declaration, had many friends;

^a PLUT. ubi supra.

^b PLUT. in vit. Agefil. PAUSAN. Lacon.

and,

and, on *Lyfander's* espousing his interest, acquired many more. For both these it is proper that we should account: *Agefilaus* was born a younger brother; and, though the laws of *Lacedæmon*, which began now to be greatly relaxed, did not compel the heirs apparent to the crown to endure the sharp discipline of the *Lycurgic* education, yet the younger children of kings were no less severely bred than the meanest *Lacedæmonian*; which proved a great happiness to the prince of whom we are speaking, who, for the glory of a long and happy reign, was chiefly indebted to the foundation laid by this manner of education. His temper was compounded of those qualities which very rarely meet, that is, of such as make men ambitious and aspiring, and of such as make them amiable and beloved. He was brave, active, and of an high spirit; but, with all this, wonderfully good-natured, gentle, tractable, and fond of his country perhaps beyond comparison; for he preferred her interest not only to his own, to his peace, and to his safety, but to his honour, and his reputation. He thought all things fit which she commanded, and placed his utmost happiness in his capacity of serving her, not only on such occasions as were attended with lustre and eclat, but in those which had neither honour nor profit to recommend them^c. Such were the means whereby *Agefilaus* gained to himself friends. As for the regard which *Lyfander* had for him, it sprung thus: when *Agefilaus* was a youth, *Lyfander* was his lover; and this friendship of his continued when *Agefilaus* was grown up, and mightily facilitated his mounting the throne. There was but one thing which gave this prince and his friends any trouble; and it was this: one *Diopithes*, a man reputed to have great skill in oracles, produced one to the following effect:

*Tho' great thy empire, Sparta, yet refrain
From a lame reign; which come, thou shalt sustain
Ills unendur'd before, and feel the rage
Of war, no force can quell, or skill assuage* (N).

This

^c PLUT. in vit. Agefil. & in apophth. Lacon. XENOPHON. Hellen. l. iii. CORN. NEP. in vit. Agefil.

(N) It was the custom of the *Greeks*, as we have shewn in this and in the *Athenian* history, never to undertake any act of importance without consulting an oracle, of which there were many in *Greece*; but that of *Delpi* was the most remarkable. Many learned men seem to be of opinion, that the responses from thence were frequently supernatural, and sometimes plain and direct, justified also by the event: however that matter be, yet certain it is, that, even in the most early times, they were frequently corrupted;

This was thought to point at *Agésilas*, who had one leg shorter than the other; but *Lyfander* outdid the interpreter even in his

corrupted; of which we have given many instances, and, in the prosecution of our history, shall have occasion to add many more. If public oracles were liable to such inconveniences, in spite of all the care that could be taken of them, it is easy to conceive, that the collections of oracles in private hands were much more liable to alterations and interpolations. To say the truth, where-ever a superstitious humour of believing such sort of things prevails, experience shews us, that there will be always knaves equally capable and willing to impose on fools. These keepers of oracles were stiled divine or sacred persons by the *Greeks*; and, from the instance before us, we see what mighty things they were able to effect. *Plutarch* speaks very respectfully of *Diopithes*, who produced the oracle which gave occasion to this note: and, to do justice, we must acknowledge, that the oracle was fulfilled in two senses; yet, with us, this is no indubitable argument, that it was genuine, since it is almost impossible to contrive an oracle in relation to a momentous event, which some time or other will not be accomplished. It is very remarkable, that *Diopithes*, who, by his profession, was an interpreter of these sort of pieces, departed from the letter of the oracle in his solution; and that *Lyfander* should have address enough to

conquer the prophet in his own profession (53); for, as *Xenophon* justly observes, the oracle speaks not of a lame king, but a lame reign, as appears from the words thereof twice cited by *Plutarch* (54). By the way, it may not be amiss to observe, that, in all our versions of *Plutarch* into *English*, these oracles are constantly rendered wrong, the word *beir* being substituted instead of kingdom (55): which is of mighty consequence; first, because it misrepresents the sense of the oracle; and, secondly, because it leaves no room for *Lyfander's* interpretation, though *Plutarch* himself acknowledges it was well received, and *Xenophon* ascribes *Agésilas's* carrying his cause to the seeming rectitude of this explanation. After all, if there was any thing supernatural in this oracle, it was never rightly understood, till very lately *M. le Fevre* declared its true meaning to be, that *Sparta* should take care to preserve both her kings (56); or, if we may be for once allowed to make use of technical terms, to guard against the changing her duarchy into a monarchy; and, in this sense, the oracle was most signally accomplished, as we shall hereafter have occasion to shew. — In the mean time, let us observe, that *Plutarch* approved *Diopithes's* interpretation; he conceived, that *Leotychides* was most outrageously injured, and

(53) *Plutarch. in vit. Lyfand. & in vit. Agésil.*

(54) *Xenophon. Hellan. l. iii.*

(55) See the lives of *Lyfander* and *Agésilas* in *Plutarch's* lives both of the old and new translation.

(56) *Fabr. in Justin. l. vi.*

his own science; *The oracle*, said he, cannot possibly point at a lameness in the king's leg; that is a thing which the gods cannot hate, because they have caused it. The lameness must be in the title: beware therefore, O Lacedæmonians, of placing an illegitimate king on the throne, nay, even one whose birth is suspected; for that is most likely to be the lame reign hinted at by the oracle^d. *Lyfander's* explanation, backed by his authority, had the desired effect: the senate and people excluded *Leotychides* alike from the kingdom, and from the private estate of his father. *Agefilas* bestowed half of *Agis's* estate on his relations by the mother's side, who, though they were persons of great merit, were till this time in very low circumstances; which gained the new king the hearts of the people. Instead of opposing either the ephori or the senate, he treated them with the utmost civility, and with the greatest confidence and affection. He was ever studious to oblige those, who were of the opposite party at the time of his election; he preferred them, whenever their merit gave them a reasonable pretence thereto; he relieved them when under misfortunes: in fine, he acted so prudently and benignly, that at last the ephori, seeing no ill qualities to be offended with, took umbrage at his good ones, and laid a mulct on him for a very extraordinary crime, viz. monopolizing the affections of the people; which, however, was consonant enough to the constitution of *Sparta*^e.

BEFORE *Agefilas* was well settled on the throne, his country found itself exceedingly distressed. The Persian king, to whom, in the course of the war, they owed such mighty obligations, *The king of Persia declares against the Spartans.*

^d XENOPHON. *Hellan.* l. iii. PLUT. in vit. *Agefil.* & *Lyfand.* JUSTIN. l. vi. c. 4. CORNEL. NEP. in vit. *Agefil.* & *Lyfandr.*

^e XENOPHON. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. *Agefil.* & in apophthegm. LAON. CORN. NEP. in vit. *Agefil.*

that the great evils which befel *Sparta*, during the reign of *Agefilas*, were the punishments threatened by the oracle, in case she suffered herself to be governed by a lame king. *Xenophon*, on the contrary, affirms, that *Agefilas* destroyed *Leotychides's* claim by three invincible arguments: the first was the repeated declarations of his supposed father *Agis*; secondly, his mother, who ought to know best, averred the same thing; lastly, that *Nep-*

tune had, by an earthquake, forced *Agis* out of bed from his wife, who thereupon abstained from her ten months; after the expiration of which term *Leotychides* was born (57). To close this account, let us observe, that there is no reason in the world to doubt the impartiality of *Plutarch*; and that the history of *Xenophon* is an open panegyric on *Agefilas*, whose friend and confident he was.

ligations, declared himself at once their open enemy, and began to make mighty preparations to dispossess them of their maritime empire. To have a just notion of this business, we must ascend a little higher: *Lyfander*, while he commanded in *Asia*, had paid all his court to *Cyrus* the younger brother of *Artaxerxes*, who, on his father's death, ascended the *Persian* throne. In consequence of this friendship between *Lyfander* and *Cyrus*, *Clearchus*, the *Lacedæmonian* general, received orders from the ephori and senate to assist that prince to the utmost of his power, in the rebellion he had raised against his brother. It was in these troops that *Xenophon* had a command, and it was at the head of them, after *Clearchus* and the other captains were taken, that he made that retreat called the *retreat of the ten thousand*. This behaviour of the *Lacedæmonians* drew upon them the hate of the king, who, ever after, spoke of them in terms of disrespect, and fought as much as in him lay to destroy their power^f. It is very probable, that some of the wisest of the *Persian* statesmen managed this disposition of the king for the effecting what they rightly conceived to be the interest of his empire. This is rendered probable from the method that was immediately taken, viz. of sending relief to *Athens*, and money into *Bæotia*. At the same time he determined to reduce all the *Greek* cities absolutely to his obedience; which was wounding *Sparta* in the tenderest part, she having over and over declared herself the protectress of the *Grecian* liberties. On this account it was that they sent *Thymbro* with an army consisting of a thousand *Laconian* foot, four thousand *Peloponnesian* infantry, and three hundred horse from *Athens*. This man managed the war but indifferently, suffering his troops, since he could make no impression on the enemy, to plunder the allies of *Lacedæmon*. The ephori therefore sent *Dercyllidas* to succeed him. This man was a great engineer, and likewise a great politician. He found his force too small to prevail against *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes* the king's lieutenants. He resolved to remedy this evil, by making them destroy each other; in which he succeeded so well, that he prevailed upon the latter to remain inactive, while he attacked the former, over whom he gained great advantages. When, at the command of their masters, these governors of provinces became friends, the *Spartan* was left to deal with them both; which he did without any loss, though his army did not exceed seven thousand men, and the *Persians* had twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, in the field, besides great garisons. *Pharnabazus* was indeed for fighting; but *Tissaphernes*,

^f XENOPH. *Hellan.* l. i. ii. iii. DIOD. l. xii. xiii. PLUT. in vit. Agefil. Artaxerx. JUSTIN. l. v. c. 11.

who was a better officer, and who knew well what these Greek troops were capable of, was of quite a different opinion; where-fore, having entered into negotiations with *Dercyllidas*, he at length concluded with him a treaty of accommodation on these terms: that the Greek cities should remain free; that his army should retire out of his province; that the Lacedæmonian governors should remove out of the cities; and that this treaty should subsist, till it was either ratified or disavowed by the king of *Persia*, and the state of *Sparta*.

THE *Persian* king, however, within a short time after, began to fit out three hundred sail of ships of war; which greatly alarmed the Greek cities, and occasioned an application to *Sparta*, where, as we shall soon see, *Agésilas* offered himself, by the advice of *Lyfander*, and was declared general of Greece. But, before any resolution was taken, the king sacrificing for his country, according to custom, the augur, from the bowels of three several victims, declared there was some very great conspiracy on foot against him, and all the magistrates of *Sparta*. Soon after this conspiracy was discovered to the bottom, by the information of one of the persons concerned; whereupon the senate took such quick measures, though with some little injury to the laws, that all the conspirators were suddenly removed out of the way ^h (O). Things were in this

situation,

³ XENOPHON, ubi supra. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. JUSTIN. l. vi. c. 1. PLUT. in vit. Lyfandr. POLYÆN. stratag. l. vi. ^h PLUT. in vit. Agefil.

(O) It is a great misfortune to such as endeavour to collect the Greek history from the lives of *Plutarch*, that they find it impracticable to distinguish any method in his productions, whereby they may be able to reduce the facts by him related to the just order of time in which they happened. In the present case, he relates this story of a conspiracy, as if it had happened in the latter part of this reign (58): whereas it is certain from *Xenophon*, who could not be mistaken in points of fact, that it fell out in the first year of this reign: the same author hath al-

so recorded the several circumstances attending it; and as some of them are extraordinary, the reader will doubtless be pleased to find them here. On the discovery of the plot, it appeared, that one *Cinado* was at the head of the conspiracy: this *Cinado* was a young man, very conspicuous for his valour, though not for his family. The informer likewise declared, that this *Cinado* had once reckoned up forty Spartans, including the kings, the senate, and ephori; and that, on his demanding what he meant by that calculation, *Cinado* replied, *These are they who are*

Treaty of accommodation between Dercyllidas and Tiffaphernes.
Year of the flood 1949.
Bef. Chr. 399.

(58) *Plutarch*, in vit. *Lyfandr*.

Lacedæ-
monians
reinforced
in Asia.

situation, when *Lysander*, burning with an impatient desire of returning again into *Asia*, which had been the scene of his triumphs, procured such an army to be decreed *Agésilas*, as would, if no cross accidents had intervened, have left, in all probability, no room for *Alexander's* conquests, as *Plutarch* hath very rightly remarked. Besides the forces already in *Asia* under the command of *Dercyllidas*, the *Spartans* voted two thousand manumitted *Helotes*, and six thousand *Peloponnesian* foot; but the king, after all, would not accept the command,

against us: the rest in town and country are of our party. The ephori then demanded of what number the conspirators consisted; the informer replied, they were not many; but that they reckoned upon the assistance of all the *Helotes*, the new-made citizens, and the lower sort of people, who, as often as they spoke of the *Spartans*, intimated as much as if they would be glad to eat them alive. They then demanded, if the conspirators had arms; the informer replied, they had, and that *Cinado* had told him, that, in the first commotion, workmens tools, or those that belonged to husbandry, would serve their associates well enough, since it was not to be supposed, that they should find their enemies very well armed: being questioned to the time, he replied, that he could not tell exactly; but that *Cinado* had ordered him to hold himself ready whenever he should be called upon; whence he conjectured, the point of execution was not far off. On the consideration of these things, the ephori were so much alarmed on taking this examination, that they were equally afraid to assist at the sessions of the senate, or to assemble the people: at length they bethought themselves

of a method of extricating themselves from the danger: they sent for *Cinado*, and told him, that they discovered, at a town a small distance from *Sparta*, contrivances carried on against the state, in which a lady of singular beauty, and admirable accomplishments, was deeply concerned; they therefore directed him to take a small party of youth, such as he could best trust, and to bring the lady, and such others as they gave him a list of, prisoners to *Sparta*: the better to colour this business, they assigned him three waggons for his prisoners, and a troop of horse to escort him, if he should have occasion: this troop of horse, as soon as they were at a convenient distance from the city, surprised him and his companions; and one of them having discovered the names of all concerned in the plot, a trooper was sent back with this information; whereupon all the conspirators were apprehended, and *Cinado*, upon examination, confessed that he had no other cause for being discontented, than that he disdained to see, in a city where he lived, any man greater than himself; upon which he and his companions were, without farther process, put to death (59).

(59) *Xenophon. Hellen. l. iii. Polyan. Stratag. l. ii. c. 14.*

till he had a council of thirty assigned him, of whom *Lysander* was in all respects the chief. While the army was drawing *Agefilaus* together about *Geraſtus*, *Agefilaus* went with some friends to *admoniſh-Aulis*, where the thoughts of his expedition, in all probability, *ed in a* suggested to his mind a dream, wherein he was admoniſhed to *dream to* imitate *Agamemnon* in ſacrificing, inasmuch as he was become *imitate* his ſucceſſor, and was on the point of going general in chief of *Agamemnon in ſa-* the *Greek* forces againſt the barbarians, an office which had *crificing.* never been borne but by *Agamemnon* and himſelf. *Agefilaus*, in compliance with this viſion, reſolved to ſacrifice; but, reflecting on the barbarity which *Agamemnon* had been guilty of, he ſubſtituted an hind, inſtead of a virgin; and, having cauſed it to be crowned with garlands, directed his own augur to ſolemnize the ſacrifice. The *Bæotians*, hearing of this, and being extremely provoked, that, in their territories, he ſhould employ one of his attendants, inſtead of the ſacrificer appointed by them, ſent deputies to forbid him to ſacrifice in a manner contrary to their laws; which deputies, having delivered to him their meſſage in the temple of *Aulis*, and perceiving that *The ſub-* he did not give much heed thereto, went directly to the altar, *verſion of* and threw the ſacrifice off it on the ground. This may ſeem *the Spar-* a circumſtance too trivial for an hiſtory of this nature; but *tan empire* the reader will find hereafter, that it proved the occaſion of a *owing to a* war, which ſubverted the *Spartan* empire over *Greece*, and *trivial* had well nigh deſtroyed her ſtate. At this time, *Agefilaus* was *circum-* ſo much diſcompoſed, that he immediately hoisted ſail, and *ſtance.* bore away for *Asia*, without ſtaying for any other rites, or offering any other ſacrificeⁱ. On his arrival, he found things in a ſituation he neither expected, nor could foreſee. At *Sparta* he was a king; but here *Lysander* was treated as if he had been ſomewhat more; all reſpect, all application, was paid to him; and he received it rather with the haughtineſs of a deity, than with that complaiſance which is natural to man. The reſt of the commanders firſt ſtomached it; they grew uneaſy at finding themſelves degraded, from being counſellors to *Agefilaus*, *Agefilaus* into officers, or rather miniſters, of one of their colleagues: they *jealous of* therefore complained to the king; who immediately applied a *Lysan-* very quick remedy, which was this: he denied every ſuit *Ly-* *sander* made to him, and countenanced all who did not apply *power.* to him; which in part had, and in part had not, the effect he intended: for, as ſoon as the *Greeks* ſettled in *Asia* perceived it, they no longer moved their ſuits by *Lysander*, but continued notwithstanding to pay him as much reſpect as before. This nettled the king, though he was not naturally envious; where-

ⁱ XENOPHON, l. iii. DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. PLUT. in vit. Ageſilai. CORN. NEP. in vit. ejusdem. JUSTIN. l. vi. c. 2.

upon he appointed this great man overseer of his provisions; and, to insult the *Ionians*, said openly, *Let them now go, and pay court to my butcher.* *Lyfander* quickly took an opportunity of coming to an *eclaircissement*; for, the first time they were alone, he addressed the king thus: "In truth, *Agésilas*, you know very well how to lessen your friends." "Yes," answered the king, "when they affect to be greater than I; nor can it be thought unjust, that those should have power with me, who most concern themselves in promoting my power." "Sir," replied *Lyfander* very modestly, "you are pleased to exercise a greater liberty in speaking, than I ever did in acting; but I beseech you, Sir, for the sake of those strangers, who have their eyes upon us, to assign me that post, wherein I may be least suspected by you, and have it most in my power to render you service^k." The king thereupon appointed him ambassador to the allies of *Sparta* near the *Hellef-pont*; which office he executed with great diligence and integrity: he persuaded one *Mithridates* a *Persian*, who was at variance with *Pharnabazus*, to revolt, with a great body of troops, and to join *Agésilas*. However, finding the king irreconcilable, he determined with himself to return to *Greece*, highly dissatisfied with his treatment, and with the government of his country, which he resolved to overturn, if it was in his power. In order to effect these purposes, he set on foot such schemes, as are scarce to be paralleled in history. But, inas-much as they were never carried into act, through the cowardice of one of his associates, when they were on the very point of execution, we conceive, that entering into a detail of them here would too much interrupt the current of our history; wherefore we have digested what is most material in them into a note (P)^l. After his departure, *Agésilas* carried on the war with

Misunder-
standing
between
Agésilas
and Ly-
fander.

The latter
resolves to
overturn
the go-
vernment
of his
country.

^k XENOPH. ubi supra. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in vit. Lyfandr. & Agésil. CORN. NEP. in vit. Lyfandr. ^l XENOPH. DIOD. PLUT. ubi supra.

(P) During the whole continuance of the *Spartan* state, there never arose therein a greater man, whether we regard his abilities, or his fortunes, than *Lyfander*: how he came to turn those vast abilities from the service to the disservice of his country, we have explained in the text; the manner in which he conducted his conspiracy, and with what mighty art he brought it to the very point of execution, will best appear from the following account of *Plutarch*, taken, as he professes, from *Ephorus*, an author in great esteem with *Strabo* and *Polybius*. "Things had been a great while ripe for changes, and people were ready to break into rebellion; he resolved therefore not to miss

with great success and reputation. *Tissaphernes*, the implacable enemy of the *Greeks*, by the intrigues of his enemies, was brought

“ miss the opportunity, but set
 “ it on foot as soon as possible.
 “ His stratagem was this: some
 “ of the *Heraclidæ*, who came
 “ into *Peloponnesus*, and mixed
 “ with the *Dorians*, were now
 “ grown very numerous and
 “ powerful in *Sparta*. Of these,
 “ two families could only claim
 “ any right to succession in the
 “ kingdom; those were the *Eury-*
 “ *tytiontidæ*, and the *Agiadæ*:
 “ the rest, notwithstanding their
 “ high extraction, had no greater
 “ share in the government than
 “ what was common to the
 “ meanest citizen: for they on-
 “ ly, who could plead most me-
 “ rit, had the best titles to the
 “ common reward of virtue.—
 “ *Lyfander* was one of these: and
 “ when he had gained so great
 “ a reputation by his actions,
 “ had many friends, and much
 “ power, he was uneasy to see
 “ that city, which owed its in-
 “ crease chiefly to him, ruled by
 “ others no better descended
 “ than himself. So he contrived
 “ to alter the settlement, which
 “ confined the government to
 “ two families only, and give
 “ all the *Heraclidæ* an equal right
 “ to it; nay, some say, not
 “ the *Heraclidæ* only, but all
 “ the *Spartans*; and make it a
 “ reward not so much of *Her-*
 “ *cules*’s posterity, as of those
 “ who bravely imitated that va-
 “ lour which gave him a place
 “ among the gods. He had
 “ great hopes, that when the
 “ kingdom was thus to be dis-
 “ posed of, no *Spartan* could
 “ appear with those advantages
 “ that he could: upon which

“ prospect, first, he endeavoured
 “ to insinuate the reasonableness
 “ of this change into private
 “ people, and learned by heart
 “ a fine oration, which *Cleon* of
 “ *Halicarnassus* had made for
 “ him upon that subject: but
 “ when he came to reflect on the
 “ difficulties of this undertak-
 “ ing, which was not to be ef-
 “ fected by ordinary means, he
 “ had recourse to extraordi-
 “ nary: for as in tragedies,
 “ when any thing of great im-
 “ portance is to be effected, the
 “ assistance of some god is made
 “ use of, so he, to promote his
 “ designs with colour of autho-
 “ rity, had recourse to oracles;
 “ presuming he should prevail
 “ upon more citizens by the ter-
 “ ror of those, than he could
 “ persuade by *Cleon*’s eloquence.
 “ *Ephorus* says, that after he
 “ had in vain endeavoured to
 “ corrupt the *Pythian* oracle,
 “ and as unsuccessfully sent *Pe-*
 “ *ricles* to corrupt *Dodona*, he
 “ went himself to *Ammon*, and
 “ proffered the priests prodi-
 “ gious sums of gold, who, with
 “ great indignation, rejected his
 “ bribes, and sent people to ac-
 “ cuse him at *Sparta*, where he
 “ met with such favourable
 “ judges, that he was easily
 “ cleared from their impeach-
 “ ments: upon which the *Li-*
 “ *byans* took their leave of the
 “ *Spartans* in this manner:—
 “ *When you come to live among us*
 “ *in Africa, you’ll find us more*
 “ *impartial judges.*—Now there
 “ was an antient prophecy,
 “ which foretold that the *Lace-*
 “ *dæmonians* should some time or
 “ other

brought into disgrace with his master, and soon after beheaded. Tithraustes succeeded him: he, as soon as he entered on his office,

“ other inhabit *Africa*. *Lysander*’s design in this matter was
 “ very subtle and intricate, and
 “ managed by very great politi-
 “ cians: so, in order to clear
 “ the whole intrigue, we must
 “ trace it, as we do mathemati-
 “ cal demonstrations, up to its
 “ first principles. I shall there-
 “ fore at large explain it, as it is
 “ related by *Ephorus*, a great
 “ historian as well as philoso-
 “ pher.

“ There was a woman in *Pon-*
 “ *tus*, who, being with child,
 “ pretended *Apollo* was the fa-
 “ ther. Many, with a great
 “ deal of reason, suspected it;
 “ others were so credulous as to
 “ believe it: wherefore, when she
 “ came to be delivered of a son,
 “ several of the greatest quality
 “ in the country took peculiar
 “ care of its education, and, for
 “ some reason or other, gave it
 “ the name of *Silenus*. *Lysan-*
 “ *der*, taking hold of this occur-
 “ rence, made it the ground of his
 “ whole stratagem; and chose such
 “ confidants to assist him in it,
 “ whose character might bring
 “ the story into reputation, with-
 “ out the least suspicion of for-
 “ gery. To make the best advan-
 “ tage of this story, they spread
 “ abroad another story: That
 “ there were very antient oracles
 “ closely concealed in the custody of
 “ the priests at *Delphi*; and it
 “ was upon record, that they
 “ were not to be profaned by val-
 “ gar hands; neither was it law-
 “ ful for any man to read them,

“ till, in some future age, one
 “ should arise, who could mani-
 “ festly prove himself the son of
 “ *Apollo*, and challenge to him-
 “ self the interpretation of these
 “ mysteries. When the credit of
 “ this report was well established
 “ among the people, *Silenus* was
 “ to come and demand the prero-
 “ gative of his birth. The
 “ priests, who were confederates
 “ in this plot, were strictly to ex-
 “ amine into every circumstance
 “ and particular of his nativity:
 “ and, afterwards, being fully
 “ convinced, that he was the true
 “ son of *Apollo*, were to deliver
 “ up their charge to him; and
 “ then the son of the god was to
 “ unfold in public all those oracles,
 “ especially that, for the sake of
 “ which the whole plot had been
 “ contrived, relating to the go-
 “ vernment of *Sparta*; wherein
 “ it was to be declared, That it
 “ would be more for the honour
 “ and interest of *Sparta*, to break
 “ the present succession, and, for
 “ the future, chuse their kings out
 “ of the most deserving men in the
 “ commonwealth. But when *Si-*
 “ *lenus* was grown up, and every
 “ thing ready for action, the
 “ whole business miscarried by the
 “ cowardice of one that was an
 “ agent in it, whose heart failed
 “ him just at the time of execu-
 “ tion (60).” Nothing of these
 intrigues were discovered during
 the life-time of *Lysander*; but,
 after his demise, *Agésilas* being
 directed to search his papers on
 account of some disputes with

(60.) *Plutarch*. in vit. *Lysand*. Vide etiam *Diod. Sic.* l. xiv. *Corn. Nep.* vit. *Lysandr*.

office, sent deputies to treat with *Agésilas*, to whom he proposed, that the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should pay the king a certain tribute only, and, in all other respects, enjoy their liberty; offering him at the same time large sums of money, if he would condescend to make a peace; which *Agésilas* refused, alleging, that he had not power so to do. However, he removed out of his province, and carried the war into that of *Pharnabazus*. *Titbraustes*, who was a man of great parts, when he found the king of *Sparta* could not be corrupted in *Asia*, dispatched *Timocrates* the *Rhodian*, with fifty talents, into *Greece*, to see if any of the captains or statesmen there were less honest than *Agésilas*. This agent of his found several such sort of people as he looked for in *Thebes*, *Corinth*, and *Argos*. To them he gave such sums as he thought proper, and thereby excited a war in the heart of *Greece*, which no longer left the *Spartans* at liberty to think of extending their empire beyond it^m. The *Thebans*, who of all others came most heartily into this business, saw plainly, that the *Lacedæmonians*, of their own accord, would not break with any of the states of *Greece*; they did not care to act offensively themselves, because the chiefs of the *Persian* faction were afraid of becoming accountable to the people for the success of the war; they persuaded therefore the *Locrians* to make an incursion into a small district, which lay in dispute between the *Phocians* and themselves. Upon this, as they rightly judged, the *Phocians*, without more ado, invaded *Locris*. The *Locrians* applied to their allies the *Thebans* for assistance; which was readily granted them: and, upon this, the *Phocians* addressed themselves to *Sparta*, setting forth,

New disturbances in Greece.

^m *XENOPH.* *Hell.* l. iv. *DIOD.* l. xiv. *PLUT.* in vit. *Agésilai*, & in apophthegm. *Lacon*.

the *Argives*, he found among them the oration made by *Cleon* beforementioned, which at first he designed to publish, in order to convince the *Spartans*, who still revered the memory of *Lyfander*, that they had quite mistaken the temper of the man; but *Lacratidas*, one of the king's friends, gave a noble testimony of his wisdom, by advising *Agésilas* to drop it; he said, it would be dishonourable to disturb the ashes of *Lyfander*; and that, with respect to the oration, it would be better to bury it with him, than to trust it abroad in the world; where, considering the force with which it was penned, it might raise a spirit not easy to be laid. *Agésilas*, on the other hand, shewed his wisdom in taking the advice of his friend, and passing by, in silence, this business, which must have produced great mischiefs, had it ever become the subject of debate (61).

(61) *Plutarch.* in vit. *Lyfand.* & *Agésil.*

Lyfander
appointed
to com-
mand in
Bœotia.

The Spar-
tans de-
feated, and
Lyfander
killed.

that they had not been the aggressors ; but that they had been forced to take arms in defence of their own territories. The *Spartans* were, on their side, glad of an opportunity of breaking with the *Thebans*, against whom they had long had a grudge. And thus the *Persian* talents disturbed the tranquillity of *Greece*, and put her in a new ferment. *Lyfander*, though a very old man, grew extremely uneasy at lying idle ; he had, besides, a private hatred to the *Thebans*, on account of the assistance they had given to *Athens*, at such time as she shook off the yoke of the thirty tyrants, whom he had established : he therefore gladly laid hold of this occasion to persuade the ephori and senate once more to intrust him with an army. As soon as he prevailed in his request, he began to dispose all things for the war ; an army was quickly raised, at the head of which he put himself ; another was raising, which was to be commanded by king *Pausanias*. *Lyfander* marched, with the forces under his command, directly into *Phocis*, desiring *Pausanias* to lead his army round by *Cythæron*, in order to invade *Bœotia* on that side. The eagerness of *Lyfander* prompted him to quick marches, and vigorous measures ; wherefore, finding *Pausanias* loiter, he sent an express to him, who was then encamped at *Platæa*, with letters, informing him of the time when himself expected to arrive at *Haliartus*, conjuring him to meet him there. These letters, *Plutarch* says, were intercepted by the enemy, and sent to *Thebes*, where the *Thebans* resolved to trust their city with the *Athenians*, who were come to their assistance, and to march directly to *Haliartus*. *Lyfander* arrived in the neighbourhood of that city in the night ; but, when day began to dawn, and he had still no news of *Pausanias*, he resolved at all events to attempt the surprisal of the place. When he drew nigh the walls, and perceived all things quiet, he conceived great hopes ; but of a sudden, the gates being thrown open, the *Thebans* and *Haliartans* issued out in exact order, and charged the *Lacedæmonians* so briskly, that *Lyfander* was killed on the spot, with a priest who stood by him. Before the forces commanded by him could recover themselves, another body of *Thebans* charged them in the rear ; whereby they were totally broken, with the loss of no less than a thousand men : the *Thebans*, on their side, lost three hundred ^a. The news of this defeat being brought to *Pausanias*, he immediately marched with all possible diligence to *Haliartus*, where he fought, by all means, to gain the dead body of *Lyfander*. Some of the antient *Spartan* commanders were for attacking the enemy, and recovering it by force ; but he, considering that they were

^a XENOPH. DIOD. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Lyfand. CORNEL. NEP. in vit. ejusdem.

already flushed with victory, that their troops were more numerous than his, and that *Thrasylbulus* the *Athenian* had now joined them, refused to do it, but, on the contrary, concluded a treaty, whereby the body of *Lysander* was delivered to him, on condition that he retired out of *Bæotia*; which he accordingly performed, and, in his retreat, buried the corpse of the deceased general in the territory of the *Panopæans*. On his return to *Sparta*, such a spirit of resentment appeared against him, that he was afraid to stand his trial; for which reason he retired to *Tegæa*, where he led a private life.

As for *Lysander*, his memory was greatly revered in *Sparta*, on account of the mighty services he had rendered his country, and because, after all the opportunities he had of enriching himself, he died miserably poor, having always preserved that generous contempt of money inherent to great minds. In his latter years, he is said to have been extremely melancholy, and even peevish; which some have ascribed to his natural temper, though that seems to be not a little unjust, if we consider, that he was now old, and had been extremely ill treated by *Agésilæus*, on whose friendship he had reckoned so much. After his death, some *Spartans* of rank, who were contracted to his daughters, refused to espouse them, finding they had no money; for which the ephori fined them, and that very severely, assigning this reason, that such men must be of a flagitious nature, who had rather take a wife out of a wealthy family, than a virtuous one. *Agésilæus*, having subjected the greatest part of the coast, determined with himself to march into the heart of *Persia*, and to revenge the cruelties perpetrated by *Xerxes* when he invaded *Greece*. In the midst of his projects, and when he was on the very point of carrying them into execution, a messenger from *Sparta* brought him a scytale, whereby he was commanded to return, in order to fight his country's battles at home. *Agésilæus* hesitated not a moment; he relinquished all his victories, and all his hopes, preferring obedience to the constitution of *Sparta* to the prospect of subduing the whole *Persian* empire; a conduct which might warrant a long panegyric, if its excellence did not deter us from attempting a theme, which may well be supposed inexhaustible, since the action of *Agésilæus* has hitherto appeared inimitable^p. The year before, the *Spartans* had declared him admiral as well as generalissimo of their forces; which charge he now bestowed on his wife's brother *Pisander*, leaving four thousand men to secure his conquests, and, with the rest of his army, taking

His generous contempt of money.

Agésilæus recalled.
Year of the flood
1954.
Bef. Chr.
394.

* XENOPH. DIOD. PLUT. CORN. NEPOS, ubi supra. P XENOPH. DIOD. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agesil. CORN. NEP. in vit. ejusd. JUSTIN, l. vi. c. 2.

the same rout, which *Xerxes* had done when he entered *Greece*. In his passage, he never demanded any leave from the barbarous nations, but only sent to inquire of them, whether they would have him pass as an enemy, or as a friend. Meeting with some opposition, he engaged the enemy, routed them, and continued his march ¹.

Agefipolis succeeds his father Pausanias

Advantage gained by the Spartans over the states allied against them.

AFTER the flight of *Pausanias*, who left behind him his two sons, *Agefipolis* and *Cleombrotus*, the former of them was declared king; but, being too young to govern by himself, his uncle *Aristodemus*, to whom the *Spartans* gave the command of a very great army, which they raised as well to revenge the death of *Lysander*, as to quell, in its infancy, this dangerous league which was formed against them, held the office of protector. This army, when it took the field, consisted of fifteen thousand men; the confederates immediately opposed it with another of twenty thousand, of which thirteen thousand were heavy armed troops: near *Corinth* a battle ensued, wherein the *Spartans* were victorious, with the loss only of eight men, if we may believe *Xenophon*; that is, eight of the *Spartans*; for of their confederates, he acknowledges, that a great number fell ¹. News was immediately dispatched of this victory to *Agefilas*, who, far from being pleased therewith, cried out, O *Greece*, what a number of brave men are slain in thy private quarrels, when, with a less waste of blood, thou mightest have reduced all *Persia* ²! Though these were his private sentiments, yet, on his return, he obeyed the directions sent him by the ephori; and immediately invaded *Bæotia*, contrary to his judgment of things. On the very day he executed this order, the sun was eclipsed, and he received the news of the defeat of the *Persian* fleet, and the death of his wife's brother *Pisander*: being afraid this ill news might discourage his soldiers, he gave out, that the courier had brought him advice of a victory gained by his brother; on account of which he sacrificed to the gods, and sent portions of the sacrifice to his friends, wearing a garland on his head, and using other testimonies of joy, though he acknowledged, that *Pisander* had fallen in the encounter ³. Not long after, an engagement happened in the neighbourhood of *Cheronæa*, the sharpest which happened in his time, as *Xenophon* relates; and of this he must have been a very good judge, because he was present. In this *Agefilas* was the victor, where he fought; and the *Thebans*, on the other hand, prevailed against that wing which they

¹ XENOPH. *Hellan.* l. iv. DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. PLUT. in vit. Agefil. & in apophth. Lac. CORN. NEP. in vit. Agefil. ² XENOPH. ubi supra. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. ³ PLUT. in vit. Agefil. CORN. NEP. in vit. ejusd. ⁴ XENOPH. ubi supra.

charged;

charged; *Agésilas* was constrained to return, to try his fortune anew against these: it is generally agreed, that, on this occasion, he was guilty of a great oversight, in attacking the *Thebans* in front, when, if he had waited a little, he might have charged them in flank and rear. *Xenophon*, indeed, gives another turn to this matter; for, with him, *Agésilas* was never wrong: yet it is certain, that the mistake had like to have been fatal, the *Thebans* behaving with great resolution, killing many, and wounding more; and among the latter was *Agésilas* himself. At length, they marched slowly from the wounded field, leaving to the *Lacedæmonians* the honour of a victory, of which, however, they could collect no fruits^u. *Agésilas* went to *Delphi*, where he consecrated the tenth of his spoils; and, in the mean time, *Gylus* his lieutenant led the army in *Locris*, where they were so busy in plundering, that the people rose suddenly upon them; and, making a good use of their disorder, killed *Gylus*, and many others. *Corinth* was the head-quarters of the confederates, as *Sicyon* was of the *Lacedæmonians*, and their allies. At *Corinth* there were great seditions: many of the citizens, conceiving that they were idly engaged in this war, which tended to bring them under the dominion of the *Argives*, resolved, if possible, to free themselves, by bringing in a *Lacedæmonian* garison; which, in some measure, they effected. The other party in *Corinth* sent for aid from *Athens*, which was readily accorded; and, between both parties, the city was in the utmost danger of being totally ruined^x. The *Spartans* had possession only of a fort, their enemies had the city; *Agésilas*, to put an end to the dispute, invaded the territory of *Argos* with a great army; and, having passed through it, besieged *Corinth* by land, while his brother *Teleutias* blocked it up by sea: yet did not their enterprize succeed, *Iphicrates*, the *Athenian* captain, preserving *Corinth*, and its territories, from feeling the effects of his resentment^y.

AFTER his return from this expedition, the *Achæans* demanded aid of *Sparta* against the *Acarnanians*; and, according to their request, *Agésilas* was sent to help them, with a great army: he so effectually quelled their enemies, that next year they were glad to make peace^z. This war being ended, *Agésilas*, at the head of another army, entered the country of the *Argives*, though much against his will; for as this people

^u XENOPH. ubi supra. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agefil. CORN. NEP. in vit. ejusd. ^x XENOPH. ubi sup. DIOD. ubi supra. CORN. NEP. in vit. Iphicrat. POLYÆN. l. iii. c. 9. ^y XENOPH. DIOD. PLUT. CORN. NEP. & POLYÆN. ubi supra. ^z DIOD. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agefil.

had desired a truce, he conceived this severity to be a kind of injustice; and therefore would not put himself at the head of the troops, till he had consulted the *Olympian Jupiter*, and the *Delphian Apollo*, on this scruple of conscience. Satisfied with the answers returned by these oracles, he undertook the war; but meeting, or fancying he met, in the course thereof, many prodigies, he returned, without effecting much. In the mean time, *Conon* the *Athenian* threatened the *Spartans* with the loss of their sovereignty by sea; wherefore, to soften the *Antalcidas* sent *Persia*, to endeavour the withdrawing the great king from the interest of their rivals, though, in the mean time, preparations were made for carrying on the war in *Asia*, in case the proposals he was enabled to offer were refused. This was a new method of proceeding, unknown in former times to *Sparta*; and this ambassador was a person who differed much from his fellow-citizens, being extremely affable in his manner, eloquent, and, in short, every way well accomplished to execute a commission at the *Persian* court ^a (Q). The *Athenians*,

Year of
the flood
1955.
Bef. Chr.
393.

^a XENOPH. DIOD. ubi supra.

(Q) *Antalcidas*, the son of *Leon*, was a man of great parts, though of no great probity. To gain the confidence of the *Persians*, he not only fell into their customs, but derided and despised those of his own country; nay, he carried this matter so far, if we may believe *Plutarch*, that he had the assurance, in a wanton dance, to mimic *Leonidas* and *Callicratidas*, two of the most worthy men in *Sparta*. This behaviour won so much on *Artaxerxes*, who otherwise had a violent antipathy to the *Spartans*, and used to call them the most impudent men living, that he sent him from the table where he was sitting, a garland dipped in an ointment, which, for the extraordinary richness of its composition, was used only by the king (62). All which was very agreeable to his own ma-

xim, That the sole means of influencing men, is to speak what may delight, and to do what may profit them (63). But though he diverted himself at the expence of his country's customs, he could answer others very tartly who reflected on them; for, being asked in a contemptuous manner about the bigness of *Sparta*, and the extent of its dominions, he answered smartly, *The walls of Sparta are her youth, and the points of their spears the limits of her territories*. An *Athenian* once bragging in his presence, *That his countrymen had often repulsed the Spartans from Cephissus*; *Very true*, replied *Antalcidas*; *but we had never any occasion to drive you from Eurotas*. Being desirous to gain admission to the *Samothracian* mysteries, the priest asked him, *Whether he had ever committed any*

(62) *Plutarch. in vit. Artaxerxes.*

(63) *Plut. in apophthegm. Lacon.*

nians, however, took such measures as hindered his succeeding immediately. *Thymbro*, who commanded the *Lacedæmonian* All the troops in *Asia*, for a time did good service; but, at last, he states of was defeated and slain: *Talutias*, however, gained some advan- Greece tages at sea; and, having extremely frightened the city of *Athens*, inclined to by an attempt on the *Piræum*, inclined that city to a peace; to a peace. which, indeed, hardly any of the *Grecian* states were now averse. As for *Sparta*, notwithstanding her late victories, she found the expence of the war so heavy, that it forced her both to wish and to seek for peace: the *Athenians*, terrified with their late losses, recollected the fatal issue of the *Peloponnesian* war, and desired to be rid of this, lest its end should prove no better: the *Argives*, finding that their artifices would avail no longer, but that the war would find a place in their country as well as elsewhere, wished a general pacification might take place, for their own particular interest.

THE *Persian* king had also his own profit in view; he stood Terms pro- in need of *Greek* mercenaries, for the carrying on his wars, posed by and these were not to be had at a time when *Greece* stood in the king of need of all her subjects: he therefore signified to *Tiribazus*, Persia. who immediately communicated the dispatches to the *Greeks*, the terms whereon the king desired the peace should be made. They were these: *That the cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should remain to him; that all the other states, small and great, should be left free, excepting only Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which, having been from time immemorial subject to the Athenians, should remain so; that such as*

great crime. If I have, said he, the gods know that already (64). This peace of his was very ill received in *Greece*, by such as piqued themselves on the love of their country; nay, there were many at *Sparta* itself, who could not forbear expressing their resentment at the abandoning their allies to the mercy of the *Barbarians*; infomuch that a person of condition said, in the hearing of king *Agésilas*, that *Greece* was now in a lamentable state, since the *Spartans* themselves began to turn *Medes*: Say rather, replied the king sharply, that the *Medes* begin to turn *Spartans*

(65). How little soever *Agésilas* approved this peace, he supported it with all his might, and constrained both the *Thebans* and *Argives* to accept it much against their wills. On the whole, it must be acknowledged, that *Antalcidas*, by his art, secured the sovereignty to *Sparta*; and that she lost it, by gratifying her own haughtiness, and her king *Agésilas*'s inveterate hatred against the *Thebans* (66). As to the fate of *Antalcidas*, we shall have occasion to mention it in the text, and shall therefore here put an end to this note.

(64) *Plut. in apophth. Læon, Hellan. l. v. Diad. Sic. l. xv.*

(65) *Plut. in vit. Agésil.*

(66) *Xenophon.*

refused

refused to embrace this peace, should be compelled to accept it by force of arms. At first, the *Thebans* absolutely refused to comply, because the government of *Bœotia* was taken from them; but *Agésilæus* making great preparations to invade them, they, in the end, were forced to accede; the *Argives* too quitted *Corinth*, to which the exiles returned; and every thing else was done which the *Spartans* desired. Such was the peace which, from its author, was stiled the peace of *Antalcidas*, whereby the sovereignty of *Greece* indeed was, in a manner, guarantied to *Sparta*, but upon very dishonourable terms, the *Greek* cities in *Asia* being intirely abandoned to the *Persian*, notwithstanding all the promises which had been made them, and that *Agésilæus* himself had fought in their quarrel^b. This flow of success made the *Lacedæmonians* lose all temper, inso-much that, on the conclusion of the peace, they began to think of punishing with severity such as had injured them, or such as they had suspected during the war, as if the dominion of *Greece* had been a small thing, if their new subjects did not feel the pressure of their government^c. The first who experienced the weight of their resentment, were the *Mantineans*, though they had been their confederates, and had done them great services. The *Spartans*, to have a pretence for making war, very modestly directed them to quit their city, and to retire into the five villages which had served their forefathers, where they might be sure to enjoy peace themselves, and not give any umbrage to their neighbours. This being refused, *Agésilæus* was sent with an army against them; for *Agésilæus* did not care to command against his old friends and acquaintance: *Agésilæus* besieged the city all the summer; but when winter drew on, the *Lacedæmonians* dammed up the current of the river, which thereupon rose to such a height in the city, as either to overflow or throw down their houses; and this compelled the *Mantineans* to submit to the conditions prescribed to them by *Sparta*, and to retire to their old villages, from that noble city which they had so long enjoyed. The *Phliasiens* were the next: it was objected to them, that they had exiled some of their own citizens, who were in the interest of *Sparta*; these therefore they were constrained to receive again, and to do whatever else the *Spartans* required of them^d.

The peace
of Antal-
cidas.

Year of
the flood
1961.
Bef. Chr.
387.

The
haughty
behaviour
of the La-
cedæmo-
nians to
the other
cities of
Greece.

THE *Olynthians* were, in the third place, to be chastised, because they were become powerful: to say the truth, there

^b XENOPH. l. v. DIOD. l. xiv. PLUT. in vit. Agésil. & Artaxer. CORN. NEP. in vit. Agésil. ^c DIOD. SIC. l. xv. XENOPHON. Hellan. l. iv. PLUT. in vit. Agésil. JUSTIN. l. vi. c. 6. ^d DIOD. ubi supra. XENOPH. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agésil. PAUSAN. in Lacon.

never was a commonwealth which imitated *Sparta* so nearly as this did of *Olynthus*; for, under pretence of freeing the *The infolent beba-*
Macedonian cities from the tyranny of *Amyntas*, they con-
 quered most of them, and kept them to themselves. The *viciour of*
Acanthians and *Apollonians* signified to the government of *Olyn-*
Sparta, that, in a very short space, they must be constrained
 either to take arms against *Olynthus*, or submit to her, and
 fight under her banners: *Eudamidas* was sent to assist them with
 two thousand men; he marched into *Thrace*, where he did
 great service, expecting his brother *Phæbidas*, who was raising
 a great army, and had orders to follow him; but he, passing
 through *Thebes*, in his march, had it betrayed to him by *Ar-*
cbias and *Leontidas*; whereupon he seized the citadel called
Cadmæa, and put a strong garison into it. This was an open
 violation of the peace, and an act in its nature most flagrantly
 unjust: yet *Agésilas* protected its author, either from an over-
 weaning passion for his own country, or out of an implacable
 aversion to the *Thebans*. On his motion therefore, *Sparta*
 abetted *Phæbidas*, and transferred the government of *Thebes*
 to *Archias* and *Leontidas*, who had put it into his hands; an
 act highly displeasing to the *Greeks*, and which made them very
 apprehensive of the power of *Sparta*^e. *Teleutias* was sent to
 command in *Thrace*, with strict orders to reduce the *Olyn-*
thians, at all events; which he set about so eagerly, that, go-
 ing in person to the assistance of some of his troops, who were
 repulsed by the *Olynthians*, he exposed his whole army to a *Teleutias*
 great loss, and was himself slain upon the spot. *Agésilas*, as *slain*,
 soon as the news reached *Lacedæmon*, was dispatched to sup-
 ply his place. He fought with great success, reduced *Torone*,
 a strong city in those parts, and brought the *Olynthians* into
 great streights; but, in the midst of his conquests, a fever *Agésipo-*
 attacked him, and carried him off in a few days. He was a *lis dies*.
 prince of great worth, but of a very mild temper; which gave
Agésilas room to grow upon him, and to make him subser-
 vient to his purposes; so that he made no great figure in the
 state: yet he died not unregretted, the people sorrowing for
 one, who always treated them with kindness; and *Agésilas*
 expressing great concern for a colleague, with whom he had
 lived long, and without any difference^f.

AGESIPOLIS, having no children, was succeeded by his *Cleom-*
 brother *Cleombrotus*; but he did not succeed him in the com-
 mand of the army, which was intrusted with one *Polybiades*; *succeeds*
Agésipo-

^e DIOD. ubi supra. XENOPH. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agésilai, *lis*.
 & in vit. Pelop. CORN. NEP. in vit. Pelop. ^f DIOD. ubi supra.
 PLUT. in vit. Agésil. & in vit. Agid. XENOPH. ubi supra. PAUSAN.
 in Lacon.

The Olyn-
thians re-
duced by
the Spar-
tans.
And the
Phliasians

Cleom-
brotus
sent
against
the The-
bans.

A new
war be-
tween the
Lacedæ-
monians
and Athe-
nians.

who, in a short time, reduced the *Olynthians* to such distress, that they were compelled to make a treaty with the *Spartans*, whereby they undertook to have the same friends and enemies with them, and to follow them, as associates, whithersoever they should lead them in their wars^e. The *Phliasians* having given some new offence, by not treating the exiles, whom the *Spartans* had restored, with the respect which it was thought they deserved, *Agésilas* marched against them with a great army; at which, however, they were not so much terrified, but that they made a vigorous resistance, and defended their city for a long time. At last, war and famine brought them so low, that they were constrained to yield at discretion; whereupon commissioners were named, part *Spartans*, part of their own exiles, to determine which of the citizens should have mercy, and which should be put to death. Thus did *Sparta* govern with pride and cruelty those whom she had most unjustly brought under her dominion; for, by the peace of *Antalcidas*, she had engaged, that all the cities should be left to their freedom. Such *Thebans*, as could not endure to see their country in slavery, had privately fled to *Athens*; but, entertaining a correspondence in their native country, they found means to be admitted secretly, and, having stabbed the chief men of the opposite party, assumed the administration to themselves. The *Spartans*, upon this, sent *Cleombrotus* their new king, at the head of a great army, to restore things to their former condition; in which, however, he had no great success^h. At his return, he left a garison, under the command of *Sphodrias*, at *Thespe*, as well to encourage the *Thebans* in the *Spartan* interest, as to awe the adjacent country, and lay it under contribution. This *Sphodrias*, either of his own accord, or, as some say, prompted thereto by the artifice of the *Thebans*, attempted to seize the *Piræcum*; which drew the *Athenians* into the quarrel. *Sparta* might easily have rid- ded herself of this new enemy, if she had acted justly, and pu- nished *Sphodrias* as he deserved: but here again king *Agésilas*, being prevailed upon by his son, interposed, and protected the criminal. This effectually induced the *Athenians* to engage in the league formed against *Sparta*: upon which *Agésilas* was forced to undertake the command again, though he was now at that age when the law excused him. He invaded *Bœo- tia*; but with little success, *Chabrias* the *Athenian* having taught the *Thebans* to fight in much better order than they had heretofore done. Towards the end of the campaign, *Phæbi- das*, who had been the author of this war, was killed, with

^e DIOD. & XENOPH. ubi supra. ^h DIODOR. SIC. ubi supra.
XENOPH. ubi supra. PLUT. Pelopid. CORN. NEP. in vit. ejusd.

three hundred horse. The next year, *Cleombrotus* marched against the *Bæotians*; but the *Athenians* and *Thebans* disputing his passage, he was constrained to return.

AT sea, the *Spartans* were beaten by *Timotheus* the son of *Conon*; and, in short, all things began to decline, notwithstanding the utmost care of *Agefilaus*, on whom *Antalcidas* re-
The Spar- tans de- feated at sea,
 venged himself for some smart things he had said of him, when he negotiated the peace in *Persia*; for the king returning home, wounded by the *Thebans*, the statesman cried out, *You are properly rewarded, Agefilaus, for teaching these Thebans to fight, whether they would or no*ⁱ. In the beginning of the hundredth and first *Olympiad*, *Artaxerxes* king of *Persia* laboured
Artax- erxes strives to reconcile the Greeks
 exceedingly in making peace among the *Greeks*, because, having the reduction of *Egypt* in his eye, he stood in need of their assistance. In little more than a year he accomplished it, if that can be said to be accomplished, which was of so short continuance. The *Thebans* would never accept the peace, and the rest of the cities had very little regard to it, such seeds of discord being now sown, as could not be rooted out. The *Lacedæmonians* had every-where established, while they were in power, an oligarchical government; which, in consequence of this peace, being in many places overthrown, the people, as it was natural for them, began to tyrannize over their late masters, and to treat them with as little justice now they were degraded, as they had used towards the people when in power. The *Persian* king still wrought for bringing about a settled tranquillity, which, in the beginning of the hundredth and second *Olympiad*, seemed to be nearly effected, the *Athenians*
The The- bans bent upon war,
 concurring heartily with the *Lacedæmonians*, and shewing no sort of countenance towards the *Thebans*, who still refused to hear of peace, because the *Spartans* insisted they should set the cities of *Bæotia* at liberty. In this opposition they were chiefly encouraged by *Epaminondas*, who demanded, that, before the *Lacedæmonians* gave laws to others, they should shew a proper regard to these maxims of equity themselves, by giving up *Messenia* to its antient proprietors, and setting *Laconia* free^k. This violently incensed *Sparta*, and at the same time did not a little offend *Athens*, who could not bear to see the *Thebans* act independently, who had heretofore either followed their banners, or those of *Sparta*. *Cleombrotus*, with an army of twelve thousand men, was sent into *Bæotia*. *Epaminondas* seized the passages through which he intended to have entered,

ⁱ DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. XENOPH. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agefil. & in apophthegm. Lacon. CORNEL. NEP. in vit. Agefil.
^k XENOPH. Hellen. l. vi. DIOD. SIC. l. xv. PLUT. in vit. Agefil. & Pelopid. CORN. NEP. in vit. Epamin.

and forced him to march round; which he did, and at length penetrated into *Bœotia* from the side next *Phocis*, advancing towards *Leuctra*, and encamping his army in the plains in that neighbourhood. The *Thebans* were greatly despirited at the sight of his numerous army, and the rather, because many evil omens had happened at their marching from home: yet *Epaminondas* prevailed in a council of war, and carried the question to fight the enemy. In the interim, *Jason*, a powerful prince of *Thessaly*, arrived, with a thousand horse, and fifteen hundred foot, which he brought to assist the *Thebans*, though, on his arrival, he strove to make peace, and, by his endeavours, procured a truce to be actually concluded. As *Cleombrotus* was about to retire out of *Bœotia*, he met *Archidamus* the son of *Agésilas* coming with a great reinforcement from *Sparta*. These princes, without any regard to the truce, resolved to march back to *Leuctra*, in order to fall on the *Bœotians*, where they found *Epaminondas* and his troops ready to receive them. That great general, though he knew himself to be inferior to the enemy, resolved to have none serve under him in the day of battle, who were not thoroughly inclined to conquer. He therefore made proclamation, that all who desired to depart might do so; which permission the *Thespians*, and some others, embraced. This done, he disposed his army in battalia, placing all his chosen troops in one wing, and those he least depended on in the other. The former he commanded in person; to the latter he gave directions, that, when they found the enemy's charge too heavy, they should retire leisurely, so as to expose to them a sloping front. *Cleombrotus* and *Archidamus* advanced to the charge with great vigour; but, as they pressed on the *Theban* wing which retired, they gave *Epaminondas* an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front; which he did with such bravery, that the *Spartans* began to give way, especially after *Cleombrotus* was slain, whose dead body, however, they recovered. At length they were totally defeated, chiefly by the skill and conduct of the *Theban* general, who did mighty execution upon them, four thousand being killed on the field of battle; whereas the *Thebans* did not lose above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of *Leuctra*, wherein the *Spartans* lost the empire of *Greece*, which they had now held near five hundred years¹.

The battle
of Leu-
ctra.

Year of
the flood
1978.
Bef. Chr.
370.

The Spar-
tans de-
feated,
with great
slaughter.

Agésilas
succeeds
Cleom-
brotus.

WHEN the ephori had the news of this dreadful and unexpected defeat, they were superintending the *gymnic* solemnities; and, though they evidently saw what the consequences would

¹ XENOPH. ubi supra. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Pelopid. & in vit. Agesil. CORN. NEP. in vit. Epaminond. JUSTIN. l. vi. c. 6. PAUSAN. Lacon.

be of this mighty loss, yet they did not interrupt or adjourn the festival, contenting themselves with sending advice to their relations of the names of those who had fallen in the battle. It was at this time that the *Spartan* virtue shone with greatest lustre. The fathers, mothers, and those who were nearest of kin to such as were killed, assembled the next morning, shook each other by the hand, applauding the courage of their children, while the relations of those who had escaped from the battle hid themselves among the women, or, if they were obliged to go abroad, appeared in tattered cloaths, with their arms folded, and their eyes fixed on the ground. The common people cried out, that now the oracle was accomplished, which forbade them to admit of a lame king, since, under the sovereignty of *Agésilas*, this direful misfortune had overtaken them. However, in regard to his great abilities, and the little hopes they had of *Agésilas*, the son of *Cleombrotus*, who was a person but of very mean parts, they appointed *Agésilas* dictator, or rather legislator, giving him a power over the laws, for this reason; such as fled from the battle were by them degraded from their honours, constrained to appear in garments patched with divers colours, to wear their beards half-shaved, and to suffer any to beat them who pleased, without resistance: to execute this at present, was by no means expedient; power was therefore given to *Agésilas*, to new-mould the constitution, as he thought fit. But that great prince gave, on this occasion, such a proof of his wisdom, as shewed he was worthy of the trust reposed in him; such a proof, as *Plutarch* confesses hath set him above comparison; and which, indeed, can never be sufficiently admired. He came out of the temple very gravely into the public assembly; and, by one short sentence, restored the public peace, preserved such as were under apprehensions, and, at the same time, saved the *Lycurgic* institutes: this sentence runs thus; *Let the laws sleep this day; but to-morrow let them resume their full vigour*^m. Then, old and lame as he was, he assembled an army, which he led out into the territories of the *Arcadians*; and, purposely avoiding an engagement, after ravaging the country, and taking a town or two, he returned home, being content to shew his countrymen, that the fortune of *Sparta* was not intirely lost. Some time after this, a peace was concluded: the *Mantineans* took this opportunity of rebuilding their city, which exceedingly vexed the *Lacedæmonians*, who, at length, not able to contain themselves, invaded them; but the *Mantineans*, shutting themselves up in their new city, refused to hazard their safety by a pitched

Year of
the flood
1978.
Bef. Chr.
370.

Agésilas's wise
conduct.

^m XENOPH. ubi supra. DIOD. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agésil.
CORN. NEP. in vit. ejusd,

Epami-
nondas
enters La-
conia, but
is obliged
to retire.

battle. The *Arcadians*, about the same time, built the great city of *Megalopolis*, to which, from all their villages, they repaired; this too offended the *Lacedæmonians*, who thereupon invaded *Arcadia*, and slew *Lycomedes*, the *Mantinæan* general of *Arcadia*, with two hundred men. This broke the spirit of the *Arcadians*, who thereupon sent to *Athens* for relief; but, being denied there, they made their application to *Thebes*, from whence *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* were sent, with a great army, to their assistance. When they were come into *Arcadia*, and found themselves at the head of fifty thousand men, they knew not what to do, the enemy being retired; at last, it was resolved to invade *Laconia*, a thing hitherto unattempted; which accordingly they did, and, under the auspice of *Epaminondas*, appeared before *Sparta* itself, which till then had never heard of war in its neighbourhood. In this desperate situation of things, *Agésilas* took the command upon himself, disposing the citizens with such skill, and opposing the enemy where-ever they attempted to enter, with such numbers, that *Epaminondas*, notwithstanding he greatly desired it, found it impossible to attack the place; but was constrained to retire, wasting the country as he marched offⁿ.

Dangerous
conspiracy
at Sparta.

Epami-
nondas's
virtue and
magnani-
mity.

IN the midst of these misfortunes, a very dangerous conspiracy broke out, two hundred of the rebels seizing the temple of *Diana*, at *Ifforion*. The *Spartans* would have immediately attacked them, and put them to the sword; but *Agésilas*, not knowing how far the contagion might reach, prevented them; and, having only one servant near him, went in person to the place, to which when he drew near, he called out, *Sirs, you mistook my orders; I did not direct you to go all to one place, but that some of you should go there, and some there*. The conspirators, hearing this, believed they were not discovered; and therefore, separating immediately, went to the posts which he assigned them: thus separated, they were easily seized; and, being conducted to examination, were afterwards put to death the same night, without any respect had to the ordinary forms of law. *Epaminondas*, when he quitted the territories of *Sparta*, left behind him such a mark of his virtue and magnanimity, as is scarce to be paralleled in history: he rebuilt the city of *Messene*; and, recalling the antient inhabitants of *Messenia* from the several countries where they had taken refuge, he restored them to the possession of their antient patrimony, after they had lost it three hundred years. It is remarkable,

ⁿ XENOPH. ubi supra, & in orat. de laud. Agesil. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agesil. & Pelopid. CORN. NEPOS in vit. Agesil. & Epaminond. PAUSAN. in Lacon. POLYÆN. stratag. lib. ii.

that

that these *Messenians*, notwithstanding their dispersion, preserved the old *Doric* dialect, which continued to be spoke amongst them to the times of *Pausanias*, the geographer and historian. When *Epaminondas* had accomplished this, he offered the *Lacedæmonians* peace, on condition that they quitted all pretensions to *Messenia*, and left *Laconia* free; which terms were rejected with scorn °. The present distress of *Sparta* obliged her to sue for assistance to her rival *Athens*; which, whether from a principle of generosity or vain-glory, is uncertain, was readily sent them, under the command of *Iphicrates*, who, in this expedition, was so unlucky as to lose a great part of his reputation, the military prudence of *Epaminondas* putting it out of his power to effect any thing to the prejudice of the army under his command. The next year the war continued with as great warmth as ever, *Epaminondas* being sent with a great army to join the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Eleans*, who were in arms in *Peloponnesus*: the *Lacedæmonians*, in the mean time, applied themselves assiduously to all the methods that could be devised for restoring their affairs; they solicited their allies; they manumitted such of the *Helotes* as were willing to take arms; they sought the assistance of the *Athenians*, and even of *Dionysius* the *Sicilian*, who ordered two thousand *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to hold themselves in readiness to be transported into *Greece*, as soon as the season would permit. In the interim, the *Lacedæmonian* army, consisting of twenty thousand men, fortified the passes at the isthmus; and, having strongly retrenched themselves, determined to abide there, in order to hinder *Epaminondas*, and his *Thebans*, from entering *Peloponnesus*: but this hope was vain; for though the *Theban* army was far inferior in number, yet *Epaminondas*, having considered the extent of their works, and that they were apparently weakest where the *Spartans* were posted, determined, at all events, to attack them there; which he did with such vigour, that he forced their lines, and broke into *Peloponnesus*, *Epaminondas* where he wasted the country, reduced *Sicyon*, and some other cities, and afterwards marched to *Corinth*, which he had also taken, if it had not been for *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who, being cordially in the interest of *Sparta*, defended the place so well, that *Epaminondas* was forced to retire. Here the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, who were by this time come from *Sicily*, did great service; and, in the end of the summer, being bountifully rewarded, returned home P.

° XENOPH. *Hellan.* l. vi. DIOD. *Sic.* l. xv. PLUT. in vit. Ages. & in vit. Pelop. JUSTIN. l. vi. c. 7. CORN. NEP. in vit. Epamin. PAUSAN. in *Messen.* & *Lacon.* P XENOPH. *Hellan.* l. vii. DIOD. ubi supra. CORN. NEP. in vit. Epamin.

The Arcadians
routed by
Archidamus.

Year of
the flood

1981.

Bef. Chr.

367.

A general
peace con-
cluded.

THE Lacedæmonians, though they were still desirous of peace, continued to make as great preparations as possible for supporting the war. *Agefilaus* assisted them with his counsels; *Cleomenes*, who succeeded his brother *Agefipolis*, after a year's reign, discharged the functions of first magistrate; *Archidamus*, the son of *Agefilaus*, having the chief command of their armies. In the first year of the hundredth and third *Olympiad*, this prince having drawn together a considerable body of *Spartans*, and their allies, and being assisted by *Cissidas*, general in chief of *Dionysius's* forces, he marched into *Arcadia*, in order to revenge his country for the many inroads which, within a few years before, they had suffered from the *Arcadians*. Having taken *Garyæ*, and put those he took therein to the sword, he projected still greater conquests, till, on a sudden, all his attempts were checked by a declaration of *Cissidas*, that, his commission being expired, he could act offensively no longer: in consequence of which declaration, he immediately withdrew. But, in his retreat, finding himself in danger of being surrounded by the *Messenians*, he sent to *Archidamus*, to beseech his assistance: the *Spartan* immediately marched, with all his forces, to the relief of his ally; and, on his arrival, fell with such vigour on the *Arcadians*, and their allies, that he utterly defeated them, with the slaughter of no less than ten thousand men, without so much as one *Spartan's* being slain: whereby the prediction of the priests at *Dodona* is said to have been fulfilled, they having declared, when *Archidamus* marched, that this war would end without any mourning of the *Lacedæmonians* ⁹. Some time after this, *Epaminondas* broke again, notwithstanding all the care that could be taken, into *Peloponnesus*, yet without doing any great mischief, the endeavours of the *Persian* king having disposed almost all *Greece* to think of peace; which, with much ado, was effected, after the *Laconian* or *Bæotic* war had lasted about five years; in which, if *Agefilaus* was to blame, for having, through his hatred of the *Thebans*, been a principal author thereof, yet the great services he did his country therein, and his preserving the city of *Sparta* from being taken by a numerous and victorious enemy, were such reparations, that we may justly commend the *Spartans* for overlooking the failings of their prince, and making use of those high qualities which were alone capable of preserving them. We have been led to this observation from the nature of this history, which shews how soon the haughtiness of any state can raise up enemies enough to pull it down; and how far the wisdom of a single person may be capable of

⁹ XENOPH. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra. PAUSAN. in Lacon. ATHEN. deipnosoph. l. xii. PLUT. in vit. Agefil.

conserving and restoring a dejected and defeated nation, both as to spirits and power ^r.

IN the second year of the hundredth and fourth *Olympiad*, *New com-* there broke out new commotions in *Peloponnesus*: the *Tege-* motions in *tæans* and *Mantineans* making war on each other, the former *Pelopon-* requesting the aid of the *Thebans*, the latter of the *Lacedæmo-* nians and *Athenians*, gave occasion thereby to a new and fa- Year of the flood 1986. Bef. Chr. 362. tal controversy; for *Epaminondas*, at the head of a great army, marching to the assistance of his allies, had notice that *Agefilas*, with the whole power of *Sparta*, was in full march to join the enemy; whereupon conceiving in himself, that *Sparta* must be left naked, he directed his march thither, with the utmost diligence. *Xenophon* himself acknowledges, that this measure was so well taken, and so briskly pursued, that nothing could have prevented his surprising the place; but, by accident, a person gave notice of his march to *Agefilas*, who thereupon dispatched a courier to *Sparta*, to desire the citizens to be on their guard: *Archidamus* no sooner received his father's dispatch, than he made all proper dispositions for the defence of the place; the old men and boys he placed on the tops of houses, that they might incommode the *Thebans*, by throwing tiles and stones; such as were capable of bearing arms he posted in all the avenues of the city; so that, when *Epaminondas* came, he had the mortification to see, that his design was discovered; and that it was impossible for him to think of entering, without great effusion of blood: notwithstanding all this, he attacked the place, but was re- Epami- ceived so warmly, that he was obliged to retire; yet *Archida-* nondas *mus* following him, gave an opportunity to the *Thebans* to re-attempts vengeance the death of their countrymen, which they did, by cut- the sur- ting off a great number of *Spartans*, who had thus needlessly prize of exposed themselves by an unwary pursuit. *Epaminondas*, to *Sparta*. make himself amends for this successful attempt, marched directly to surprise *Mantineæ*, which, he rightly conjectured, would be left naked by *Agefilas*'s march to the relief of *Sparta*: yet here again an accident defeated all his wisdom; six thousand *Athenian* succours were just landed in *Peloponnesus*, and entered *Mantineæ* the very day that he attacked it. These, being fresh, and full of spirits, had the better of his horse, and forced him to abandon his design ^s. These mis-carriages sunk deep into the bosom of this great general, who, reflecting that his commission was about to expire, and that if

^r XENOPH. ubi supra, & in orat. de laudib. Agefil. POLYÆN. stratag. l. ii. c. 1. PLUT. in vit. Agefil. ^s XENOPH. ubi supra. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agefil. PAUSAN. Lacon. CORN. NEP. in vit. Epaminond.

Epami-
nondas
killed.

Agefilaus
died.

he retired out of *Peloponnesus* without effecting any thing, he should not only lose his own glory, but that authority also to which he had raised his country, he determined, for the preservation of both these, to risque a battle at all events. When therefore he understood, that *Agefilaus*, at the head of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Arcadians*, with the rest of the allies, being no less than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, were arrived in the neighbourhood of *Mantinæa*, he led forth his army; and, having drawn it up in battalia, marched off towards the hills of *Tegæa*, as if he intended to encamp there; but, on a sudden, altering the disposition of his line, to give it the form of a wedge, he speedily marched back, and fell upon the allies, when they expected no such matter: the confusion was so great, that the *Thebans* would have acquired a very easy victory, if *Epaminondas*, charging the *Lacedæmonians*, had not exposed his person too much; for they, knowing well that the whole power of *Thebes* was centred in this single man, covered him with darts, many of which he pulled out of his flesh, and returned upon those who discharged them; at last one *Anticiates*, a *Spartan*, struck him into the breast with a javelin, with such force, that it broke, and left the iron sticking therein; whereupon he fell down, which occasioned a new contest for his body; and in this, with much ado, his countrymen were victorious, though with the loss of their best officers. All *Greece* looked with concern on the issue of this business: which was this; that the contending parties, fearing the continuance of so bloody a war, unanimously struck up a general peace, excepting only the *Lacedæmonians*, who, at the instance of *Agefilaus*, refused to become parties thereto, because the *Messenians* were comprehended therein; for which he is justly censured by *Plutarch*, who was likewise no less displeased at the last actions of his life, which were these: Finding that the *Persian* was no longer inclined to *Sparta*, he consented, for the sake of a large subsidy given to his country by the king of *Egypt*, to go in person, to command the *Greek* mercenaries he had in his service: there, for a time, he was of great use to the prince, at whose request he went into *Egypt*; but at length, either to gratify his own resentment, or because he thought it more advantageous to his country, he deserted him, and sided with his competitor; from whom having received a large sum of money for his good services, he embarked in order to return into *Peloponnesus*; but, being, by contrary winds, forced on the *African* shore, he died after a short illness, rather of

XENOPH. *Hellan.* l. viii. DIOD. SIC. l. xv. PLUT. in vit. Agefil. JUSTIN. l. vi. c. 7. CORN. NEP. in vit. Epamin.

age and fatigue, than of any other distempers, when he had attained the eighty-fourth year of his life, and had reigned forty-one years, leaving behind him the character of a wise prince, a great captain, and a passionate lover of his country" (R).

ARCHI-

" XENOPH. ubi supra, & in orat. de laud. Agefil. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agefil.

(R) If it may be justly esteemed an happiness to a great king, to have his actions recorded by writers of eminent abilities, no prince of Greece ever was happier in this respect than *Agefilaus*: *Xenophon*, the best historian of his age, and the companion of *Agefilaus*'s labours, was likewise the compiler of them. His *Grecian* history contains a very particular narration of the king's exploits; and his oration in praise of *Agefilaus* is a panegyric worthy of the character of that prince, and of its writer. *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* hath also a very copious account of the transactions of this king of *Sparta*; besides which, and the transcripts that have been made from antient *Greek* writers by translators and epitomizers, we have his life written by *Plutarch*, and again by *Cornelius Nepos*. His expedition into *Egypt*, when he was eighty years old and upwards, is to be the subject of this note: this let us take from *Plutarch*, who hath given us the detail of this expedition with peculiar exactness. " As soon as he arrived in *Egypt*, all the great officers of the kingdom came to pay their compliments to him at his landing; his reputation, being so great, had raised the expectation of the whole country, which flocked in to see him; but when they found,

" instead of the great prince
" whom they looked for, a little
" old man of contemptible presence, without ceremony lying down upon the grass, his hair uncombed, and his cloaths threadbare, they fell into a laughter and scorn of him, crying out, that the old proverb was now made good, *The mountain had brought forth a mouse*. They were much scandalized at his insensibility and rudeness, as they thought it, who, when the presents, usually offered to strangers of distinction, were made him of all manner of provisions, took only the meal, the calves, and the geese, but rejected the sweet-meats, the confections, and perfumes; and, when they urged him to the acceptance of them, he said, *They might carry them to his slaves the Helotes*. *Theophrastus* says, that he was taken with nothing he saw in *Egypt* so much as with the *papyrus*, so proper for garlands, by reason of the smoothness and pliantness of its rind; and, when he left *Egypt*, he desired the king to let him carry some of it home with him. When he joined with *Tachos*, he found his expectation of being generalissimo frustrated; *Tachos* reserved that place for himself, making *Agefilaus* only
" cap-

Archida-
mus suc-
ceeds Age-
filaus.

ARCHIDAMUS succeeded his father *Agefilaus*: he was become the darling of the people for the glorious victory he had obtained over the *Arcadians*, and which, because no *Spartan* fell therein, they transmitted to posterity by the name of the

“ captain of the band of merce-
“ naries, and *Chabrias* the *Athe-*
“ *nian* admiral. This was the
“ first occasion of his discon-
“ tent; but there followed o-
“ thers: he, being daily tired
“ with the insolency and vanity
“ of this *Egyptian*, was at length
“ forced to attend on him into
“ *Phœnicia*, in a condition much
“ below his spirit and dignity;
“ which, notwithstanding, he
“ was obliged to digest for a
“ while, till he had an opportu-
“ nity of shewing his resent-
“ ment. It was soon afforded
“ him by *Neētanabis*, *Tachos*’s
“ own nephew, and a great cap-
“ tain under him, who took an
“ occasion to fall off from his
“ uncle, and was proclaimed
“ king by the *Egyptians*. This
“ man invited *Agefilaus* to his
“ party, and the like he did to
“ *Chabrias*, offering great re-
“ wards to both. *Tachos* had
“ quickly intelligence of this,
“ and had then recourse to all
“ submissive methods he could
“ think of, in order to engage
“ both *Agefilaus* and *Chabrias*
“ to his interest: the latter rea-
“ dily yielded to his intreaties,
“ and endeavoured all he could
“ to persuade *Agefilaus*; but he
“ pretended to depend wholly
“ on the orders which should be
“ sent him from *Sparta*, whither
“ both the *Egyptian* princes had
“ dispatched ambassadors. The
“ *Lacedæmonians* left the whole
“ matter to *Agefilaus*, directing
“ him to do what was most for
“ the benefit of the common-

“ wealth; whereupon he im-
“ mediately changed sides, and
“ carried off all the mercenaries
“ with him. He had not been
“ long in the service of *Neēta-*
“ *nabis*, before a certain *Mende-*
“ *sian* set up his claim to the
“ *Egyptian* kingdom, and brought
“ an hundred thousand men at
“ his heels to support it. He
“ attempted to tamper with *Age-*
“ *filaus*, of which *Neētanabis*
“ having notice, began to su-
“ spect him; and his suspicion
“ increased, when *Agefilaus* ad-
“ vised him to fight this multi-
“ tude immediately: he took
“ quite a different method, re-
“ tiring into a strong city, and
“ shutting up himself and his
“ troops therein: the *Mendesian*,
“ advancing, invested the place
“ immediately, and began to
“ sink a ditch, and throw up
“ entrenchments, all round the
“ place. *Neētanabis*, all on a
“ sudden, talked of fighting,
“ being afraid of being cooped
“ up, and starved out; but *A-*
“ *gefilaus* opposed it, for which
“ the *Greeks* blamed him, and
“ the *Egyptians* called him trai-
“ tor; but he bore all with
“ patience, being ashamed of
“ changing sides a second time.
“ At last, when the enemy had
“ almost perfected their works,
“ and only a narrow aperture
“ was left, *Agefilaus* went to
“ *Neētanabis*, and addressed
“ him thus: Now, young man,
“ you have an opportunity of sav-
“ ing yourself; your enemies have
“ been all this time working for
“ you :

the *tearless battle*. In his reign broke out the *Phocian* or sacred war, wherein he sided with the *Phocians*, at the persuasion, as some writers say, of his wife *Dinicha*. Others affirm, that not only his wife and himself were wrought on by the bribes of the *Phocians*, but even the ephori, the senate, and the whole republic of *Sparta*: but though he espoused their quarrel, yet he was far from countenancing their cruelty, which, on the contrary, he openly condemned and opposed. When *Philip* king of *Macedon* began to interest himself much in the affairs of *Greece*, and to take highly upon him for the many victories he had gained, *Archidamus* is said to have sent him this message: "Sir, If you will be pleased to measure your shadow, you will not find it a whit longer than it was before." He was by no means pleased with the customs of his country; but, on the contrary, thought them burdensome and rigorous; affecting to live freely, and without restraint, supposing that it did not at all affect a man's honesty, if he eat a good dinner. For this reason, he was glad of an opportunity to leave *Sparta*, and of residing in a foreign country, where he might live as he would, without offending the laws, or giving scandal to his subjects. The *Tarentines* therefore requesting aid of the *Lacedæmonians*, for their support against their neighbours, *Archidamus* very readily offered to command the forces that were decreed them; and, passing, on this occasion, over into *Italy*, he was there slain near the city of *Mandonium*, after having reigned fifteen years. His statue was erected at the temple of *Jupiter* in *Italy*.

Year of
the flood
1987.
Bef. Chr.
361.

"you: if you issue out with your
"forces, you will easily beat those
"who guard the gap which is yet
"open; and, as for the rest, their
"own works will hinder them
"from surrounding us. *Nectanabis*,
"admirating his wisdom,
"exactly followed his advice;
"by which means he routed his
"competitor, and, leaving the
"conduct of the war for the
"future to *Agésilas*, he quickly
"subdued all his enemies, and
"settled him firmly on the
"throne. After this, being
"eagerly desirous of doing still
"something more for the ser-
"vice of his country, the king
"of *Sparta* embarked in order
"to return to *Greece*, carrying

"with him, among other rich
"presents, a gratuity of two
"hundred and thirty talents, as
"a free gift from *Nectanabis* to
"the state of *Sparta*. In this
"voyage he died; and, for
"want of honey, which the
"Spartans were wont to use in
"embalming, his servants wrap-
"ped his body in wax, and
"brought it safe to *Sparta*." *Xenophon* hath taken much pains
to vindicate even his deserting
Tachos, which *Plutarch* justly
treats as an act of treachery,
proceeding, as he tells us plain-
ly, from the *Spartan* maxim,
that all things are just that are
profitable to one's country (67).

(67) *Plutarch*, in vit. *Agésil.*

Jupiter

Jupiter Olympius; an honour which none of the *Spartan* kings had enjoyed, except himself; which *Pausanias* supposes was granted to him, because he died fighting against the Barbarians, and did not receive those sepulchral honours which had been given to all his predecessors ^x.

Agis suc-
ceeds Ar-
chidamus.
Year of
the flood
2002.
Bef. Chr.
346.

He stirs up
the Greeks
against
Alexan-
der.

AGIS, the son of *Archidamus*, succeeded his father: he was a prince of great virtue and magnanimity: he, in his youth, had been sent ambassador to *Philip* of *Macedon*, who, seeing him alone, whereas all other cities sent many deputies, said, with an air of contempt, "What! from *Sparta* but "one?" "Why, Sir, said *Agis*, I was sent but to one ^y." When afterwards one of the creatures of that prince told him, "*Philip* will not allow you to set your foot in any "other part of *Greece*;" "It is a mercy, said he, that "we have a good deal of room at home ^z." During the reign of *Alexander*, though he hated the *Macedonians*, yet he did not think fit to expose his country to ruin, by opposing them; but when, after the battle of *Iffus*, abundance of mercenaries fled out of *Persia*, he lifted them to the number of eight thousand, and openly declared for *Darius*; from whom receiving money to pay his troops, and a fleet, he sailed over into *Crete*, part of which he subdued. After the battle of *Arbela*, he stirred up all *Greece* to revolt, by shewing them, that, when *Alexander* had subdued *Persia*, they must become a province of his empire, which would be no less grievous to them, than if they had been subdued by any of the former kings of *Persia*; for, as he rightly observed, a *Grecian* king, reigning in *Persia*, would be a *Persian* to them: besides, having always been free, he encouraged them to defend their freedom, while their capital enemy was yet afar off, and would be constrained to manage the war by his lieutenants. The *Greeks*, roused by these remonstrances, raised an army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; of which when *Antipater* had notice, he composed on any terms the disturbances in *Thrace*, and marched strait into *Greece* with forty thousand men. *Agis*, however, did not retire, or shun an engagement; so that a decisive battle was quickly fought; wherein, after a glorious resistance, the *Spartans*, and their confederates, were routed, with the loss of five thousand three hundred men, *Antipater* losing three thousand five hundred also. *Agis* himself fell, but in a manner greatly to his honour; for, being covered with wounds, he was borne by his soldiers out of the battle, till,

Is wound-
ed in a
battle.

^x DIOD. SIC. l. xvi. STRABON. geogr. l. vi. PLUT. apophtheg. Lacon. PAUSAN. Lacon. & Messen. JULIAN. orat. ii. ^y PLUT. apophthegm. Lacon. ^z Idem ibid.

seeing them on the point of being surrounded, he commanded them to set him down, and preserve themselves for the future service of their country: remaining then alone with his sword in his hand, he fought it out upon his knees, killing several of the *Macedonians*, till at last he was shot through the body with a dart^a. Such was the glorious death of this most virtuous king, who died in defence of liberty, and his country, after a reign of nine years. Yet, when *Alexander* heard of this engagement, he was vain enough to say, “While we are fighting *Darius* in *Asia*, there has been, it seems, a battle of mice in *Arcadia*”^b. His glorious death.

Agis was succeeded by his son *Eudamidas*, a prince of great wisdom, moderation, and gentleness. He governed all his days in peace; and we have, of consequence, nothing of him on record, except certain instances of his good sense, and great capacity for governing in those troublesome times wherein he lived. The death of *Agis* had so much provoked the *Lacedæmonians*, that they were for carrying on a war against *Macedon* at all events; which *Eudamidas* opposed: and, when a certain *Spartan* addressed him thus, *Why, Sir, when all your citizens are for a war, do you alone advise them to continue in peace? Because,* answered the king, *I would convince them of their mistake.* Another magnifying the victories which had been obtained by their ancestors against the *Persians*, and encouraging them from thence to undertake a war against *Macedon*, *You think, Sir,* said *Eudamidas*, *that it is the same thing to make war against a thousand sheep, as against fifty wolves.* Year of the flood 2011. Bef. Chr. 337.

Coming into the school of *Xenocrates* the philosopher, and observing that he was very old, he asked what was his profession: and somebody answering, that he was a wise man, who sought after virtue, *Alas!* said he, *is he seeking it at these years? When then will he make use of it?* When *Alexander* caused it to be proclaimed throughout *Greece*, that all the exiles should return in safety to their own cities, excepting those of *Thebes*; *This is an hard case,* O ye *Thebans*, said *Eudamidas*, *but at the same time very honourable; for it is evident, that Alexander fears you only of all the Greeks*^c. All these kings had for their colleague *Cleomenes* the son of *Cleombrotus*, who reigned very long, but without doing any thing that was remarkable.

ARCHIDAMUS succeeded his father *Eudamidas*, as *Areus* Archidam the son of *Acrotatus* did his grandfather *Cleomenes*; but not without some dispute, his uncle *Cleonimus* setting up a title to *Areus* the throne, though the people preferred the son of the elder *kings of Sparta*.

^a DIOD. SIC. l. xviii. CURT. l. vi. JUSTIN. l. xii. STRAB. l. viii. PAUSAN. Attic. ^b DIOD. l. xviii. ^c PLUT. apophthegm. LACON. PAUSAN. LACON.

Pyrrhus
espouses
the cause
of Cleo-
nymus
claiming
the crown.

brother to the younger. *Cleonymus*, however, retired to *Pyrrhus*, whom he brought, with an army, into his country, to abet his cause, notwithstanding that the ephori and senate would have granted him any reasonable terms he could have asked. The *Spartans* sent *Dercyllidas* to meet him on the frontiers, and to expostulate with him on the injustice of his invasion; but *Pyrrhus*, by one of his courtiers, bid him carry this message to *Sparta*, that they should receive their king *Cleonymus*, or he would make them know, that they were no better than other men. *Sir*, answered *Dercyllidas*, *if your master is a god, we do not fear him, because we have done no wrong; and, if he is a man, we do not fear him, because we are as good as he*^d. This expedition had well nigh accomplished the ruin of *Sparta*, occasioning much more loss thereto, than either of the attempts of *Epaminondas*. It is our duty therefore to enter into a distinct detail thereof: *Pyrrhus* had with him twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants. *Areus* was in this time at *Crete*, and the city was chiefly intrusted to the care of his son *Acrotatus*, whose amours had, in a great measure, occasioned this war; for he had debauched *Chelidonis* the wife of *Cleonymus* his uncle; which was one great reason of his flying to *Pyrrhus*, whom he accompanied in this expedition. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of *Sparta*, which was very unexpected, the citizens flattering themselves that their ambassadors would have obtained peace, certain intelligence was brought to the king, that the city was so meanly provided, and the people so much amazed, that, without question, it would fall, almost without trouble, into his hands. When this news came, it was towards evening: yet *Cleonymus* pressed hard for their marching thither that night; but the king, fearing that the darkness would afford an opportunity to the soldiers of possessing themselves of all the riches of *Sparta*, refused to attack it till day-light; a thing so little expected even by the *Spartans* themselves, that, in *Cleonymus*'s house, the *Helotes* were busy in providing a supper, not doubting but *Pyrrhus* would take up his lodgings there. But when it was known, that his soldiers had pitched their camp near the walls, the senate assembled to consider, if any thing could be done for their preservation; and the first resolution they came to was, to send the women immediately over into *Crete*; which resolution some way taking wind, the *Spartan* women assembled together, and, having deputed *Archidamia* to carry their sentiments to the senate, she entered the room with a sword in her hand, addressing the assembly in these words: *Do not, my lords, entertain so mean an opinion of the Spartan wo-*

The gal-
lant beha-
viour of
the Spar-
tan wo-
men.

^d PLUT. in apophth.

men, as to fancy, that they will ever outlive Sparta. Instead of considering whither we are to fly, consider what we are to do, and be assured we will undertake any thing for the service of our country^e. Upon this, it was resolved to sink a trench directly opposite to the enemy's camp, and to defend the extremities thereof, by burying waggons to their axle-trees, crossing each other, in order thereby to prevent the passage of the elephants. When this work was begun, the women came out, many of them in their shifts, to assist the men in years, who were employed in digging; for they would not allow any of the young men to fatigue themselves, lest they should be unable to sustain the enemy's charge in the morning. The dimensions of the trench once settled, which some tell us were these, viz. the breadth six cubits, the depth four, and the length eight hundred feet; the women took a third part of it, and engaged to finish it by morning^f. When the day began to break, and the troops of *Pyrrhus* were in motion, the *Lacedæmonian* women armed their men for the fight, representing to them, as they were buckling their armour, and putting their spears into their hands, how glorious an opportunity they had of conquering the enemies of their country in the sight of their mothers, wives, and daughters, or of falling in its cause. As for *Chelidomis*, she retired to her own house, with an halter about her neck, to shew, that, if things went amiss, she would rather end her own life, than cohabit again with her husband. *Pyrrhus* saw with amazement the labour his troops were to undergo. However, he led them in person to the assault, where they fought with the utmost fury against the *Spartans*; who, considering for what they contended, made a most desperate resistance. In the mean time *Ptolemy*, the son of *Pyrrhus*, drew off two thousand *Gauls*, and other choice men, from the attack; and, marching to one of the extremities of the ditch, employed them in dragging out the waggons; which at last, with much-ado, they effected, and began to draw them off towards a neighbouring river. *Acrotatus* was the first who perceived this desperate mischief, which he immediately sought to remedy; for, rushing through the city with three hundred men, he passed round by the sides of the hills, and charged *Ptolemy's* troops in the rear; who thinking of nothing less, and being in no posture of defence, he forced numbers of them into the ditch, and drove the waggons they had removed over the rest, to the great joy of the *Spartans*. Where *Pyrrhus* charged in person, the attack was sustained with the greatest vigour; and one *Phyllius*, a *Spartan*, gave such a demonstration of invincible courage, as is scarce to be matched in history:

^e PLUT. in vit. Pyrrh.^f JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 4.

he fought in the front of his countrymen's ranks till he found himself so exhausted, through the many wounds he had received, that he was no longer able to stand; when he called to the commanding officer, and, having resigned to him his post, retired as far back as he could, that his body might be out of the reach of the enemy, when he fell.

His dream

As the battle began with day, it ended therewith; and *Pyrrhus*, being extremely fatigued, retired to his tent, where he slept very soundly till towards morning, when he had the following dream: he thought he saw himself throw lightning on *Sparta*, which set it all on fire; with the joy of which he awaked. He immediately ran to his council of officers, and communicated to them his vision. But *Lyfimachus* his favourite did not understand the vision in the same light with the king: *Thou knowest*, *Pyrrhus*, said he, *that, with us, places struck with lightning are accounted sacred: I am therefore of opinion, that the gods have hereby signified to thee, that Sparta is as sacred and inviolable, as any place struck with lightning. Well*, replied *Pyrrhus*, *I am ready to own, my friend, that nothing can be more uncertain than our conjectures concerning these things; yet this remains certain still, that we ought to do our duty; and therefore, without thinking more of my dream, let us prepare for the*

The attack renewed.

attack §. The assault was no less vigorous than the day before; nor did the *Lacedæmonians* defend themselves with less bravery, the women remaining all day at the trench, supplying the soldiers with arms, ammunition, meat, drink, and whatever else they wanted, binding up their wounds, and carrying them off, in case they were disabled. At last, however, *Pyrrhus* prevailed in the very attempt his son had miscarried in the day before, and of a sudden appeared within the waggons, charging at the head of a great number of horse with mighty resolution. In vain the *Lacedæmonians* crowded from all sides to obstruct his passage; they were trodden down by his horse; and *Pyrrhus* was on the very point of entering the city, when an arrow struck his steed to the heart. The beast, flouncing in the agonies of death, threw him off; and his soldiers, in the first confusion, not knowing whether he, as well as his horse, was not slain, gave back. Upon which the *Spartans* pressed on them so eagerly, and distributed their darts with such success, that, when *Pyrrhus* had remounted, he thought it best to retire, supposing that the third day would put an end to this contest, when, after the heat of the action, the *Spartans* had leisure to feel their wounds; nor would he, in all probability, have been mistaken, if he had dealt the next day with none but those whom he engaged before. The good fortune of

Pyrrhus repulsed.

§ PLUTARCH. in vit. Pyrrh.

Sparta

Sparta prevented this; for one of *Antigonus's* captains, having intelligence of their distress, and of the noble stand they had made, adventured, with a body of troops under his command, to throw himself into the place, where he was scarce arrived, before king *Areus* himself entered, with two thousand fresh men. *Pyrrhus*, notwithstanding, assaulted the place the third time; but with little success: whereupon he embraced *Pyrrhus* an invitation given him to march to *Argos*, and endeavoured to rid himself of this unlucky business as well as he could: yet here again he found himself distressed; for king *Areus*, being once come, did not care to part with him so, but sent a choice body of horse to harass his rear. *Pyrrhus*, vexed at this insult, ordered his son *Ptolemy*, with some squadrons under his command, to march to the assistance of the troops attacked; where the young prince, more ambitious of glory, than careful of life, exposing himself too much, was slain. *Pyrrhus*, when he heard the news, immediately mounted on horseback; and, charging with unwonted fury the *Lacedæmonians*, slew many of them, and particularly their commander in chief, with his own hand. He afterwards quitted his horse, and fought on foot; and, when he had fatiated himself with destroying numbers of the *Spartans*, continued his march to *Argos*.^h

AREUS is very much blamed for his conduct on this occasion. It is said, that, when *Pyrrhus* was retired, pursuing him was needless, and served only to throw away the lives of many brave men; but, it seems, the *Spartan* king was of opinion, that no safety could be hoped for, till *Pyrrhus* was out of *Greece*. For this reason, he posted away in person to *Argos*, with a thousand choice foot; and yet he scarce arrived time enough there to save the city, a gate of which having been perfidiously opened to *Pyrrhus* in the night, he entered it before the citizens were aware. However, they stood to their arms; and, while they were hotly engaged with the enemy, *Areus* came to their aid. *Pyrrhus*, at last perceiving that he fought under great disadvantages, would have retreated; but, his orders being mistaken, and his forces and elephants still continuing to enter the city, he was at last beat from his horse by a woman, who, standing on the top of her house, and perceiving him about to push his horse upon her son, discharged a thick tile at his head, which, striking him on his temples, took away his senses; and, before he could recover them, an officer of *Antigonus's* army struck off his head.ⁱ Concerning this *Areus* we know nothing further, than that he was a zealous defender of the liberties of *Greece*, as far as the broken and

^h JUSTIN. *ibid.* ⁱ JUSTIN. *hist.* l. xxv. c. 5. PAUSAN. in *Argol.* PLUT. in vit. *Pyrrh.*

distressed state of his country would give him leave ; for, when he understood, that *Athens* was in danger of being oppressed by *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, he generously armed in its defence, and was slain valiantly fighting at the battle of *Corinth*^k. To this prince the best critics have referred that letter to *Onias* the high-priest, which we find recorded in the book of *Macca-bees*^l (S). He was succeeded in his throne by his son *Acrotatus*, who had so valiantly defended *Sparta*, when attacked by *Pyrrhus*.

King Are-
us killed in
the battle
of Corinth

OF

^k PLUT. in vit. Demetr.
tiq. Judaic. l. xii. c. 5.

^l 1 Maccab. xii. 20. JOSEPH. an-

(S) The letter above referred to runs thus :

Areus king of the *Lacedæmonians* to *Onias* the high-priest, greeting :

It is found in writing, that the Lacedæmonians and Jews are brethren, and that they are of the stock of Abraham : now therefore, since this is come to our knowledge, you shall do well to write to us of your peace (69). This letter is exactly in the *Laconic* stile, and deserves therefore to be preferred to that which we find in *Josephus*, wherein *Demoteles* is named as ambassador from *Sparta* : the form of the letter is said to be square, and the common seal of *Lacedæmon* is described as having represented thereon an eagle holding a dragon. The learned primate of *Ireland* hath been led into a great mistake, by paying too much regard to this *Jewish* writer ; for it is certain, that this letter could never have been sent to *Onias* the third of that name, high-priest of the *Jews*, who flourished when there were no kings at all at *Sparta* : this the learned prelate was so well aware of, that, to get over

these difficulties, he supposes one *Areus*, a nobleman of *Sparta*, to have taken the title of king in the penning this epistle (70) : but here again is a new and greater difficulty incurred than the former ; *Jonathan*, in his letter to the *Lacedæmonians*, speaking of the epistle before us, says it was written a long time ago ; which no way quadrates with the time in which *Josephus* and archbishop *Ussher* place it : the truth is, this letter was not written to *Onias* the son of *Simon*, but to *Onias* the first, who was undeniably cotemporary with this king *Areus*, of whom we have treated in the text. In this we have followed the opinion of the judicious Dr. *Prideaux* (71). We take the liberty of adding, that there is the more reason to suspect some alteration in this letter by *Josephus*, because, when he comes to give us *Jonathan's* letter, he has taken the liberty to alter its address also, and not at all for the better ; thus it runs according to *Josephus* : *Jonathan high-priest of the Jews, and the senate and commonalty of the Jews, to the ephori, senate, and people of*

(69) 1 Maccab. xii. 20. (70) *Ussher. annal. A. M.* 3821. of the Old and New Testament, part ii. book ii. p. 147, 148, 8vo.

(71) *Connect.*

OF the other house, *Archidamus*, the fourth of that name, *The acts of* the son of *Eudamidas*, governed with great reputation. He *Archida-* was a prince of the true *Spartan* race, who was desirous to *mus IV.* maintain all *Greece* in freedom, and to repress, if it had been *king of* possible, the mighty power of the *Macedonian* kings, which, *Sparta.* like a torrent, swept all before them; and though, for a time, they might be restrained from doing much mischief, by their being obliged to turn their arms elsewhere, yet, whenever they had leisure, they were sure to seek such an authority in *Greece*, as suited not with her liberty. *Archidamus* had struggled against the stream when it was most rapid, that is, when *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, after subduing *Athens*, sought to make himself master of *Sparta*. Twice *Archidamus* opposed him in the field; but had the misfortune to be as often defeated: nor could any thing have saved the virgin city of *Sparta* from the rage of the victor, if the declension of his affairs in *Asia* had not constrained him for a time to abandon all thoughts of *Greece*^m. He was succeeded by his son; but how long he reigned, or at what age he died, is uncertain.

EUDAMIDAS, the son of *Archidamus*, was the colleague of *Eudami-* *Acrotatus*. He married *Agistrata*, by whom he had two sons, *das suc-* *Agis* and *Archidamus*ⁿ. As to his acts, we find no mention *ceeds his* made of them in history. It is probable, that, being a man of *father* small parts, the government rested chiefly in *Acrotatus*, who *Archida-* could not but be highly beloved by the people, on account of *mus.* his great valour, and many virtues. *Aristodemus*, who had made himself master of *Megalopolis*, was the capital enemy of the *Lacedæmonians*, seeking by all means to abase a nation, who were always ready to take arms for liberty, and who alike hated the oppression of tyrants themselves, or to see their neighbours oppressed by them. *Acrotatus*, at the head of the *Lacedæmonian* army, endeavoured to make head against this prince,

^m PLUT. ubi supra.ⁿ PLUT. in vit. Agid.

the Lacedæmonians, greeting (72). Whereas, in the book of *Maccabees* the address is thus: Jonathan *the high-priest, and the elders of the nation, and the priests, and the other people of the Jews, unto the Lacedæmonians their brethren, send greeting* (73). Neither ephori or senate are mentioned here; they were probably put in by *Josephus*, to make the

letter look the better. The name of *Demoteles* is also inserted in this letter, though we find nothing of it in the letter recorded by the author of the book of the *Maccabees*. How the *Spartans* and the *Jews* came to be related, must be considered in another place; our business here was to fix the time when the letter from *Areus* was sent to *Onias*.

(72) *Antiq. Judaic. l. xiii. c. 5.*(73) *1 Maccab. xii. 6.*

who was grown formidable to all *Peloponnesus*; but his fortune being no-way equal to his merit, his forces were routed, and himself slain, leaving the kingdom to his young son *Areus*, to whom *Leonidas* the son of *Cleonymus* was tutor or protector; and he dying after a very short reign, *Leonidas* stept into the throne in his own right °.

Leonidas succeeds his pupil in the throne of Sparta. LEONIDAS had been bred up, or at least had long lived, in the court of *Seleucus*, which made him extremely fond of that pomp and grandeur, which he saw affected there. At *Sparta* he had a great opportunity of indulging his ambition and luxury, the people being greatly altered from what they were before, and the *Lycurgic* maxims grown not only into desuetude, but contempt. One *Opytadeus*, being raised to a chair among the ephori, taking occasion from thence to gratify his unnatural prejudice against his own son, procured a law, whereby all men were left at liberty to dispose of their lands by gift or sale, or by testament at the time of their decease. This subverted the very foundations of the state; for, by degrees, the lands were most of them transferred from the antient *Spartan* families; so that, though they were reduced now to about seven hundred, not above one hundred of these had any lands, but lived in the city lazily, without employment, and without wealth, their spirits sinking with their fortune, and, with both, the credit and glory of the *Spartan* state P.

Agis the son of Eudamidas attempts to restore the constitution of Sparta. THE colleague of *Leonidas*, of the other house, was *Agis* the son of *Eudamidas*, a young prince of great hopes. He shewed himself both just and obliging to all men, and, in the gentleness of his disposition, and sublimity of his virtues, not only exceeded *Leonidas* who reigned with him, but all the kings of *Sparta* from king *Agisilaus*; for, though he had been bred very tenderly, and in abundance of all things, by his mother *Agisistrata*, and his grandmother *Archidamia*, who were the wealthiest of the *Lacedæmonians*, yet, before the age of twenty, he so far overcame himself, as to renounce effeminate pleasures. He was a very handsome person, and of a graceful behaviour, yet, to give a check to the vanity he might take therein, would always go plain and mean in his cloaths. In his diet, bathings, and in all his exercises, he chose to imitate the old *Laconic* frugality and temperance, and was often heard to say, *He would not desire the kingdom, if he did not hope, by means of that authority, to restore their antient laws and discipline.* This maxim of his governed his whole life: he endeavoured to associate himself with men of interest and capacity sufficient to bring about the great design he had formed of

° PLUT. in vit. Agid. & in vit. Cleomen. supra.

P PLUT. ubi

thoroughly reforming the state. *Agésilas*, his uncle by the mother's side, was one of his principal counsellors, a man of great eloquence, but of no great virtue, the part he took in this business being chiefly owing to his son's persuasions, whose name was *Hypomedon*, one of the worthiest men of his age. This *Agésilas* brought over his sister king *Agis*'s mother to the sentiments of her son, notwithstanding her averfeness to them at first; and she, in a short time, prevailed on most of the ladies of *Sparta*; which was a thing of prodigious consequence, since they had always a mighty stroke in political affairs, and their husbands seldom took any step without their advice. On this occasion, as on many others, they shewed their great good sense and virtue; for, when they had thoroughly considered the matter, and perceived, that, though these new regulations would take away their finery and their trinkets, yet, at the same time, they would restore the credit of *Sparta*, and give her new lustre in the world, they came into it unanimously, and endeavoured to engage their husbands to relish the proposal; which they found no difficult task to perform among the gross of the people, who, partly because they saw the power of the state decline, and partly from their natural fondness for revolutions, were eager to see the thing accomplished. But the few, in whose hands the wealth of *Sparta* was centred, grew very uneasy: they applied themselves to *Leonidas*, telling him, that, as he was an older and wiser man than his colleague, he ought to interpose, and not suffer the constitution to be destroyed, to gratify the ambition of a young man; for these possessors of money called that the constitution, by which their usurious gains were to be preserved, and trembled at the name of *Lycurgus*, as runaway slaves were wont to do, if they heard that of their master. *Leonidas* was afraid to meddle with the people, whom he saw evidently inclined to favour his colleague, and the scheme which he had formed. He therefore applied to the principal magistrates, whom he laboured to bring over to his opinion, that *Agis* intended to establish an independent power in his own person, by inclining the people to his interests, first, by a remitting of debts, and then by an equal division of lands. The party he formed by these suggestions were very considerable; however, *Agis* persisted in his resolution; and, when his friend *Lysander* was chosen one of the ephori, actually presented his rhetra or decree to the senate, His decree
the chief articles of which were these: *That every one should be presented
free from his debts; all the lands to be divided into equal portions, to the se-
those that lay betwixt the valley of Pellene and mount Tagetus, nate.
as far as the cities of Mallea and Sallasia, into four thousand
five hundred lots, the remainder into fifteen thousand. These
last to be shared by some chosen out of the adjacent countries, men
able*

able and fit to bear arms, the first among the natural Spartans; admitting also strangers to supply their number, such as were young, vigorous, well educated, and ingenious. All these were to be divided into fifteen companies, some of four hundred, some of two, with a diet and discipline agreeable to the laws of Lycurgus.

*Rejected
but by one
voice.*

THE matter being hotly debated in the senate, *Lyfander* began to doubt the event; and therefore, without staying to put the question, convoked a general assembly of the people. In this assembly, both the kings, the ephori, and other considerable persons, were heard, and, by long orations, sought to shew the conveniency or inconveniency of the scheme, according as they were inclined or averse to it. At last, however, it was rejected in the senate, though but by one voice; and, from the time of that rejection, the people in general attended on, and paid their court to, *Agis*, while the richer citizens, and those especially who had placed their money out at interest, applied themselves to *Leonidas*. *Lyfander*, however, contrived a method for removing him out of the way: he caused an accusation to be preferred against him for the breach of two old laws; the one forbidding the kings of *Sparta* to marry a stranger; the other prohibiting travel to foreign countries. By the help of these accusations, and practising a little on the superstitious temper of the people, he so terrified *Leonidas*, that he fled to the temple of *Minerva* for shelter. Upon this, *Lyfander* stirred up *Cleombrotus*, who was of the royal house, and who had married the daughter of *Leonidas*, to pretend to the kingdom; of which when *Leonidas* had notice, he withdrew, taking his daughter with him, who chose rather to fly with her father, than to reign with her husband ^a.

*Cleom-
brotus
succeeds
Leonidas
on his ex-
pulsion.*

CLEOMBROTUS, being raised to the regal dignity, concurred with *Agis* in all his designs; but the next year the ephori being chosen out of the opposite faction, they cited *Lyfander*, and his friends, to appear before them, and answer for what they had done, during their administration. They, in this distress, had instantly recourse to the kings, beseeching them to protect those who were threatened for having performed their command: *Lyfander*, at the same time, suggested, that the ephori were created only to take care of the state, in case any difference happened between the kings; but that, while they agreed, these magistrates had no right to call in question any acts they thought fit to authorize. *Agis* and *Cleombrotus* being persuaded of this, resolved to make *Lyfander*, and his friends, easy immediately: they therefore went directly to the place where the ephori were sitting, removed them from their seats,

^a PLUT. ubi supra.

and placed others in their room, the first of these being *Agisilaus*. Such a transaction as this could not well happen without a tumult; but, through the great care and steady integrity of *Agis*, no blood was spilt, nor did any ill accident happen. *Agisilaus*, indeed, had projected the murder of *Leonidas*, as he was on the road to *Tegæ*; but king *Agis*, having notice of it, sent a considerable number of his own friends to escort him. Things being in this situation, the kings would have proceeded both to the cancelling of debts, and to the equal division of lands, had not *Agisilaus* prevented it, by pretending, that it would not be safe to attempt both at one time; but that first the debts should be cancelled, and then that monied men would more readily come into a division of lands. This he said, because he had himself a good estate, but was greatly in debt: wherefore he sought to rid himself of the importunities of his creditors, without parting with any of his possessions. The kings, and even *Lysander*, were deceived by his specious pretences; so that they came readily into his schemes, causing all obligations to be brought in, and burnt immediately, but referring the division of lands to a further opportunity; which greatly displeased the people. *Agis* quickly perceived this; and therefore he sought to repair his error, by immediately dividing the estates: but *Agisilaus* still found means to put it off, under one pretence or other, till *Agis* was obliged to go with a body of *Spartan* troops to the assistance of the *Achæans*. In his absence he lost all bounds of modesty, and acted so tyrannically, that, by the time *Agis* returned, a conspiracy was formed for restoring *Leonidas*; which was accordingly effected; and upon this *Agis* fled to the temple of *Minerva*, and *Cleombrotus* to that of *Neptune*. *Leonidas* shewed more resentment against his son-in-law than *Agis*; he went to his sanctuary, and reproached him with his ingratitude, and want of duty, and threatened him with death; but his daughter *Chelonis* interceding, and holding the two children she had in her arms, prevailed so far as to have his sentence changed into that of perpetual banishment; in which she accompanied him, notwithstanding all the intreaties of her father: which extraordinary transaction hath drawn this reflection from *Plutarch*, that *Cleombrotus* was happier in being banished with such a wife, than he could be in the possession of a kingdom without her: (T).

*All debts
cancelled
at Sparta.*

*Leonidas
restored.*

*Cleombrotus
banished.*

LEONI-

* PLUT. ubi supra.

(T) The character of *Chelonis*, the wife of *Cleombrotus*, is one of the most noble and most laudable in the *Spartan* history: we cannot therefore be blamed for inserting her speech to her father,

King Agis
treacher-
ously seized

LEONIDAS, once resettled on the throne, began to contrive all the methods possible for drawing *Agis* out of his sanctuary; but all his attempts failed: at last he corrupted some of the king's friends, who were wont to visit him daily to condole with him, and, after a time, to carry him to the baths, and guard him back again. The names of these persons, for it is but just that they should be always recorded, were *Amphares*, *Demochares*, and *Archefilaus*. The first of these had borrowed abundance of rich goods and plate from the mother of king *Agis*; he therefore conceived, if that prince was taken off, he should acquire the possession of them; the other two were bribed by *Leonidas*. These men therefore took an opportunity, when king *Agis* was returning from the baths, and relied intirely on their protection, to seize him; *Amphares* caught him by the arm; *Demochares*, being a strong man, threw a cloak over his head, and muffled him up; then their associates coming in to their assistance, they dragged their sovereign away to the common prison, where the new ephori, constituted by *Leonidas*, sat ready to judge him. To give the greater colour of justice to their proceedings, some senators

father, which she pronounced in a mourning habit, and in a suppliant posture, thus: "This mourning vest, these dejected looks, and all those other tokens of unutterable woe, which cannot be concealed, are not worn for the sake of *Cleombrotus*, but were put on to condole with you in your banishment; and now you are restored to your country, and to your kingdom, must I still remain in grief and misery? Or would you have me attired in my festival ornaments, that I may rejoice with you, when you have killed within my arms the man to whom you gave me for a wife? Either *Cleombrotus* must appease you by mine and my childrens tears, or he must suffer a punishment greater than his faults have deserved: he shall infallibly see me die before him, whom he so tenderly loves. To what end should I live, or how shall I appear among the *Spartan* ladies, when it shall so manifestly be seen, that I have not been able to move compassion, either in my husband for the sake of my father, or in my father for the sake of my husband? I was born, it seems, to be dishonoured and disgraced both as a wife and a daughter, in that relation which is nearest to me in each capacity. As for *Cleombrotus*, I sufficiently disowned his cause, when I forsook him to follow you; but now you yourself will justify his proceedings, by shewing to the world, that for the sake of a kingdom it is just to kill a son-in-law, and be regardless of a daughter (74)."

(74) *Plat. in vit. Agid.*

were

were by ; but they took care, that they should be such as were of their party. As soon as the king came in, they asked him, *He is how he durst attempt to alter the government ? at which he tried and smiled, without affording them an answer ; which provoked condemned one of the ephori to tell him, That he ought rather to weep ; for by the they would now make him sensible of his presumption.* Another ephori. asked him, *Whether he was not constrained to do what he did by Agefilaus and Lyfander ?* To which the king, with a composed countenance, answered, *I was constrained by no man ; the design was mine ; and my intent was to have restored the laws of Lycurgus, and to have governed by them.* But do you not now, said one of his judges, *repent of your rashness ?* No, replied the king ; *though I see my death is inevitable, I can never repent of so just and honourable an intention.* The ephori then ordered him to be haled away, and strangled. The officers of justice refused to obey, and even the mercenary soldiers declined so unworthy an action ; whereupon Demochares, reviling them for cowards, forced the king into the room where the execution was to be performed. Agis, about to die, perceiving one of the sergeants bitterly bewailing his misfortune ; *Weep not, friend, for me,* said he, *who die innocently ; but grieve for those who are guilty of this wicked act : my condition is much better than theirs.* Then, stretching out his neck, he submitted to death with a constancy worthy both of the royal dignity, and his own great character. Immediately after Agis was dead, Amphares went out of the prison-gate, where he found Agistrata, who casting herself at his feet, he gently raised her up, pretending still the same friendship as formerly. He assured her she need not fear any further violence should be offered against her son ; and that, if she pleased, she might go in, and see him. She begged her mother might also have the favour of being admitted ; and he replied, No-body should hinder it. When they were entered, he commanded the gate should again be locked, and the grandmother to be first introduced : she was now grown very old, and had lived all her days with great reputation of wisdom and virtue. As soon as Amphares thought she was dispatched, he told Agistrata she might now go in, if she pleased. She entered, where beholding her son's body stretched on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck, she stood at first astonished at so horrid a spectacle ; but, after a while, recollecting her spirits, the first thing she did was to assist the soldiers in taking down the body ; then, covering it decently, she laid it by her son's ; where embracing and kissing his cheeks, *O my son,* said she, *it is thy too great mercy and goodness which has brought thee and us to this untimely end.* Amphares, who stood watching behind the door, hearing this, rushed in hastily ; and, with a furious tone and countenance, said

His gallant behaviour and death.

His mother likewise put to death.

said to her, *Since you approve so well of your son's actions, it is fit you should partake in his reward.* She, rising up to meet her destiny, only uttered these few words; *I pray the gods, that all this may redound to the good of Sparta* ^r. *Archidamus*, the brother of *Agis*, saved himself by flight; but was constrained to leave his wife, who had just lain in, behind him; her, because she was the heiress of a great estate, *Leonidas* compelled, by force, to marry his own son *Cleomenes*: to this the young lady was very averse; yet, in the end, she was forced to comply. *Cleomenes* behaved towards her with so much tenderness and humanity, that she became quickly reconciled to her marriage, but nevertheless continued to hate her father-in-law. *Cleomenes* was too young to consummate the marriage as yet; but, having an extreme tenderness for his wife, he would often beg her to relate to him the story of *Agis's* murder; at which he wept, and, by degrees, began privately to follow his example; yet he followed it according to his own disposition, which was by far more bold and violent than that of *Agis*. He was constrained, however, to bridle his desires till after the death of his father, he well knowing that both the king and the nobles were too much dissolved in luxury and ease ever to incline to, or so much as bear with, the execution of his design.

Cleome-
nes suc-
ceeds Leo-
nidas.

Year of
the flood

2132.
Bef. Chr.

216.



ON the death of *Leonidas*, *Cleomenes* mounted the *Spartan* throne alone; and, in the very beginning of his reign, found himself obliged to exert both his conduct and his courage. *Aratus*, at the head of the *Achæans*, had formed a grand project of uniting all the *Peloponnesians* into that league; the youth of *Cleomenes* seemed to furnish him with an opportunity of trying the disposition of the *Spartans*, which he neglected not, but suddenly invaded the *Arcadians* their neighbours, and their friends, who lived, in a manner, under their protection ^s. The ephori upon this ordered *Cleomenes* to seize on a pass into *Laconia*, which was then in the hands of the allies of the *Achæans*; which he performed, and afterwards disappointed *Aratus*, in a scheme he had formed for seizing *Tegæa* and *Orchomanium*. Upon which the young king sent a message full of sneer to *Aratus*: the old statesman, deriding his youth, asked *Democritus*, a *Spartan* exile, who lived with him, *What sort of a person this Cleomenes was?* *Why, my friend,* replied the *Spartan*, *I will answer you in few words; if you have any thing to do against the Lacedæmonians, let me advise you to begin before this young eagle's talons are grown.* In the subsequent course of the war, *Aratus*, by his great skill, obtained some advantages over the *Spartans*; but *Cleomenes* gave therein such shining instances of his courage, and military virtues,

^r PLUT. in vit. Agid.

^s PLUT. in vit. Arati.

that this great captain grew himself apprehensive, and the people of *Sparta* seemed to take new spirit from their king. The ephori, however, were for putting an end to the war, because they did not care to run any hazard, and because they were not a little afraid of success, which they knew would raise not only the power, but the credit of *Cleomenes*, which they dreaded more than that of their enemies. The king, who *Resolves* was a man of great penetration, saw clearly, that, without re- *to suppress* ducing the power of the ephori, he should have nothing more *the ephori.* left him than the title of king; with this farther mortification, that he should see the power of *Sparta* sink daily, without being able to hinder it. In this perplexity he took a bold resolution of ridding himself of the ephori at once: this he communicated to some of his friends, who agreed to assist him in it, from the same generous desire of restoring the glory of their country¹. The first step that was taken in this business was the recalling of *Archidamus*, the brother of *Agis*, who, on his approach to *Sparta*, was murdered by his brother's enemies, not without some suspicion, that *Cleomenes* consented thereto: but this seems to agree little with his character; and *Plutarch*, who reports this suggestion, owns, if there was any truth in it, he was forced thereto². When it appeared a point out of dispute, that without an army a revolution could not be effected, he by money prevailed on the ephori to engage in a war, and to give him the command. His mother *Cratesiclea*, a woman of great spirit, perceiving the difficulties her son had to struggle with, married again, that she might fix a nobleman of great interest to his party; and, at the same time, engaging to give up her own fortune, persuaded her husband also to come to the same terms, whenever a division of goods and of lands should be made. *Cleomenes*, carrying such as he suspected most into the field with him, did many things there worthy of a *Spartan* prince; but withal, he took care so to harass his army with quick and almost continued marches, that many desired to be left behind in *Arcadia*: with the rest he advanced slowly towards *Lacedæmon*.

WHEN he drew near the place, he sent a small party, *Kills four* headed by some of his confidents, who surprised the ephori at *of them.* supper, killed four of them upon the spot, and had killed the fifth, if he had not counterfeited himself dead, and thereby gained an opportunity of retiring, wounded as he was, to a temple, from whence he came forth next day, without being injured. On the morrow *Cleomenes* came into the forum, ordering all the chairs of the ephori to be removed, except one, which he reserved for himself; then he made a most artful

¹ PLUT. in vit. Cleomen.² Idem ibid. POLYB. l. v.

apology to the people for what he had done (U): he shewed them the necessity of restoring the *Lycurgic* institutions; and assured

(U) It is from *Plutarch*, that we learn the purport of the king's speech on this occasion, which it is necessary for us to report here, not only as it nearly concerns the present thread of our history, but because we have referred ourselves to it elsewhere, as containing several curious particulars relating to the *Spartan* policy. *Cleomenes* then, in this harangue, alleged, "That the government, as it was framed by *Lycurgus*, was composed of the kings and the senate; and that that model of government had continued a long time, and needed no other sort of magistrates to give it perfection. But afterwards, in the long war with the *Messians*, when the kings, being to command the armies, had no time to attend civil causes, they chose some of their friends, and left them to determine the suits of their citizens in their stead. These were called *ephori*, and at first behaved themselves as servants to the kings; but afterwards, by degrees, they appropriated the power to themselves, and erected a distinct sort of magistracy. An evidence of the truth of this may be taken from the usual behaviour of the kings, who, upon the first and second message of the *ephori*, refused to go, but, upon the third, readily attended them: and *Asteropus*, the first that raised the *ephori* to that height of power, was not *ephorus* till many years after their institution. Therefore, whilst they modestly contained themselves within their own proper sphere, it was better to bear with them than to make a disturbance. But that an upstart introduced power should so far destroy the old model of government, as to banish some kings, murder others without hearing their defence, and threaten those who desired to see the best and most divine constitution restored in *Sparta*, was unsufferable. Therefore, if it had been possible for him, without bloodshed, to have freed *Lacedæmon* from those foreign plagues, luxury, vanity, debts, and usury; and from those more antient evils, poverty and riches; he should have thought himself the happiest king in the world; having, like an expert physician, cured the diseases of his country without pain. But now, in this necessity, *Lycurgus's* example favoured his proceedings; who, being neither king nor magistrate, but a private man, and aiming at the kingdom, came armed into the market-place, insomuch that king *Charilaus* fled for fear to the altar: but he being a good man, and a lover of his country, readily consented to *Lycurgus's* project, and admitted an alteration in the state. Thus, by his own actions, *Lycurgus* shewed, that it was difficult to correct the government without force and fear; in using which, he said he would be so moderate as never to desire their assistance, but either to terrify or ruin the enemies of *Sparta's* happiness.

affured them, that though the situation of things had obliged *Restores* him to make use of violence in effecting this resolution, yet, *the consti-* for the future, he would pay a strict regard to the laws, though, *tution of* for his own safety, he proscribed, at this time, fourscore citi- *Sparta.* zens.

He was the first who delivered up his whole substance to the public stock, wherein he was followed by his father-in-law, and other friends. In assigning the lands, he gave shares to all whom he had banished, promising to recal them as soon as was consistent with the public safety: immediately after, he restored the old *Laconic* way of educating of youth, of eating in public, and of doing their exercises together: he also raised a considerable body of troops, and disciplined and armed them in a new manner.

To shew his dislike to tyranny, and to remove any umbrage that his citizens might take at his doing all these things by his own authority, he associated his brother *Euclidas* in the kingdom, declaring, that for the future there should be always two kings at *Sparta*, as there were in times past; and that he would not erect a monarchy, in order to transmit it to his posterity: which declaration of his was extremely grateful to the people. But that which of all others served to establish most the power and the character of *Cleome-*

nes, was the course of his own life, which was in nothing more stately or more expensive than that of the meanest citizen:

there were in his house no purple furnitures, no canopies, or cloths of state, no superb chairs, or couches for indulging ease, but a plain king, and every thing plain about him.

When any offered petitions, he stepped forward to receive them, talked graciously to every body, redressed all the injuries that were done by others, and did none himself; yet had

his virtue nothing in it of austerity or affectation: he was naturally of a pleasant temper, which he indulged. When

strangers dined with him, he had plenty of wine, which was set down in a brass vessel, with silver cups near it, according

to the number of the guests, every man being permitted to drink what he pleased, and neither desired nor forced to

drink more. Being informed that *Aratus*, and the *Achæans*, were preparing to give him some disturbances, from an appre-

hension, and safety. He com-

manded, that all the land should be left in common,

and private claims laid aside; that debtors should be dis-

charged of their debts; and a strict search be made who

were foreigners, and who not;

“ that the true *Spartans*, re-

“ covering their courage, might

“ defend the city with their

“ arms; and that they might no

“ longer see *Lacænia*, for want

“ of a sufficient number to se-

“ cure it, wasted by the *Æto-*

“ *lians* (50).”

(50) *Plut. in vit. Cleom.*

hension,

Gains
great ad-
vantages
over Ara-
tus.

hension, that, after these alterations, he durst not leave the city, he immediately marched with a body of troops into their territories, and cut them out work enough at home.

IN the course of the war, he gained such advantage over *Aratus*, as made that great statesman and captain decline being chosen captain-general of the *Achæans* next year, as he was wont; yet did not *Cleomenes* make any ill use of his victories, or attempt to oppress the cities which fell into his power, but restored them to their liberty; and, where they had been expelled, recalled their antient inhabitants. The *Achæans* were so much frightened with this unexpected run of ill success, that they were ready to listen to any terms which *Cleomenes* should think fit to offer. That generous victor declared, that he sought nothing more than to be acknowledged general of the *Greeks*; and that he was ready to deliver up the prisoners without ransom, and to restore the cities he had taken. *Lerna* was appointed for the place of treaty, the *Achæans* being willing to accept of the king's terms; but *Cleomenes*, marching thither swiftly, heated himself very much by the way; and, drinking, in the midst of his heat, a draught of cold water, threw himself into a fever, which was attended with the loss of his speech: he ordered, however, the principal captives of the *Achæans* to be set at liberty, and put off the meeting to another time and place. This accident ruined him and *Greece*; for *Aratus*, who till this time had approved himself a most worthy *Grecian* commander, now suffered envy, jealousy, and self-conceit, to triumph over his virtue, and his love for his country; and he who in his youth had expelled the *Macedonians* out of *Peloponnesus*, merely from the love of freedom, now privately recalled them, fearing that *Cleomenes*, the most worthy of the *Spartan* kings, should be raised to that dignity which he so highly deserved*. When *Cleomenes* was recovered, he advanced towards *Argos*, where the *Achæans* held their assembly; but, when he drew near, *Aratus* caused deputies to be sent him, to inform him, that he must either enter the city alone, or be content to treat without the place. To which *Cleomenes* answered, That he was unjustly dealt with; for they ought to have told him so plainly at first; and not now, when he was come to their very doors, shew their jealousy, and deny him admission. Not long after, he declared war, and began to act offensively. Upon this the whole league of the *Achæans* was put into a ferment, most of the towns being ready to revolt, and break the union, because, on the one side, the people had been made to hope for a division of the lands, and of a discharge of their debts; and, on the other, the nobility grew

* PLUT. in vit. Arat. POLYB. l. ii.

weary of *Aratus's* power, and were almost all of them provoked against him for having called the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*. Encouraged by these misunderstandings, *Cleomenes* Invades invaded *Achæa*, where he first took *Pellene* by surprize, and *Achæa*, beat out the *Achæan* garison; afterwards he made himself and takes master of *Phæneon* and *Pentelon*. Not long after, he surprised several *Argos*; and, in a very short space of time, raised himself to cities. greater power than any of his predecessors, and his city to greater pre-eminence than she had ever held in *Greece*.

In this space he would very gladly have treated with *Aratus*, offering him any terms to have engaged his friendship; but he was immoveable in his resolution of destroying the *Spartan* greatness: with this view he procured the castle of *Corinth*, which was the key of *Peloponnesus*, to be delivered up to *Antigonus*, who suddenly came to his assistance, with an army of twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. *Cleomenes*, though he was much inferior to the enemy, yet defended the far greater part of *Peloponnesus*, till *Argos* was betrayed; even there he did great things; and when, overpowered by numbers, he could do no more, made a most glorious retreat. At this time he received from *Sparta* the news of his wife's death, at which he was exceedingly grieved; for though the *Spartans* were remarkable for being fond husbands, yet *Cleomenes* was distinguished for his fondness, even among them. He bore his grief, however, like an hero and a king: he went to his house, indulged his sorrow with his mother, and other relations; and then returning to the camp, resumed the functions of a monarch, and a general, without suffering his private concerns to interfere with public affairs. *Ptolemy*, at this time, offered him his friendship, in case he would send him his mother and his son, as hostages. This demand troubled *Cleomenes*: he went often to break the matter to his parent; but was unable to do it; at last, when it broke out, *Cratefila* burst out a-laughing: Well, said she, Was it this you were afraid of telling? Why do you not put me on shipboard, and send this carcase where it may be serviceable to *Sparta*, before age wastes it unprofitably bere? When she was going on board, she withdrew her son into the temple of *Neptune*; where having wept, and embraced each other, Come, king of *Sparta*, said she, let us dry our tears, that no signs of grief may appear when we go out, nor any token of weakness unworthy your dignity, or the honour of our country, since our actions are all that are in our power, and events belong wholly to providence. She wrote afterwards to him from *Egypt*: King of *Sparta*, do what is worthy of your country, and may redound to its profit; nor, for the sake of an old woman, and a little child, stand in fear of what *Ptolemy* may do. *Cleomenes* acted, in this unequal war, with

Cleome-
nes de-
feated by
Antigo-
nus.

Year of
the flood
2125.
Bef. Chr.
223.

with all the conduct and valour that could be expected in the most excellent captain among the *Greeks* ^y. He had to do with a numerous army, composed of veterans well armed, disciplined, and paid : his own troops were most of them new-raised, many of them half-armed, and nothing but what he could take from the enemy to subsist them with ; yet he kept the war out of *Laconia*, took the city of *Megalopolis*, which was bigger than *Sparta*, in the midst of king *Antigonus*'s armies ; and, when he had taken it, generously offered to restore it untouched to its citizens ; but, they rejecting his offer, he abandoned it to the plunder of his soldiers ^z. After this he harassed the territory of *Argos*, raising mighty contributions, though *Antigonus*, and the *Macedonian* forces, were in that very city. This, even in his own time, was stiled rashness, arrogance, and a vain-glorious shew of short-lived success : and it is owing to *Polybius*, that posterity considers it in a different light ; for he tells us, that though the generality believed *Cleomenes* to have acted from a desperate temerity, yet men of the best discernment and understanding agreed, that he behaved with great prudence and judgment. The true state of the case is this : *Cleomenes* saw, that though, at present, he could make head against his enemies, yet, in a short time, he should be destroyed without fighting ; he therefore sought to provoke *Antigonus* to fight, where his choice of ground might give him an advantage : and here again *Antigonus* gave a strong testimony of his consummate skill in military affairs ; for, notwithstanding the murmurs of his own troops, the outcries of the *Greeks*, and the insults of *Cleomenes*, he kept himself where he was, and would not suffer either his own, or the passions of others, to push him upon a step which might be injurious to his fortune. But afterwards, when he had it in his power to fight, and *Cleomenes*, by reason of his poverty, could no longer decline it, he gave him battle at *Sellasia*, where, partly through the superiority of the *Macedonian* troops, partly through the treachery of *Demoteles*, the *Lacedæmonians* were defeated, with a vast slaughter of their mercenary troops, and with almost the utter destruction of their own ; for, of six thousand *Spartans*, only two hundred escaped. In the beginning of the action, *Cleomenes* had the better, at least, in that part of the army which he commanded in person ; but, looking behind him, and seeing the other wing, commanded by his brother, surrounded, he cried out, *Thou art lost, dear brother, thou art lost ; thou brave example to our Spartan youth, and theme of our matrons songs !* This misfortune of *Cleomenes* deserves the more to be pitied, since, if he

^y PLUT. ubi supra, & in vit. Arati. POLYB. ubi supra.

^z PLUT. in vit. Arat. & Philopœm.

could have avoided fighting but two days, he must have seen *Antigonus* constrained to abandon the *Achæans*; for, within that space after the battle, messengers arrived in his camp from *Macedonia*, which brought advice of such disorders there as forced him immediately to return ^a.

WHEN the battle was over, *Cleomenes* retired to *Sparta*, where, however, he knew it was impossible for him to stay, nor indeed did he rest there above a few hours; for, after having given a few directions, he went to his own house, where, without taking any refreshment, he leaned himself, in his armour as he was, against a pillar; and, considering what he should do, he, at length, determined to retire to *Egypt*; *Egypt*, which resolution he and his friends immediately put into execution, going directly to *Gythium*, there embarked on board a few ships, and passed over to *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who entertained him honourably while he lived: but his son, growing suspicious of him, confined him; which *Cleomenes* at length resenting, he, with twelve friends, forced the place where he was confined; but, finding it afterwards impracticable to escape, they slew each other. *Ptolemy Philopator*, in revenge of this, caused the body of *Cleomenes* to be exposed on a cross, butchered his mother, the rest of his family, and all her attendants. Miserable end of so great a man, who sought only to make his country free, and his countrymen virtuous! In him ended the *Herculean* race of *Spartan* kings, if we except the short reign of *Agessipolis*, which we shall presently mention (X).

AFTER

^a POLYB. l. ii. PLUT. in vit. Cleomen. & Philop. JUSTIN. l. xxviii. c. 4.

(X) In this note we shall vindicate our history of the reign of *Cleomenes*, which we confess to be very little consistent with the account given us by *Polybius*; though we acknowledge, that he is, generally speaking, a most judicious and impartial writer, and had great opportunities of knowing the true state of things at the time of which we are speaking; yet we affirm, that he has not spoken of *Cleomenes* what is exactly conformable to truth; whence we conceive we had a just right to differ from him, notwithstanding his great and established reputation. Two

things therefore we shall endeavour to demonstrate in this note: first, that *Polybius* hath injured the character of *Cleomenes* in his history; and, secondly, that the causes of his misrepresentations may, with probability, and even with certainty, be assigned. — First, then, *Polybius*, opening to his reader the causes of the *Cleomenic* war, writes thus: *When this war was kindled, and Cleomenes had ruined the republic of Lacedæmon, and converted a lawful authority into tyrannic power, Aratus, who saw that this prince made war with no less conduct than valour, and being*

The state
of Sparta
after the
flight of
Cleome-
nes.

AFTER the fatal battle of *Sellasia*, *Sparta* fell into the hands of king *Antigonus*, who, out of regard to the merits of their ancestors, treated the inhabitants with great kindness and indulgence:

at the same time, afraid of what might be attempted by the *Ætolians*, thought it necessary to counterwork their projects (71). In this passage, *Cleomenes* is roundly declared a tyrant; and undoubtedly he was so in the opinion of all the *Achæans*: and the historians of those times dealt so freely with his character, that the great *Livy* makes no scruple of calling him *Cleomenes* the first tyrant of *Lacedæmon* (72). *Pausanias* is yet more outrageous: he says, that *Cleomenes*, following the example of the great *Pausanias*, who gained the battle of *Platæa*, affected tyranny, and thereby disgusted the *Lacedæmonians* so much, that they hated the thought of kings ever after (73). Yet all these great men are most certainly in the wrong; nay, *Polybius* and *Pausanias* are so of their own shewing; for the first every-where admits, that *Cleomenes* was a prince of great wisdom and mildness, as well as intrepidity, valiant, and of a lofty spirit. The reason for which he styles him a tyrant is, as appears from the foregoing passage, because he altered that condition of the republic in which it stood when he ascended the throne. It is confessed he did so; but that this could not denominate him a tyrant, we will prove from *Polybius* himself. In another part of his writings, descanting like a grave politician, as indeed he was, on the ruin of the *Spartan* state, he makes use of these words:—

“ *Lycurgus*, in providing by his
“ laws for the harmony of his
“ citizens, for the security of his
“ polity, and the maintenance
“ of liberty, hath done so well,
“ that his institutes seem rather
“ to be divine than human. An
“ equality of possessions, with a
“ simple and inexpensive course
“ of life, could not but render
“ men honest and sociable in
“ private life, and quiet and
“ peaceable in public concerns;
“ finally, continual exercise, and
“ a readiness to undertake any
“ kind of labour, could not fail
“ of making them both valiant
“ and indefatigable (74).” He
then shews, that their affecting conquest, engaged them to depart from the laws of *Lycurgus*, and induced their ruin: and in the very place where he calls *Cleomenes* tyrant, he commiserates the *Lacedæmonians* for having, from a state of perfect freedom, sunk, by degrees, into that of abject slavery under *Nabis*, by a continual declension from the *Lycurgic* institutes. Now, if the slavery of the *Lacedæmonians*, and their ruin, arose from their leaving the laws of *Lycurgus*, and if the laws of *Lycurgus* derived their chief excellence from their injoining an equality of possessions, a simple frugal life, and continual exercise, how could *Cleomenes* be a tyrant for changing that declining condition, in which he found the *Spartan* republic, into that form, as near as might be, wherein *Lycurgus* left it? But perhaps it will be

(71) *Hist. Polyb. l. iv.*
vinthiacis.

(72) *Liv. l. xxxiv.*

(74) *Fragm. l. xiii.*

(73) *Pausan. in Co-*

said,

indulgence: they, in return for this, behaved, for a time, very quietly; and, submitting to the present situation of things, acted in such a manner as might give least umbrage to *Aratus*, and
 said, he acted tyrannically in putting to death the ephori, and in effecting this alteration by force; yet, if this be admitted, it will subvert all the *Greek* notions of liberty. The ephori were not established by *Lycurgus*; they had exceeded the limits of their office; they had destroyed the constitution, by introducing the sale of lands; they had most impiously murdered *Agis* their natural sovereign; and, in one word, by keeping one of the thrones of *Sparta* vacant, which they did by force, they violated the fundamental laws of the state, and had, as *Polybius* phrases it, changed a legal authority into a most detestable tyranny; from which *Cleomenes* rescued his country, and restored it to its antient lustre and liberty, by the only way it could be effected, that is, by force. That *Cleomenes* was legally king of *Sparta*, *Polybius* himself owns; that the change he wrought did not make him a tyrant, we have proved; and consequently we have shewn, that *Livy* was in an error when he stiled him the first of the *Lacedæmonian* tyrants. We will next shew the falshood of *Pausanias*'s account: he says, that *Cleomenes* affected the empire of *Greece*; and *Polybius* intimates the same thing; but they offer no facts to support it; and the contrary thereof is evident from the current of *Polybius*'s history. A tyrant is one who sacrifices public rights to his particular views, which *Cleomenes* had mighty opportunities of doing, and, whenever he had them, constantly re-

jected them. He brought his paternal estate into the public stock, when he new-modelled *Sparta*; he restored all the cities he took to their antient form of government, when he might have annexed them to his own dominions; and chose to have allies where he might have had subjects: with reason therefore have we concluded with *Plutarch*, that he did not affect the tyranny of *Greece*. As to the latter part of *Pausanias*'s censure, that the *Spartans* so hated the memory of *Cleomenes*, it is diametrically opposite to truth; for *Polybius* tells us, that, after his flight into *Egypt*, they remained without kings, because they tenderly loved *Cleomenes*, and ardently wished and desired his return. These are his very words; and he afterwards tells us, that as soon as they knew, that *Cleomenes* was dead, they resolved to be no longer without kings. We come now to the second part of what we proposed; the causes of *Polybius*'s misrepresentations; and they were no other than those which have been, and will be common in the world, as long as it is inhabited by men. *Polybius* lived in these times: he was by birth of the city of *Megalopolis*, which *Cleomenes* destroyed; he was an *Achæan* statesman, a professed and zealous friend of *Aratus*, the capital enemy of this prince, whom he so much decries. *Aratus* sought to bring all the *Peloponnesian* states into the *Achæan* league; and why? that they might be thereby safe against the *Macedonian* power.

and the *Achæans*, who were the king's friends. As long as *Cleomenes* lived, though an exile, and at last a prisoner, in *Egypt*, the *Spartans* lived as well as they could, under the government of the ephori and senate; but, as soon as the news came of his death, and they were once thoroughly assured it was true, new stirrs arose, in which *Adimas*, one of the ephori, endeavoured all he could to moderate the people; and when his colleagues had summoned them to meet in arms, he had the courage to represent to them how little their behaviour corresponded with their circumstances, and how unreasonable it was for them to involve themselves, in their present unsettled condition, in a new war with the *Macedonians*, who not long ago had vanquished them, and had ever since treated them well. The people of *Sparta*, like the people of most other cities, were inclined to listen to reason, as soon as they began to understand it; which the rest of the ephori perceiving, they and their associates gathered about *Adimas*, and stabbed him; which once done, they did what they pleased. Soon after this, *Philip* the son of *Antigonus* arrived with a great army on their frontiers, when the *Spartans* sent deputies to make their submission; which when the king had heard, he suffered them to withdraw, and caused the matter to be afterwards debated in council. Most of those who composed it, after representing the *Lacedæmonians* as a turbulent and factious people, declared that the king ought to treat them as heretofore *Alexander* had done the *Thebans*, that is, put their principal men to death, and humble the rest by a very severe chastisement: but the

Cleomenes opposed this, because it was contrary to the interest of *Sparta*, which would have thereby become inconsiderable. *Aratus* endeavoured, in a time of full peace, to have executed his scheme by force, on a supposition, that *Cleomenes*, being a young man, might have been easily deposed. After all, when *Cleomenes*, in his own defence, had humbled the *Achæans*, he did not pretend to reduce them into subjection, but offered to join with them, to support the liberty of *Greece* against the *Macedonian* kings; but *Aratus*, resolving to have all things his own way, called in these very *Macedonians*, delivered up to them *Acrocorinth*, destroyed the *Lacedæmonian* kingdom, and was himself poisoned by *Philip* king of *Macedon*, whom he vainly called and imagined to be his pupil. *Polybius*, misled by *Aratus*'s notions, paints *Cleomenes* as a tyrant, though he took the only method to preserve *Greece* free, and *Greece* lost her freedom, because he failed in his design: this has appeared since; and *Plutarch*, who was a true friend to liberty and virtue, living without the reach of prejudice, has done that justice to *Cleomenes*, which *Polybius* denied him (75).

(75) *Hist. l. vi. Plut. in vit. Cleom. Arati, Philopœm.*

king, though but seventeen years old, differed from them; he said, the sedition of the *Spartans* turned to their own hurt; that, on his appearance, they had offered to submit themselves, and become his subjects; and that, to put their principal men to death, and maltreat the rest, would be unworthy of a prince. He therefore contented himself with telling the deputies, that he should have his eye upon the *Spartans* for the future; and therefore advised them to be quiet: after which he dismissed them ^b.

THE *Ætolians*, making new disturbances in *Greece*, were very desirous to engage the *Lacedæmonians* in their interest: to this end they sent *Machates* ambassador to *Sparta*; he endeavoured to persuade the ephori to choose two kings, and to unite themselves strictly with the *Ætolians*: but those magistrates, liking neither of his propositions, procured them both to be rejected by the people, notwithstanding that a strong party had declared themselves for *Machates*. This party, after his departure, found means to stir up the people so effectually against the ephori, that, at a solemn festival, they murdered them at the temple of *Pallas*, and elected others, whom they directed to elect kings. In consequence of this, they chose first *Agessipolis*, a boy, the grandson of *Cleombrotus*, whom *Leonidas* banished; and appointed *Cleomenes*, the son of *Cleombrotus*, and the child's uncle, his tutor: for the other king they set up *Lycurgus*, a man no way allied to the royal family, or at least never conceived to be allied to it, till, by giving a talent apiece to the ephori, they declared him of the *Herculean* race, and the lawful king of *Sparta*. He, after some time, drove *Agessipolis* into banishment, involved his country into several wars, which he waged with various success. At last *Chilo* conspired against him: this man conceived he had some right to the *Spartan* throne; and, having engaged about two hundred persons to abet his scheme, he fell upon the ephori suddenly, and murdered them: after which he surrounded the house of *Lycurgus*, who, by the fidelity of some of his servants, made his escape. *Chilo*, perceiving that the people little affected him, fled out of *Laconia*, and retired to the *Macedonians*, whom he endeavoured to irritate against his country. When things were a little settled, *Lycurgus* was recalled, and reigned in *Sparta* many years. When king *Philip* came into *Peloponnesus* for the second time, and began to transact things there, not only without advice, but contrary to the opinion of *Aratus*, *Lycurgus* and the *Lacedæmonians* began to take heart, and to think once more of contending with the power of *Macedon*, notwithstanding all the mischiefs they had sustained; neither were they frightened from that purpose, when

^b POLYB. l. iv. PLUT. in vit. Arat.

Lycurgus
invades
Messenia;

and de-
feats the
Messeni-
ans.

The ephori
attempt to
murder
him.

they were informed, that the king was again become a friend to *Aratus* and his son: wherefore, as soon as the season of the year permitted, they invaded *Messenia*, which immediately drew *Philip* that way; upon which *Lycurgus* retired, that he might put his country into a condition to sustain the invasion, which he plainly perceived was intended, though king *Philip* took all the precautions possible to hinder his design from being penetrated^c. He advanced with his army as far as *Amyclæ*, from whence he spoiled all the country round about: in the mean time, the *Messenians* invaded *Laconia* on the other side, resolving to march through it, and join the *Macedonian*; but while their commander, who greatly contemned the *Spartans* in their present distressed condition, encamped carelessly, and without throwing up any entrenchments, *Lycurgus* suddenly attacked them with such success, that he took the greatest part of their horses and baggage, and returned with much honour to *Sparta*.

As soon as he returned, he made the necessary dispositions for the defence of the city. In the first place, he recovered the posts which the *Macedonians* had seized on the mountains; and then, causing the waters of the *Eurotas* to be dammed up, he provided a means of laying all the country between the river and the mountains under water; so that the *Macedonians*, not being able to march that way, would be obliged to coast the foot of the mountains, and thereby expose their rear to the insults of *Lycurgus*, and his *Lacedæmonians*. *Philip*, perceiving this, resolved, first of all, to dispossess *Lycurgus* of his posts in the mountains; which, at the head of a choice body of troops, he, with much ado, performed. However, he retired at last, with his forces, into the city, which he preserved from any insult: and thus this great king of *Macedon*, after having plundered and ravaged *Laconia*, was obliged to retire, his own camp being full of sedition, and his soldiers more inclined to mutiny than fighting. Some short time after this, the ephori, having, or pretending to have information, that *Lycurgus* intended to make himself absolute, attempted to surprise and murder him in his house; but he, having previous notice of their design, withdrew into *Ætolia*; and the iniquity of the ephori being clearly discovered by the people, he was shortly after recalled. What he did after this, we know not; nor how long he held the kingdom; whether he died in peace, or by the sword; in possession of the regal authority, or not: neither can we say what steps were taken by the *Spartans*, when they lost this king of their own election. If we take him for the last of their princes, or if, according to others, we

^c POLYB. hist. l. iv. PLUT. in vit. Arati.

look upon *Cleomenes* in that light, either way we shall see the oracle concerning a lame reign fulfilled: but, perhaps, it will be better to interpret this prophecy generally of all single reigns, which, according to the constitution of *Sparta*, could not but be lame; and, under them all, the people were most notoriously unhappy, falling continually from bad to worse, every succeeding tyrant excelling in wickedness his predecessor.

MACHANIDAS was the successor of *Lycurgus*; but, when *Machanidas* attained the sovereignty, is very uncertain. The year, in which we find him first mentioned, we have placed in the margin. By what colour he held his dignity, appears not; but that he was a person of great abilities, is certain. At home, he ejected the ephori, as not caring to have any either equal or greater than himself in *Sparta*. Abroad, he made all *Peloponnesus* tremble, which, in all probability, he would have subdued, and brought under his own power, if *Philopæmen*, the chief of the *Achæans*, had not opposed him^d. He engaged all the cities in that league to furnish troops for reducing the power of *Machanidas* within bounds, which, as he plainly shewed, if not timely undertaken, would be a thing beyond their abilities. When he had drawn together this army, after exercising them for some time in slight skirmishes, he marched towards *Mantineæ* in order of battle. Thither also came *Machanidas*, at the head of a very powerful army, composed not only of *Spartans*, but of mercenaries. An engagement quickly followed, which was very obstinate, and in which at first *Machanidas* had the better; but, he pursuing this advantage too far, *Philopæmen* attacked him in the rear. However, the *Lacedæmonians* fought desperately for a time, expecting that *Machanidas* would come to their relief; which accordingly he did. But *Philopæmen*, foreseeing that he would take the shortest way, and knowing that there was a ditch there, of which *Machanidas* was ignorant, left *Polybius* the *Megalopolitan* to push the enemy, that were still fighting; and, with a small party of horse, advanced to the ditch, to meet *Machanidas*, whom he presently distinguished by his purple robe. The tyrant, who, with two or three friends, had out-rode the rest of his troops, seeing that *Philopæmen* and his company were but few, resolved to pass the ditch. In order to this, he pushed his horse directly against *Philopæmen*, who, turning sideways from him, as if he meant to avoid him, brought the point of his spear to bear directly against his breast as his horse leaped; so that, just as he passed the ditch, *Ma-*

nidas assumes the tyranny.
Year of the flood
2141.
Bef. Chr
207.

^d POLYB. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Philop. LIVII hist. lib. xxxiv.

The Spar- *chanidas* fell down dead. This put an end to the battle: for, tans de- as soon as his death was known, his army fled. The *Achæans* feated, and wasted all the provinces which had been subject to him; the Machani- *Spartans*, who lost four thousand men in this engagement, das killed. having neither spirits nor strength to oppose them^e.

Nabis

succeeds

Machani-
das.

Year of
the flood

2142.

Bef. Chr.

206.

A cruel
tyrant.

NOT long after the death of *Machanidas*, we find *Sparta* in a new and yet severer bondage under one *Nabis*, who is reported to have exceeded all tyrants, and to have left the epithets of gracious and merciful to *Phalaris* and *Dionysius*, on a comparison of their actions with his. Other evil princes had their peculiar vices, and perhaps many ways of plaguing and punishing their subjects; but *Nabis* had not only all, but invented and practised such acts of cruelty, as were never heard of before, and never have been practised since. To all who were honest, brave, or noble, he was an open enemy; such as he could lay his hands on, he murdered; such as were not immediately in his power, he banished: nor did he stop there; for he sent some of his *Cretan* assassins after them where-ever they retired, who watched them so narrowly, that, in the field, or at their tables, or in their beds, they found an opportunity to slay them. At home, he reigned with a dissimulation, which some call wisdom: he kept up the state of a prince, wore purple, was attended by guards, performed the functions of a first magistrate, kept an equal countenance, made use of smooth speeches, entertained numbers of spies and sycophants, and struck such a terror into all who were not so, that they durst not express their thoughts, or their fears. *Polybius* tells us, that he had a painted image, which resembled his wife; and this, being clad in royal robes, he introduced, when he fancied it impracticable to wheedle any *Lacedæmonian* out of his money; and such was the art with which this image was contrived, that, by touching certain secret springs, it caught any who were near it in its arms, and forced them to say whatever the tyrant pleased^f. The distressed and dejected state of all *Greece*, which was now mightily divided, weak in its counsels, and weaker still in the execution of them, and, with all this, mightily overawed by the power of the *Macedonian* kings, and the *Roman* republic, gave vast opportunities to the tyrant to increase his dominions, and to exalt his power. He, in the midst of these confusions, seized, under pretence of assisting some of the exiled citizens, on *Argos*, into which he put a garison, under the command of *Pythagoras* his son-in-law, a man of great abilities, and who was indeed the support of his tyranny. The *Achæans* immediately applied to the *Romans*;

^e PLUT. in vit. Philopœm. POLYB. fragment. l. vii. ^f Idem, fragm. l. xiii.

for they began to be affrighted themselves at the apprehensions of the tyrant's growing power. *Titus Quintius*, the Roman general, arriving in *Greece*, they quickly made him sensible of the mischiefs that would follow, if *Nabis* was permitted to go on; for, not contented with holding the prime part of *Peloponnesus* under his sway, he began to be ambitious of the empire of the sea, and to project such schemes, as threatened disturbance even to the *Romans* themselves. *Quintius* marched immediately into the neighbourhood of *Argos*, and had some thoughts of attacking the city, where, on his approach, a rising was attempted, which issued in the destruction of those, who were desirous to be free. After this, he marched towards *Lacedæmon* itself; at which *Nabis* was exceedingly troubled. He ordered, however, a general assembly of the people to be held without the city, whither as soon as they were come, he surrounded them with his troops. Then he made a short speech, intimating the mighty danger they were in; for it is the mode of all tyrants to call themselves, and their private concerns, the interest of their country: he then magnified the great pains he had taken in securing all the posts and avenues of *Sparta*, concluding, that, since he had done so much for their service without speaking, they ought not, now he did speak, to grudge doing somewhat for him, the rather because what he sought concerned likewise their own safety: some there were amongst them, he said, who had given him just cause to suspect their conduct; these therefore he was determined to seize and imprison, till, the present danger being over, he might, which he greatly wished, restore them again to liberty, consistent with his own, and the public safety. Having made this goodly harangue, he caused fourscore persons of worth and honour to be arrested, the unarmed multitude looking on with amazement; and, that same night, he caused them all to be murdered in prison. A little afterwards, growing jealous of the *Helotes*, he seized a great number of them, caused them to be scourged in the streets, till the kennels were discoloured with their blood, and then put them to death without mercy.

AFTER all, finding the *Romans* about to besiege him, he resolved to attempt a treaty, knowing that king *Antiochus* was meditating new stirs; and from thence concluded, that *Quintius* would be glad to come to some agreement with him. His hopes were not ill-grounded: that great man, having nothing so much in view as the interest of *Rome*, readily agreed to meet him, and hear his proposals. *Nabis*, at this interview, made a long and well-composed oration; to which *Quintius* made him but an indifferent return; yet promised to send him certain Roman articles in writing: and thus this conference ended. The allies laboured hard to engage *Quintius* not to treat any more: king

Instances of his cruelty.

Has an interview with the general.

Eumenes,

Conditions
offered him
by the Ro-
mans.

Rejected by
Nabis;

who is
forced in
the end to
accept
them.

Eumenes, who was in his camp, affirmed, that it was to no purpose; for that the tyrant would think no longer of peace, than war was near him: *Agessipolis* king of *Sparta*, who, with many other illustrious exiles, waited on *Quintius*, insisted, that it would be unworthy of the *Roman* name to enter into treaty with so execrable a person: the *Achæans* were of the same sentiments. Yet *Quintius* remained firm to his own: he saw clearly, that they regarded their own interests; and thence he inferred, that he ought to mind none but those of *Rome*. Acting therefore on this motive, he sent *Nabis*, as he had promised, an account of the terms whereon he would grant him peace; and those terms were these: That he should withdraw all his garisons from *Argos*, and its territories: that he should deliver up all the ships of war he had taken, and, of all his fleet, should retain no more than two galliots: that he should deliver up such as had fled to him from the *Roman* allies, and make restitution to the *Messenians* for plundering their territories: that he should restore to the *Lacedæmonian* exiles their wives and children: that he should build neither castle nor city in his own territories, nor in those of his neighbours: that he should give five such hostages as the general would chuse, and among them his own son: that he should pay down an hundred talents; and that he should continue paying fifty talents a year for eight years together. *Nabis* disliked these conditions, and found means to make all the *Lacedæmonians* dislike them; so that they determined to make an obstinate defence. *Quintius*, perceiving nothing was to be done but by force, and having with him an army of fifty thousand men, resolved to attack the place; which accordingly he did several times, but was as often repulsed. At last he penetrated into the city; and, his soldiers beginning to take post in the first long street, *Nabis* thought of nothing but making his escape: yet *Pythagoras* delivered him from this danger, by setting the street on fire at each end, and engaging the *Lacedæmonians*, who were yet fighting in front, to supply the rising flames with fuel. The *Roman* soldiers were forced again to withdraw; but *Nabis* was so thoroughly frightened, that, with much ado, he procured peace on the terms before specified; which was hardly concluded, before advice came, that the *Argives* had delivered themselves, by expelling his garisons.

WHEN *Nabis* was free from the neighbourhood of the *Roman* army, he began to cast about in his mind how he might extricate himself from the mischiefs he laboured under; for he could not bear the thoughts of losing at once those dominions, which he had been so long, and with so much pains, acquiring. He was especially irritated at beholding himself without a seaport, and little valued among his neighbours. He therefore began

gan to treat privately with *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*, for *Attempts* creating new disturbances in *Peloponnesus*; and, having re-^{to raise}ceived from them great promises, he began to act offensively ^{new dis-}against the *Achæans*, and their allies. *Gythium*, the sea-port ^{turbances}of *Sparta*, he besieged and recovered; but, after that, and a ^{in Pello-}slight victory at sea, which he obtained against *Philopæmen*, ^{ponnesus.}he was routed at land, rather for want of abilities as a general in himself, than any fault in his soldiers. *Philopæmen*, though he could not hinder the taking of *Gythium*, yet resolved to terrify the tyrant, by marching directly towards *Lacedæmon*; which had the consequence he expected and desired, since *Nabis* drew his forces together, and led them, with the utmost diligence, to the relief of his capital. By this forced march, he fronted the *Achæan* army, within ten miles of the city, the tyrant seizing on this occasion a very strong camp, where *Philopæmen* intended to have lain that night. This great general, perceiving that his first design was rendered abortive, immediately formed a second; and, since he could not spoil *Sparta*, resolved to content himself with destroying an army every way superior to his own. There lay between the camps a little rivulet, from which both the *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians* were to fetch water; but it was considerably nearer to the former, than to the latter. *Philopæmen* therefore sent a great de- ^{Philopæ-}achment to take post privately in a copse, which bordered on ^{men gains}the river. When the troops of *Nabis* came to water their ^{several}horses, and to fill their vessels for the camp, this detachment ^{advan-}suddenly attacked them, and cut many of the light-armed sol- ^{tages over}diers in pieces. About the same time, he sent one of his auxi- ^{him.}liaries, as a deserter, to *Nabis*, with instructions to give him information, that the *Achæans* designed to move in the night, in order to get between him and *Lacedæmon*. The tyrant, affrighted at this news, as soon as it was thoroughly dark, quitted a camp, which *Philopæmen* could never have forced; and, leaving only a few light-armed troops in his entrenchments, marched, with all the speed he could, towards *Sparta*. *Philopæmen*, foreseeing this, attacked his camp as soon as he was out of it; and so harassed his army with his light-armed mercenaries, that *Nabis* found himself constrained to retire into the neighbouring woods, where he remained all the next day. *Philopæmen*, in this space, recalling his light-armed forces, left them in the camp which he had taken, and, with his troops that were still fresh, marched with great secrecy, and seized the passes which led to *Lacedæmon*, not doubting but, at the approach of night, the tyrant would march again. This fell out as he expected, and, as he had seized the avenues, the forces of *Nabis* were, in a manner, at his mercy; and he used his advantage so well, that the tyrant, with a very small part of his

his army, got into the city, covered with disgrace, and unable to hinder *Philopæmen* from spoiling the country; which he did for thirty days, and then retired, leaving *Nabis* much dejected, and with small forces to continue the war.

He recurs
to the
Ætolians.

Their re-
solution.

His recovery of *Gythium* furnished him at present with little comfort; for, the enemy being master of all the country, he could scarcely hold any correspondence therewith: besides, his navy was very inconsiderable; and he had every day repeated advice, that the *Romans* intended suddenly to send a new army into *Greece*. The *Lacedæmonians* themselves appeared dissatisfied; which made him afraid to lead his soldiers without the city; and, pent up within it, they were scarce of any use. In the midst of these distresses and distractions, he placed all his hopes in the *Ætolians*, who had indeed done a great deal of mischief in *Greece*, and had been strongly instrumental in drawing him into this war. To them he dispatched courier after courier, not with the haughty commands of a tyrant, but with the humble supplications of a distressed ally: he reminded them, that, for their sakes only, he had so precipitately entered into this war, at a time when none else cared to own them for allies; he shewed them truly the nature of his distress, hoping that it would make their relief quicker, and more effectual; but it produced quite a contrary effect, the *Ætolians* being fit confederates for such a tyrant. As soon as they had given audience to his messengers, they dispatched them with large assurances of ready assistance, while in the mean time they consulted what would be fittest to be done for their interest. The result of their consultations was, that, in the days of his prosperity, and when he had a strong army of mercenaries at his command, *Nabis* was their good ally, and deserved all possible regard; but, in the present situation of things, when his forces were, in a manner, cut off, and he scarce able to maintain himself in *Sparta*, it would better serve their purposes to remove him out of the way, and take the city to themselves. This counsel was approved; a thousand foot, and thirty horse, were chosen to march to *Lacedæmon*, under the command of *Alexamenus*. When they were ready to depart, the horsemen were sent for into the great council, where they received the following short and pithy instructions; that they were not sent to assist *Nabis* to make war upon the *Achæans*, or for any other purpose whatsoever than to obey *Alexamenus*, and to do what he directed, let it be what it would. Thus dismissed, they marched, under the command of that general, to *Sparta*, where they found *Nabis* very little satisfied with so small a reinforcement. *Alexamenus* did all he could to encourage him: he told him, the *Ætolians*, by sending him, intended no more than to give him a specimen of their good-will, instructing him also to inform him,

him, that, if his necessities required it, they would, whenever he requested it, march, with all the forces they could raise, to his relief. He likewise acquainted him, that *Antiochus* was resolved to make war on the *Romans*, and intended to cover *Greece* with his armies, and the sea with his ships; that many of the *Greek* states were inclined to his party; and that the *Ætolians* were shortly about to muster all their troops before the king's commissioners; which was the reason why they sent so few under his command. The tyrant, encouraged by these consolatory speeches, began, by the advice of *Alexamenus*, to exercise his forces without the city, that he might at once give them courage, and the *Achæans* apprehensions. At these exercises the *Ætolian* general failed not to assist, his guard of horse keeping, according to his orders, at a distance; and he sometimes riding up to them, as if it were to give them orders. These growing at last into daily practices, and the *Lacedæmonians* sinking into a timorous obedience, *Nabis* entertained fresh hopes of regaining all his dominions, and of revenging himself upon the *Romans*, for the injuries which he conceived they had done him. The *Spartan* guards, which *Alexamenus* looked upon as the best corps in the tyrant's army, he advised to be posted, phalanx-wise, behind the rest, offering such plausible reasons, that *Nabis* readily yielded to it; which was the only step wanting to his ruin. When the day came, whereon *Alexamenus* resolved to execute his great and desperate design, he behaved towards *Nabis* with more than ordinary complaisance; he commended the appearance and discipline of his troops, applauded his cavalry, promised him the supremacy in *Peloponnesus*; and, perceiving that his flattery had wrought a proper effect, the tyrant testifying, by his looks and gestures, the highest satisfaction, *Alexamenus* suddenly wheeled off; and, riding up to his troop of *Ætolians*, bid them remember the instructions they had received, when they were first chosen for this service. Having said this, he turned the head of his horse, *Nabis* and rode with a full career against *Nabis*, whom he overthrew; murdered and, his *Ætolians* immediately following him, one after another, buried their spears in the bosom of the tyrant. His guards, by the *Ætolian* general, were hardly informed of what past till he was dead; and then, not knowing for whom to fight, they forbore fighting at all.

THE rest of the *Lacedæmonians* looked on with a mixture of joy and terror, joy that the tyrant was dead, who had so long and so cruelly oppressed them; terror at beholding so strange an accident, the reasons of which they knew not, and of its *Sparta* consequences were therefore afraid. *Alexamenus*, and the *Æto-*surprised *lians*, taking advantage of their amazement, marched directly and plundered by into the city, their chief breaking into the tyrant's palace, and rifling all his treasures. The soldiers shortly after followed his example; the *Æto-*lians.

The Æto-
lians cut
in pieces
by the
Spartans ;

who unite
themselves
to the
Achæans.

example ; so that, in a short time, the *Lacedæmonians* looked on the murder of *Nabis* as their misfortune : but, considering how little it became the inhabitants of the famous *Sparta* to look on, and see their riches carried away by foreigners, they, with much ado, took a child, whose name was *Laconicus*, and who, on account of his being descended from the royal family, was bred up by *Nabis*, set him on horseback, and, gathering about him, surrounded many of the *Ætolians*, and put them to the sword. After a while, they broke into the palace, where they slew *Alexamenus*, and those who were with him. They forced likewise a temple of *Diana*, to which many of the *Ætolians* were fled, all of whom they put, without mercy, to the sword. When they were in the midst of this confusion, of which none had projected any issue, *Philopœmen* arrived, some friends of his having posted to him with the account of the death of *Nabis*. The forces he had were few, nor did he, from them, conceive any hopes of seizing the city. On the contrary, he did what *Alexamenus* ought to have done, that is, he convinced the *Lacedæmonians* of the madness of their proceedings, and engaged them, since they had so happily recovered their freedom, to unite themselves to the *Achæans*, reaping thus, by his virtue, all the fruits the *Ætolians* expected from their treachery.

It may indeed seem strange, that the *Spartans*, who had entertained such generous notions of liberty, submitted patiently, for so long a tract of time, to the arbitrary commands of lawless tyrants ; but this wonder will, in a great measure, be taken off, if we consider two things ; first, that the manners of the *Lacedæmonians* were greatly corrupted ; which is indeed the very basis of slavery. There can be no such thing as bending the necks of virtuous people ; but, when once men are abandoned to their vices, and become slaves to their passions, they readily stoop to those who can gratify them ; and this was the case of the majority of the inhabitants of *Sparta* at this time. Secondly, those amongst them, who were distinguished by their merit and their morals, were, on this very account, proscribed by the tyrants, and hated by their creatures ; so that they were forced to forsake their country, and leave it to groan under a power, which they were unable to resist. To this we may add, that such as were of mild dispositions flattered themselves with the hopes of seeing better times ; and, even in these, consoled themselves with the thought, that *Sparta* yet retained her independency, and was not subjected by any other state & (Y).

& TIT. LIV. l. xxxiv. PLUT. in vit. Philopœm. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 4 l. xxxi. c. 1, 2.

(Y) There

(Y) There is a point or two in the *Lacedæmonian* history, which, though they have been handled in a cursory manner already, require to be considered more largely. *Aratus* undoubtedly intended the preservation of the *Grecian* liberty, especially from the *Macedonian* power; but, at the same time, he as certainly intended to engage all the *Peloponnesian* states in the *Achæan* league; which was absolutely inconsistent with their retaining any monarchical form. On this occasion it was, that he hated and made war upon all the little princes in his neighbourhood, whom he stiled tyrants, and persecuted as such, as the *Achæans* continued ever after to do. If *Sparta* had acceded to the *Achæan* league, it is very possible, that *Greece* might have vindicated its freedom, for some time at least, against both the *Macedonians* and the *Romans*; but *Sparta* had been too long at the head of *Peloponnesus*, to think of changing her government at the first motion of *Aratus*, and the *Achæans*; and therefore gladly accepted the proposal of *Cleomenes*, to restore her antient form of government, and, with it, her antient lustre (75). *Aratus*, seeing that this would intirely overturn his scheme, immediately called *Cleomenes* tyrant; and, as

such, would have pulled him down; while the *Spartans*, and those who sided with the *Spartans*, acknowledged him the vindicator of the antient *Grecian* liberty; one who desired to leave all cities to be governed according to their own laws, as well as to preserve kingly government in *Sparta*. It is true, that *Machanidas* and *Nabis* pretended to carry on the same design; the latter actually dividing the lands, as *Cleomenes* had done: but this they did with a view to the aggrandizing themselves, and their families, and the supporting a dominion unlawfully maintained; which was far from being his case (76). That in this, and in a former note, we have fairly stated these matters, will clearly appear from the subsequent history of the *Achæans*; wherein it will be found, that there was no depending upon the *Lacedæmonians*, till their manners were wholly changed, and the *Lycurgic* institutions rooted out by force. Now, whether such proceedings as these, of ruining a constitution that did not suit with their league, or *Cleomenes*'s scheme for supporting every state in its pristine form, ought, with greatest justice, to be stiled a desire of bestowing liberty on *Greece*, the reader must determine.

(75) *Polyb. Hist. l. iv. Plutarch, in vit. Arati.* (76) *Tit. Liv. lib. xxxiv.*

S E C T. II.

The sequel of the Theban history, from the time of its becoming a commonwealth, to their reduction by, and peace with, Philip of Macedon; in which their carrying on of the Phocian or sacred war, and the histories of the Arcadians, Corinthians, Argives, Thessalians, Eleans, and other inferior states, are continued.

Democra-
tic go-
vernment
of the
Thebans.

WHAT kind of commonwealth the *Thebans* chose to settle themselves into immediately after the death of their last king *Xanthus*, whether into an aristocracy or democracy, doth not appear from any records we have. This only we know, that, in process of time, when they came to their flourishing age, and *Thebes* was become one of the leading states, and, in her turn, put in for the sovereignty of *Greece*, its government was in the nature of a democracy, as we shall see in the sequel of this section; but it was not till after a long time, and by slow degrees, that it arrived to this height of power. The *Thebans*, notwithstanding their great antiquity, their foreign and domestic wars, which we have mentioned in a former chapter^a, and the dreadful siege which their capital had sustained, even before the celebrated one of the city of *Troy*, their brave defence against the *Epigoni*, &c. had made but slow progress in the martial discipline and exploits, or in the improvement of their government, laws, commerce, &c. and made but a very obscure and contemptible figure in the world, in comparison of the *Athenians* and *Lacedaemonians*, being justly looked upon as a slothful, stupid people (A) for a considerable time, and might, in all likelihood, have continued so to the end, had it not been for their two great generals *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*, who raised them to that height of

^a See vol. vi. p. 165, & seqq. 198, & seqq.

(A) The truth is, they are represented as such even to a proverb by their own countrymen; for *Pindar* and *Plutarch*, two *Bæotians* of a very opposite character, did not scruple to own the rudeness and clownishness of the *Theban* nation; which *Cicero* attributes to the grossness of the air they breathed in; where-

as that of *Athens* being more keen and sharp, rendered the *Athenians* more subtil and polite (1). Hence *Horace* (2) forewarns his poetic disciples from making an *Argive* speak like a *Theban*; and a *Theban* ear, or a *Theban* wit, were commonly used to express stupidity.

(1) *De fato.* (2) *De art. poet. Seran de la Tour in vit. Epaminon.*

power

power and reputation, in which we shall see them in the sequel, and from which they sunk again almost immediately after their death: upon which account *Polybius* rightly compares the *Theban* and *Athenian* commonwealths to vessels at sea, which, if destitute of good pilots, are the sport of winds and tempests; but, when steered by an expert hand, can easily evade those dangers, and successfully sail to the wished-for port. But this was not their only defect, and the only obstacle to their advancement in glory and fame: their baseness and treachery *Their sad character.* were still a much greater, of which they gave many instances, but more especially in their betraying the common cause of *Greece*, and going over to *Xerxes* king of *Persia*^b; a treachery which disgraced them so much the more, not only as they had been the first that were gained over to that interest, and had, by their ambassadors, brought over the *Athenians* to it, as hath been hinted under that head, but likewise as their perfidious zeal was attended with such ill success, as we have seen in a former volume^c, and for which they had all the reason in the world to fear the resentment of their incensed neighbours the *Athenians*, whose power and renown increased every day, and might, in all likelihood, bring them, one time or other, under their yoke.

THE *Thebans* were accordingly in no small dread of them; and, as they were in no capacity, in such a case, to defend themselves against so powerful, politic, and incensed an enemy, they found no better expedient to ward off the blow, than to seek the friendship and protection of the *Lacedæmonians*, who, *Apply to the Spartans.* by reason of their distance from them, were a much less dangerous enemy; and these, at this time, though contrary to their usual severity, readily granted it to them, being then more inclined to forgive the partisans of the king of *Persia*, than to suffer the enemies of the *Athenians* to fall under their resentment. This unexpected generosity failed not to make a due impression on the *Thebans*, who, for a time, expressed an uncommon gratitude to their protectors; insomuch that, during the whole *Peloponnesian* war, *Sparta* had not a more faithful friend and ally. By this means, they not only recovered the government of *Bæotia*, of which they had been deprived on account of their defection, but *Thebes* likewise was restored to its antient lustre, and became again the capital of that commonwealth, and one of the first cities in *Greece*. The *Thebans*, by this time, however, were grown so powerful and headstrong, that, when the peace of *Antalcidas* came to be subscribed to, they refused to come into it, being, as they alleged,

^b Vid. HERODOT. l. vii. & seqq. XENOPHON. hist. Græc. l. vii.

^c See vol. v. p. 235, & seqq.

fully resolved against giving up their jurisdiction over the towns in *Bæotia*, and were with no small difficulty overawed and forced into it by the rest.

SPARTA especially, a professed and constant enemy to popular faction, undertook to change the form of the *Theban* government; and, having seized upon their citadel, which had been betrayed to their general *Phæbidas* by *Leontiades*, then one of the two polemarchs or governors of *Thebes*, and in the *Spartan* interest, on the third year of the ninety-ninth *Olympiad*, had brought them under the yoke. We shall not repeat here what hath been said in the history of *Athens*, concerning the wars which the *Lacedæmonians* brought upon themselves from that quarter, on account of these arbitrary proceedings, nor the signal defeat which the *Thebans* and they received under the brave *Athenian* general *Myronides*^d; but pass on to that remarkable action, by which they recovered their citadel four years after it had been taken from them, and with it their antient liberty.

Year of
the flood

1974.

Bef. Chr.

374.

Retrieve
it, and
their li-
berty.

Exiles en-
ter Thebes
by strata-
gem.

THE *Spartans*, who were then very powerful, lay in a kind of indolent security, never suspecting that the *Thebans*, whom they had so lately humbled, would be so soon in a condition to make head against them; much less that they were then carrying on a correspondence about it with their most considerable exiles at *Athens*, and concerting measures among them, by the means and contrivance of *Phyllidas*, secretary to the *Theban* governors, and had already got a competent number of exiles into the city, to whom *Charon*, a person of the first rank, had offered his house for their reception. These had, it seems, set out on a fixed day from *Athens*, and had sent twelve of the most resolute and active among them to enter, while the rest lay concealed at some distance from it, waiting the event. The noble *Pelopidas* was one of the first who offered himself to conduct them into the city. He was a young daring gentleman, and had been a great promoter of this enterprize; and the share he bore in it gave the rest a sufficient earnest of the great services his country might expect one day from him. His high birth, large estate, and extraordinary generosity, not to say profusion, joined to his other excellent talents, had already raised his credit to such an height, not only at *Thebes*, but among other states, that *Jason* the tyrant of *Thessaly* did not think himself above taking a journey to that metropolis, to engage him and *Epaminondas* in his interest; and, by their means, procured an alliance with the *Theban* republic. What part *Epaminondas* bore in it, will be seen in the sequel; but *Pelopidas*, who, by this time, had, in all likelihood, made

^d See before, p. 105. & seqq.

some progress in this noble project of freeing his country, readily accepted of this offered alliance, though with an usurper, and a tyrant; and soon after retired to *Athens*, to concert with the *Theban* exiles about it. The next person in this confederacy was *Melon*, another considerable *Theban*, who is said to have projected the design with him, and the manner of putting it in execution, which was as follows:

THEY, with ten other associates, dressed themselves like peasants, and beat about the fields, with their poles and dogs, as if in search of game; by which means, they easily entered the city unsuspected, and went immediately to *Charon's* house, which was to be their rendezvous, and where they were soon after joined by thirty-six more of their confederates. Here it was concerted, that *Phyllidas* should, on that very day, give a grand entertainment to his two masters *Archias* and *Philip*, the *Spartan* governors; and, to make it more complete, he engaged to provide some of the finest women in the town to partake of it. Things were thus settled among them, when, in the dead of the night, an officer rapped vehemently at the door, and told *Charon*, that he must come immediately to *Archias* the governor: upon which they were all seized with dread, imagining that their plot was discovered, and that they were going to be seized for it. Whereupon *Charon*, having bid the officer go, and tell *Archias*, that he was coming, went up to his associates, and encouraged the most fearful not to shrink from their glorious design through ill-grounded fears; and, at the same time, to assure them of his fidelity, fetched his young son, then in the cradle, out of his wife's chamber, and left it with them, as the best hostage he could give them of it. Having recovered himself from his fright by that time he was got to the governor's house, he behaved with such calmness and intrepidity, and satisfied him so well about those strangers who were at his house, promising to search their designs to the bottom, and to discover them, if they were of a dangerous nature, that he was discharged, and returned home. As there was now no time to be lost, the associates immediately divided themselves into two bands, one of which, led by *Charon* and *Melon*, was to fall upon *Archias*, and his company. These had dressed themselves in womens apparel, to cover their armour; and had put crowns of pine and poplar on their heads, to shade their faces; and, as soon as the guests were well heated with wine, entered the room, and immediately stabbed the two governors, with such others of their company, as were pointed out to them by *Phyllidas* (B). At the

(B) There is one remarkable circumstance taken notice of concerning this bloody entertainment; viz. that an account

Governors slain. the same time the other band, headed by *Pelopidas* and *Damocles*, went and attacked *Leontiades* the traitor, who had betrayed the *Cadmean* citadel to the *Lacedæmonian* general, and who was then in his bed. These rushed into the house by surprise; whereupon *Leontiades* leaped out, and, taking his sword, received them at his chamber-door, and ran the first man thro', that entered the room. This was the brave *Cephisodorus*; but *Pelopidas*, following close after him, encountered the traitor next; and, after a long and obstinate conflict, laid him dead at his feet. From thence they went in pursuit of *Hypates*, who was his friend and neighbour, and in the *Spartan* interest, and dispatched him likewise; and, having soon after joined the other band, they sent an express to hasten the rest of the exiles, whom they had left in *Attica*.

By this time, the whole city was in the utmost confusion; and though the houses were illuminated, the inhabitants ran up-and-down the streets in a distracted manner, waiting impatiently for day-light, that they might discover their friends from their foes, and determine what course to take. As soon as the morning was come, the exiles, that waited without, were let in, and appeared in arms, with *Demophon* at their head, to whom *Pelopidas* had sent an express, acquainting him with had been done, and desiring him to march immediately into the city; for they had still great cause to apprehend, notwithstanding their success, lest the garison of the citadel, which

of the whole conspiracy had been sent to *Archias* by an express from *Athens*; and that the courier was bid, at the delivery of the letter to the governor, to tell him, by word of mouth, that it contained matters of the greatest consequence both to him and the *Spartan* state; which he accordingly did; conjuring him to open and read them without delay: upon which *Archias*, being then in the height of jollity, laid them by unopened, and answered him, with a smile, *Business to-morrow*; which words, upon that occasion, grew up into a proverb.

It is no less worth observing here, that *Xenophon*, in the account which he gives of this transaction, doth not so much

as mention *Pelopidas*; whilst *Plutarch*, and other authors, give all the glory of it to that noble *Theban*, as having had the chiefest hand both in the design and execution. But we shall have frequent occasion, in the sequel, to take notice of his partiality with respect to him, and his no less worthy colleague *Epaminondas*, in favour of his hero *Agefi-laüs*, whose glory might else be too much eclipsed by those two celebrated generals. This gives one reason to fear, that the same motive may have induced him to suppress other valuable particularities relating to them, which it was in his power to have communicated to us, had he been less biased against them.

consisted

consisted of above fifteen hundred *Lacedæmonians*, should have sallied out, and cut them all to pieces; but it is likely the alarm had spread itself quite to that fortress, and that they suspected the strength of the *Theban* associates to be much greater than it was. However, whilst the confusion reigned in the city, *Epaminondas*, who had till then declined to join *Epaminondas* in the action, as being too bloody and violent, and in which too much innocent blood was like to be shed with the guilty, *allays the tumult.* now appeared publicly in defence of it, but chiefly to put a stop to all further massacre, and to dispel the fears of the *Thebans*. He was accompanied by a croud of the best citizens, and priests, the latter bearing garlands and crowns in their hands; and assured the affrighted people, that no blood had or should be spilt, but that of their tyrants and oppressors. At the same time *Pelopidas* appeared at the head of his party, *Pelopidas* encompassed likewise by priests with garlands; and, having *proclaims* joined himself to that of *Epaminondas*, immediately called a *liberty to* general assembly of the *Thebans*, proclaimed liberty to them, *the The-* and exhorted them, in the strongest terms, to fight for their *bans*; gods, and their country: upon which nothing was heard but loud acclamations of liberty from all parts of the city; and *Pelopidas* was unanimously proclaimed the preserver of *Thebes*, *is pro-* and was charged with the management of the war, which was *claimed* then going to be declared against *Sparta*. *their de-*

PELOPIDAS then acquainted his countrymen with all that had been done on the preceding night; and, at the same time, *and gene-* took that occasion to send *Phyllidas* to all the gaols in the city, *ral.* to release those brave *Thebans*, whom the tyrannic *Spartans* kept in fetters; which was immediately done: and a great number of them, being thus restored to liberty, desired only to have some arms given them, and to be allowed to fight for their country. Having succeeded thus far, whilst he was congratulating them and himself upon their good success, he proceeded next to acquaint them, that the most difficult part was still behind, *viz.* the wresting the citadel out of the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*; which was, besides its natural strength, defended by fifteen hundred men, with a good number of citizens and others, who were fled thither for refuge and protection, and had declared themselves on the *Spartan* side. It hath been justly observed against *Plutarch*, that, though he hath been very full and particular in his account of this remarkable revolution, yet he hath too slightly passed over the recovery of that citadel; and only says, that *Pelopidas*, *Melon*, and *Charon*, blocked it up, and, after some brisk attacks, got possession of it, before the *Lacedæmonians* could send the garison any succour. But, as it is not probable, that the regaining of so strong a place should be the work of a day, or have been ef-

The citadel regained.

The vain efforts of the Spartans.

fectured with so small a force as *Pelopidas* then had, we must have recourse to *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us, that the *Athenians*, early on the next morning after the seizing on the city, sent the *Theban* general five thousand foot, and two thousand horse; and that several other bodies of troops came in from other cities of *Bæotia*, to the number of about seven thousand more; that *Pelopidas* besieged the place in form with them; and that it held out several days, and surrendered at length for want of provisions (C). However, the citadel, upon which the recovery of the *Theban* liberty chiefly depended, was actually retaken, and the foundation thereby laid for that height of greatness and glory, to which the *Thebans* soon after rose.

THEIR success, however, so exasperated the *Lacedæmonians*, that they sent their king *Cleombrotus*, in the depth of winter, into *Bæotia*, to recover, if possible, their usurped dominions; but, the season not permitting him to perform any other exploit than the defeating of a few straggling parties, he returned to *Sparta*, leaving the farther prosecution of his design to *Sphodrias*, who then commanded in *Thespia*. In the mean time the *Athenians*, who had lately assisted the *Thebans*,

(C) Some, however, have supposed, that the garison surrendered rather out of fear of the *Thebans* fury and resentment, than out of any necessity; and others infer, that it was not without some kind of treachery in the commanders; two of whom are affirmed to have been condemned to death for it upon their return to *Sparta*; and the third to have been so heavily fined, that, not being able to pay, he was forced to banish himself for life: for it was a constant maxim amongst the *Spartans*, to die sword-in hand in defence of a place that was committed to their care; and the only thing they could urge in their defence was, that the greater part of the garison were merely allies and auxiliaries; and, not being tied by those strict rules, obliged the rest to surrender. However that be, this noble exploit bore

so near a resemblance to that of *Thrasylulus* on the like occasion, and mentioned in the history of the *Athenians* (3), whether it be considered with respect to the bravery of the actors, the difficulty and danger of the undertaking, the manner in which it was conducted, and the success that attended it, that it was called *its sister*. And indeed it was this that *Pelopidas* had in view, and proposed as an example, when he exhorted his exiles not to set themselves down contented under a lazy dependence on the *Athenians*, or meanly to fawn, for fear, upon every smooth-tongued orator, but to exert themselves like *Thrasylulus*; and that, as he had advanced from *Thebes*, to break the power of the tyrants at *Athens*, so they should, in like manner, march from *Athens* to *Thebes*, to set their country at liberty.

(3) *Plutarch. in Agefil. Diod. Sic. & al. sup. citat.*

as we hinted above, declined having any farther hand in the contest, for fear of drawing the resentment of the *Spartans* upon themselves; whilst the *Thebans*, not finding themselves in a condition singly to cope with the *Spartans*, were contriving some means to raise a misunderstanding between them and the *Athenians*, in hopes of bringing the latter back to their interest. An opportunity offered itself to their wish; and *Sphodrias*, who then commanded the *Spartan* troops, and was no less rash and thoughtless, than he was bold and ambitious, was easily persuaded to attack the *pyræum* or harbour of *Athens*, a thing which, they told him, would highly redound to his honour, and be no less grateful and advantageous to the *Lacedæmonians*. We have already given an account of this mad attempt, and of the ill consequences it drew upon the *Spartan* commonwealth^d, and in particular that of determining the *Athenians* to declare themselves on the side of the *Thebans*, besides drawing several other cities, which were grown weary of the *Spartan* tyranny, into a confederacy with them. We have likewise seen the small success which the two *Spartan* kings, *Cleombrotus* and *Agésilas*, had in their fresh and alternate invasion of *Bœotia*, and the signal advantages which the *Thebans* gained over them under the brave *Athenian* general *Gobrias*, both by sea and land, especially his celebrated victory at *Naxos*; and to which, as well as for those of his successor *Timotheus*, we shall refer our reader, to avoid needless repetitions^e.

THESE successful diversions were no less improved by the brave *Thebans*, who not only recovered all the cities of *Bœotia*, but made a powerful invasion in *Phocis*; so that the *Spartans* lost ground daily, and became less formidable to them, till at length they began to act offensively, and had many sharp encounters with them; which, though they did not amount to decisive battles, yet failed not to raise their courage, and gain them experience; and paved the way to those great exploits, which they afterwards performed under their noble general *Pelopidas*, who had hitherto signalized himself in all those encounters, particularly at the battle of *Tanagra*, formerly mentioned, in which he slew the *Lacedæmonian* general with his own hand; so that it was chiefly to his valour and conduct that they owed the greatest share of their success. The next, which was fought soon after, was still more remarkable, and glorious to him. He had formed a design of surprising the city of *Orchomenos*, one of the largest and most considerable in all *Bœotia*, and which was still garisoned by the *Lacedæmonians*; and was marching towards it, at the head of only three hun-

^d See before, p. 112.

^e See *ibid.* p. 114. & seqq.

Spartans
totally de-
feated.

dred foot, and some horse (D), when he received intelligence, that a considerable body of *Spartans* were on their march to reinforce that garison; upon which he thought it adviseable to retire, and, in his retreat, met them near the city of *Tegyra*. The rencounter was no less furious than sudden and unexpected; but, *Pelopidas* having ordered his horse that were in the rear to advance and engage them, and depending upon his foot for the main stress of the battle, the two *Spartan* commanders *Gorgoleon* and *Theopompus* fell almost upon the first onset; and all that were near them being either slain, or put to flight, the remainder of the *Spartan* troops were seized with such a panic, that they immediately opened a passage for the *Thebans* to pursue their march. *Pelopidas*, however, did not think fit to quit the field of battle, till he had made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, and thoroughly routed and dispersed the rest; so that he acquired more glory by this noble retreat, than he could have got, if he had succeeded in his original design against *Orchomenos*, this being the greatest disgrace the *Spartans* had

(D) This small body was, however, the very flower of the *Theban* army, and was dignified with the names of the *Sacred battalion*, and the *Band of lovers*, being equally famed for their fidelity to the *Theban* state, and affection for each other, as for their singular courage and bravery. Some fabulous things are mentioned of them, not worth notice in a work of this nature, and from which we can only infer, that they were a brave resolute set of young men, who had vowed perpetual friendship to each other, and had bound themselves, by the strongest ties, to stand by one another to the last drop of their blood; and were therefore the fittest to be employed in such private and dangerous expeditions.

Their origin is commonly ascribed to *Gorgidas*, one of the governors of *Boeotia*, in conjunction with *Pelopidas*; both which generals had the greatest hand in all the notable transactions of that time; and we are farther told,

that *Pelopidas* chiefly used them as a guard to the citadel, but employed them, as occasion offered, in other services of war; particularly, upon any engagement, he commonly intermixed them in the ranks among other troops, to animate them by their example. However, this last action we have been mentioning above, easily convinced him, that it was a much better way to keep them united in one body; so that he constantly charged from thenceforth at the head of them, without dividing them any more.

This brave and valiant little corps is affirmed to have continued invincible till the battle of *Cheronæa*, which happened some years after, when they fought against the *Macedonian* phalanx, till every man of them was cut down; insomuch that, when *Philip* came on the morrow to take a view of the slain, he could not refrain from tears to see those brave youths so closely united in death.

hitherto

hitherto met with; for they had at least three times as many men in the field, and it never had been known before, that, in any of their wars, whether against *Grecians* or barbarians, they had been beaten by even an equal, much less by so inferior a number to theirs. And, on this occasion, *Plutarch* rightly observes, that the breed of martial spirits was not confined to the banks of the *Eurotas*; but that true courage and bravery are the growth of every country, where the inhabitants are brought up with a sense of honour and justice, and are more afraid of the least disgrace than of the greatest danger^f. And the *Thebans* were so sensible of the conduct and bravery of their two generals, as well as of the glory and advantage they were likely to reap from this signal victory, that they erected a sumptuous monument, to perpetuate the memory of it, and of their great deliverers.

HOWEVER, these successes of the *Thebans*, which were chiefly Athenian, owing to their growing valour and experience, could not but be beheld with a jealous eye by the *Athenians*, who began now to think, that they gained ground too fast; for which reason they judged it more expedient to forego, or, at least, suspend, their resentment against the *Lacedæmonians*, than to raise the power of one state upon the destruction of the other. An opportunity for such an accommodation soon fell into their way; and *Artaxerxes*, wanting, at that time, some *Grecian* auxiliaries, to assist him in his *Egyptian* war, sent ambassadors to them, to put an end to their intestine broils, and to renew the peace of *Antalcidas*; which, at this present juncture, they easily brought about; and the *Thebans* were the only state that opposed it, as we have already hinted. We have spoken of this expedition in a former volume, and of the assistance which the *Grecians* sent to him^g. Not long after this, the *Thebans*, who had taken no small umbrage at the *Platæans*, on account of their singular fidelity to the *Athenians*, and looked upon their city as a continual thorn in their sides, came to a resolution to surprise it: upon which they applied to their allies for succour and protection; which was readily granted to them. This failed not to exasperate the *Thebans* against both, who sent *Eurymachus*, at the head of three hundred men, who were immediately admitted into that city by some of the *Platæans* they had gained to their side^h. We have likewise spoken of this transaction in the *Athenian* history; the consequence of which was, that the city was rased by them, and soon after *Platæa* that of *Thespia*; which so exasperated the *Athenians*, both cities having so well deserved not only of them, but of the *piæ rased*.

^f Idem ibid.
l. ii. Diop. l. xii.

^g Vol. v. p. 257, & seqq.

^h THUCYD.

common cause, in the *Persian* war, that they broke off intirely, and would no longer act in conjunction with them. Soon after this, the *Grecian* affairs took a new and unexpected turn, in which every state took their several parts, as we have formerly seen, and shall not repeat here.

Thebans
grow am-
bitious.

HITHERTO the *Thebans* had only strove to secure their regained liberty by allying either with *Athens* or *Sparta*, as occasion served, it being their constant maxim, when they were either in danger from, or deserted by the one, to have recourse to the other; in doing which they were always sure to meet with a kind reception, because whatever side they inclined to, they were of weight sufficient to turn the scale; and the wars they had been so long engaged in, had brought them into such excellent discipline and knowlege in martial affairs, that they began now to think of enlarging their territories, which they found too narrow for their ambitious views; and to make some gradual incroachments on their neighbours, as they saw other states had done before them.

Spirited by
Pelopidas
and Epa-
minondas

THIS new spirit of conquest and superiority is said to have been raised by their great general and deliverer *Pelopidas*, in which he was seconded and supported by the noble and brave *Epaminondas*, a person who, tho' like him endowed with all the necessary qualities to make a complete captain or patriot, had till then preferred a private life, and lived in a constant course of virtue, and the study of philosophy. He had, as yet, seldom appeared in public, except to get himself excused from those state-employments which were so eagerly courted by others. This, however, had not hindered him from contracting an intimate friendship with *Pelopidas*, which had been daily improved by the correspondence of their tempers and principles, as well as by that noble zeal which both displayed for the good of their country; which last had made them, even before this time, appear together in action, and to such advantage, that *Epaminondas's* merit could be no longer concealed, nor, indeed, suffer him to continue longer in his beloved retirement: so that he saw himself, at length, deservedly placed at the head of the *Theban* troops; where he gave such early proofs of his future prowess and abilities, as justly gave him the next rank to *Pelopidas*: only, this last having made a more early figure in the army, the success which the *Thebans* had hitherto met with, was generally ascribed to him. This did not, however, prevent the other from being looked upon as his second, if not as his equal; so that both came now to be considered in the same light, as generals in the field, as governors at home, and as complete statesmen in the council: so that, when the general treaty for restoring peace to *Greece* came

came to be proposed by the *Athenians*, and was upon the point of being executed by the rest of the states, the *Thebans* refused to agree to it, unless they were comprehended in it, under the name of *Bæotians*; and were stiled so accordingly.

THIS demand was, however, as strenuously opposed by the Epami- other contracting powers, as insisted on by *Epaminondas*, who ^{nondas's} was there as ambassador, on the part of the *Thebans*. *Agefi-* ^{reply to} *laus*, in particular, told him, in plain terms, that the *Thebans* ^{the Spar-} ought to evacuate *Bæotia*, and leave the cities of it free and in- ^{tans.} dependent. To which he was answered by him, that the *Lacedæmonians* would do well to set them the example, by restoring *Messenia* to its antient proprietors, and *Laconia* to its antient freedom; for that the pretensions of the city of *Thebes* to *Bæotia* were as well founded, at least, as those of *Sparta* to those two countries. After this he went on, and shewed how far *Sparta* had aggrandized herself, at the expence of her neighbours; that peace might be indeed obtained, and upon a solid and lasting foot; but that this could not be otherwise done than by bringing all to an equality. This bold, tho' just remonstrance, in which not only *Thebes*, but *Greece* in general, was concerned, failed not, however, to exasperate the haughty *Spartan* monarch; and the *Athenians*, who had till now looked upon the *Thebans* as dependents either on them, or on the *Macedonians*, were not a little offended to hear their ambassador talk in such high terms. The result of this conference was, that *Agefilaus* struck the name of *Thebes* out of the treaty, *Agefi-* and declared war against them ^k, the success of which we have ^{laus's rash} already shewn in part, in the former section of this chapter ¹ (E); ^{act.} and

^k XENOPH. *Hellan.* l. vi. DIOD. SIC. l. xv. Vid. & PLUT. in *Agefil.* & *Pelopid.* & CORN. NEP. in vit. *Epaminond.* ¹ See before, p. 113. & seqq.

(E) This hasty rupture was however highly blamed by the *Lacedæmonians*, and their allies; and it was not without great difficulty, and some considerable demur, that the ephori were prevailed upon to consent to it; though even then the king's act was condemned as the effect of passion rather than judgment, and as owing to a pique which he had against the *Thebans*, for having been called out of *Asia* on their account; for which he took hold of every opportunity of being revenged on them. And it was with this view also, that he took care, before all things, to conclude a peace with all the rest of the *Grecian* states, and to tie their hands from assisting them. It was indeed couched in such vague and general terms, as if it was only to serve for the present occasion, and give him an opportunity of keeping or breaking it, as he should see occasion; which agrees with

and shall only recapitulate as much of it, in few words, as is necessary to keep up the thread of the *Theban* history, or hath not been taken notice of before.

War with
Sparta.

Year of
the flood
1977.
Bef. Chr.
371.

Epami-
nondas's
disposition
of his
army,

and suc-
cess.

THE *Thebans* were in no small consternation to see themselves engaged in a war with the powerful *Spartans*, without any ally to assist them; and the rest of the *Grecian* states, having made peace with the latter, as we hinted in the last note, began to look upon the ruin of the former as unavoidable. However, they resolved to make the best defence they could, and put their army under the command of the brave *Epaminondas*, assigning him, at his own request, six others, to act as counsellors or assistants. The *Theban* army, consisted, at most, but of six thousand men, whereas that of the enemy was, at least, thrice that number; but *Epaminondas* trusted most in his horse, wherein he had much the advantage, both in their quality and good management: the rest he endeavoured to supply by the disposition of his men, and the vigour of the attack. He even refused to suffer any to serve under him in the engagement, but such as he knew to be fully resolved to conquer or die; and put himself at the head of the left wing, opposite to *Cleombrotus*; and placed the main stress of the battle there, rightly concluding, that if he could break the body of the *Spartans*, which was but twelve men deep, whereas his own was fifty, the rest would be soon put to flight. He closed his own with the *Sacred band*, spoken of in a former note ^m, which was commanded by *Pelopidas*; and placed his horse in the front. His right, from which he had drawn so many men, he ordered to fall back, in a slanting line, as if they declined to fight, that they might not be too much exposed to the enemy, and might serve him for a corps of reserve, in case of need. This was the wise disposition which our two *Theban* generals made of their few, but resolute forces; and which succeeded, in every part, according to their wish. *Epaminondas* advanced with his left wing, extending it obliquely, in order to draw the enemy's right from the main body; and *Pelopidas* charged them with such desperate speed and fury, at the head of his battalion, before they could reunite, that their horse, not being able to stand the shock, were forced back upon their infantry, which threw the whole into the greatest confusion; so that, tho' the *Spar-*

^m See before, p. 168, note (D).

with what he said upon dismissing some of their ambassadors: *What can be amicably adjusted, shall be so; and what cannot be otherwise remedied, must be determined by the sword; it being next to impossible to provide against every thing by treaty* (3).

(3) *Plut. in Agesil. vid. & al. sup. citat.*

tans

tans were, of all the *Greeks*, the most expert in recovering from any surprize, yet their skill, on this occasion, either failed them, or proved of no effect; for the *Thebans*, observing the dreadful impression they had made on them with their horse, Cleombrotus pushed furiously upon the *Spartan* king, and opened their way brotus to him, with a great slaughter. slain.

UPON the death of *Cleombrotus*, and several officers of note, *Victory of the Spartans*, according to custom, renewed the fight with *Leuctra*. double vigour and fury, not so much to revenge his death, as to recover his body, which was such an established point of honour as they could not give up, without the greatest disgrace: but here our *Theban* general wisely chose rather to gratify them in that point, than to hazard the success of a second onset; and left them in possession of their king, whilst himself marched strait against their other wing, which was commanded by *Archidamus*, and consisted chiefly of such auxiliaries and allies as had not heartily engaged in the *Spartan* interest (F): and these were so disheartened at the death of the king, and the defeat of that wing, that they betook themselves to flight, and were presently after followed by the rest of the army. The *Thebans*, however, pursued them so closely, that they made a second dreadful slaughter among them, which completed *Epaminondas's* victory, who remained master of the field, and erected a trophy in memory of it. This was the conclusion of the famed battle of *Leuctra*, in which the *Lacedæmonians* lost Spartans four thousand men, and the *Thebans* but three hundredⁿ. defeated. How the news of this unexpected defeat was received at *Sparta*, which lost above four hundred of her citizens among the rest of the slain, may be seen in their history, in the former section of this chapter.

THE city of *Thebes*, however, we may safely believe, received it with more sincere joy; and our victorious general, desirous to improve this great victory, sent an herald, crowned with garlands, to communicate it, in form, to the *Athenians*, in hopes that this would be an effectual means to reunite them Jealousy to their interest. But it proved quite otherwise; and *Athens*, of the which now looked upon them with a jealous eye, and had Atheni- then in view the sovereignty of *Greece*, chose rather, if they ans.

ⁿ PLUT. DIOD. SIC. & alii supra citat. See before, p. 114.

(F) *Diodorus Siculus* adds, that they were encouraged to it, rather from the weakness of the *Theban* army, than their affection to the *Spartans*; so that they expected to have had nothing to do but to take the field, and to conquer without fighting, or, as he elegantly expresses it, *ἀνοψί*, without dust (4). No wonder they were so easily put to flight!

(4) *Lib. xv,*

Jason
comes to
the The-
ban camp.

A truce
concluded.

Thebes
grown
formidable

could not wholly obtain it, to share it with *Sparta*, than to let the *Thebans* into the whole; and therefore declined even giving their herald audience, and ordered him immediately to depart, tho' contrary to the laws of hospitality, which allowed such persons a time for refreshment. *Jason* the tyrant of *Thes-saly*, who, as was lately hinted, had made an alliance with *Thebes*, received the news of this victory in a different manner; and, tho' at war with some of his neighbours, found means to steal a private march thro' their territories, to come and join *Epaminondas*, whilst a fleet was pretended to be preparing to transport him thither by sea. He came to the *Theban* camp, at the head of fifteen hundred foot and five hundred horse; and, upon *Epaminondas*'s discovering his design to him, of pursuing the *Lacedæmonians* to the very gates of *Sparta*, that prince plied him with all the rhetoric and politics he was master of, to deter him from it. He had, doubtless, some selfish views; and was not willing to see *Sparta* reduced so much below *Thebes*, as not to be able to make head against it: however, whether *Epaminondas* perceived his drift or not, he not only acquiesced with him, but even agreed to make a truce with them; and *Jason*, who undertook to manage it, went actually to the *Spartan* camp, and, with his usual eloquence and address, persuaded them to accept it; so that they immediately marched over mount *Cytheron*, and turned to *Laconia*, where *Archidamus* dismissed his allies; and, with the poor remains of his army, lately the finest that ever that republic could boast, marched away for his metropolis. And one may safely say, this was the first time that ever that proud city received one in so disgraceful a plight.

IN the mean time, the bad reception which the *Theban* herald had received at *Athens*, did not hinder several other states, to whom the news was communicated in the same manner, from expressing their joy at it; several of whom were thereby induced to enter into fresh alliances with them, whilst the *Athenians* were turning the defeat of the *Spartans* to their advantage, as we have seen in their history. Some of those states were, indeed, compelled to come into this alliance; but the far greater part did it either from inclination or interest, as they found they were most likely to be protected by them; so that *Thebes* was now become the asylum of those who apprehended the power of the *Spartans* or *Athenians*: and these refused, as well as the *Thebans*, to come into the treaty of peace which the *Athenians* had caused to be renewed; and objected against the freedom of several towns, over which they claimed a jurisdiction.

AMONGST

AMONGST these states, the *Mantineans*, by the help of the *Eleans* and *Arcadians*, took upon them to rebuild and fortify their city; and *Pausanias* tells us, that *Epaminondas*, about that time, persuaded several of the small towns of the *Arcadians* to build one common city, by the name of *Megapolis* ^p, though *Diodorus* places it two years later, viz. upon their great overthrow by the *Spartans* ^q. However, it is plain from what we have seen in the histories of *Athens* and *Sparta*, that the restoring of those antient states to their liberty and privileges made several of them grow wanton and capricious, and fall into such violent discords, as proved of worse consequence to them than the dominion of *Sparta*.

ALL this while *Jason*, taking the advantage of the truce between the *Thebans* and *Spartans*, daily increased his conquests, and his sword brought those under his yoke, which neither his gold nor eloquence could subdue; so that he was now grown to such an height of power and ambition, that he was become formidable to all *Greece*; and might, in all probability, have gained the sovereignty of it, had he not been assassinated by some of his own subjects, who were afterwards honoured as the restorers of the *Thessalian* liberty. But this proved only a short relief, and they came soon after to groan under a much severer tyranny, viz. that of *Alexander* of *Pheræa*, the brother of *Jason*, a man rightly described, in few words, as a monster, with an heart of brass, and who governed them with a rod of iron, as we shall soon see. However, as the *Thebans* had lost a powerful friend in *Jason*, they took care to strengthen themselves by new alliances; and, besides the *Arcadians* and *Thebans* *Eleans*, lately mentioned, had got the *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *get new* *Acar-nanians*, *Eubœans*, and other states, under their depend-*allies, and* ence; so that they were now in a condition to act offensively *enter Pe-* against the *Spartans*, and, under pretence of assisting the *Ar-* *loponne-* *cadians*, had entered *Peloponnesus* with a gallant army, with *sus.* *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* at their head. Here they were joined by the *Arcadian* and other confederate forces; so that the whole amounted to forty thousand, some say fifty thousand, men, besides great numbers of those who followed the camp, rather for plunder than fighting, and were computed about twenty thousand more. The army was divided into four columns, and moved strait towards *Sellasia*, the place of their rendezvous, from which they pursued their march, with fire and sword, towards *Sparta*; where they were, however, repulsed by the brave *Agésilas*, who was then returned to that metropolis, as we have already seen in the former section ^r.

^p In Arcadic.^q Lib. xv.^r See before, p. 119.

Antient
Messeni-
ans re-
stored.

To repair, in some measure, the disgrace of this expensive and successful expedition, and, at the same time, to leave some lasting monument, which should redound as much to his glory, as to the mortification of the *Spartans*, *Epaminondas* left not their territories till he had restored the posterity of the old *Messenians* to their antient dominions, out of which they had been banished near three hundred years^a, rebuilt their capital, and left a strong garison for its defence (G). He was, however, like to have been stopped in his return by *Iphicrates*, whom the *Athenians* had sent, with twelve thousand men, to intercept him; but this last loitered so long at *Corinth*, that the *Thebans* had passed the defiles of *Cenchreæ*, the chief place where he could have obstructed his retreat, had he taken possession of it time enough (H); and so continued his march till he came in full view of the city of *Corinth*. However, he found the roads choaked up with trees, rocks, stones, and every thing that could render them impassable, and the *Corinthians* well fortified, and resolute on a stout defence. This did rather whet than deaden his courage, and he came so furiously upon them, notwithstanding all these difficulties, that they, in a panic kind of surprize at his intrepidity, abandoned all their intrenchments and outworks to the *Thebans*, and fled into the city, whither these pursued them sword in hand, and made

^a See before, vol. vi. p. 153. 168. & seqq. vol. vii. p. 73.

(G) Nothing could be more proper or likely to obliterate his late repulse before *Sparta*, than the resettling a people, who had made so considerable a figure in the early times of *Greece*, in their antient possessions, and dividing it by lot among them; and, at the same time, nothing could reflect a greater dishonour on the *Spartans*, than their being forced to suffer themselves to be deprived of a province as large as their own, and the most fertile in all *Greece*, after they had held it so long under them, and as a barrier against any invasion on that side. And accordingly we find, that *Agésilas* was so exasperated at it, that he made it the ground for continuing the war against the *Thebans*, instead of accepting

the peace which they offered to him; tho' his refusal was like to have caused the total ruin of *Sparta* itself, as we have seen in their history (5).

(H) His conduct, at so important a juncture, was accordingly very much blamed by the *Athenians* and *Spartans*; but that was all: so that it is not improbable the former had only sent him on this errand, to make a faint shew of friendship to the latter; for it is scarcely credible, that the general, who had never yet been wanting in his duty, should have been so remiss in so important a case, or that the *Athenians* would have let him go unpunished, if he had not had some private instructions from them for what he did.

(5) See before, p. 113. & seqq.

an horrid slaughter of them; insomuch that *Corinth* must have *Corinth* unavoidably fallen into their hands, had their generals thought thians *de-* fit to pursue these advantages; but, whether they were afraid *feated and* of the *Athenians* falling upon them, or apprehended some dan-*slaughter-* gerous ambush in a country with which they were but indif-*ed.* ferently acquainted, or whether the army was too much weakened through so many fatigues, or, lastly, whether the coldness of the season, it being then in the depth of winter, would not permit them to proceed farther, they immediately marched towards *Bæotia*. This gave such an handle to their enemies, that they met with a very mortifying reception at their return to *Thebes*, where they were both arrested, and clapped up, as Epami- state-prisoners, for having presumed to prolong their command *nondas* four months longer than the time limited by law, which time *and Pello-* took in almost the whole of their expedition from their first en-*pidas* trance into *Peloponnesus*. This was but a very ungrateful re-*tried.* turn for the signal services they had done to the *Theban* state; for the crime laid to their charge being capital, they were forced to submit to be tried by the judges; and, as they had nothing to allege on their behalf, except the great advantages they had gained by their unavoidable stay, they readily owned the charge, and submitted themselves to the equity of the court. Their enemies, at the same time, neglected no art nor pains to incense the people against them; insomuch that they were just upon the point of being capitally condemned, when *Epa-* *minondas*, in a modest, but severe speech, began to remind them of his late victory at *Leuctra*, and of the other services he had done, both to *Thebes*, and to all *Greece*, whose liberties he had so lately restored; and, taking the whole fault upon himself, in order to save *Pelopidas*, spoke to them to this purpose: *I was in hopes, that my successes, and the advantages you His speech derived from them, would have been sufficient motives to induce to the you to acquit me; but, since they are not, I only wait for your court. sentence, and am ready both to accuse and condemn myself: only let posterity be as well apprised of my crime, as they will be of my punishment. Let them know, that I am put to death for having so successfully led your troops into Laconia, where no enemy had ever penetrated before, and for having been the first who made that country feel the dreadful effects of your victorious arms: that I die for having restored the Messenians to their antient patrimony; for having reunited the Arcadians, and ruined the Lacedæmonians; for having increased your strength, enlarged your conquests, and raised you to this present height of power and glory: all I farther beg is, that it may be engraved upon my monument, that he, who hath done you all these services, had been punished with death.* These severe reproaches had the desired effect, and, his judges being ashamed to proceed any farther,

Honourably acquitted.

Year of the flood
1984.
Bef. Chr.
364.

farther, either against him, or against his equally deserving colleague, they were both honourably acquitted^t.

THIS prosecution had been chiefly carried on and encouraged by *Meneclides*, a discontented *Theban* (I), and a bold and able speaker, who, by his artful calumnies at the tryal, had so far prevailed with the judges, as to get *Epaminondas* deprived of the government of *Bæotia* for a whole year, tho' he could not gain the same advantage against *Pelopidas*, who was a greater favourite of the people, as being his senior in point of time. Besides, *Meneclides* was known to be a very proud, turbulent man, ill-natured, envious, and revengeful, and a person of the worst character and morals. He had long since envied them the glory, reputation, and universal love, which their merit had justly gained them; and could not but express a great dislike at their acquittal, since it deprived him of even the hopes of ever being rid of two such powerful rivals. All this *Pelopidas* was sensible of, as well as of his other cabals against him; and, being of a much warmer temper than *Epaminondas*, and spirited up by his friends, made no scruple to express an uncommon resentment against the usage he had met with, and to seek an occasion to be revenged on him, in such manner as should effectually suppress his insolence for the future; and *Meneclides*, who dared not declare himself so openly against him, as he had against *Epaminondas*, but privately endeavoured to supplant him, by setting up *Charon* against him, soon furnished him with an opportunity, which we shall give our reader in a note, as being rather the effect of a private pique, than a matter of a public nature (K).

By

^t PLUT. & alii supra citat.

(I) *Meneclides* had been one of those *Thebans* who used to meet at *Charon's* house, to consult about surprising the city and citadel, and shaking off the *Spartan* yoke, and had his share of merit in that noble transaction; but, being of an haughty turbulent spirit, did not think his services sufficiently rewarded, and made it his business, upon all occasions, to complain of the injustice and partiality of those in power, and to calumniate those that were set above him, particularly the two brave patriots and generals above-named; and

only waited for an opportunity to accuse them to the people, and gladly laid hold of this to have them tried for their lives.

(K) Some little time before the battle of *Leuctra*, lately mentioned, there had passed a skirmish at *Plataea* between the *Thebans* and *Spartans*, in which about forty of the latter had been slain. *Meneclides*, who was willing to raise it to the merit of a victory in favour of *Charon*, who commanded the *Thebans*, had procured a famed painter from *Cyzicus*, to paint the battle, in order to eclipse that of *Leuctra*;

By this time the *Spartans*, with much difficulty, had recovered themselves from their great defeat at *Leuctra*, and settled their affairs in as good a posture as they could; but, tho' they had repulsed the *Thebans* in *Peloponnesus*, yet, from the exploits their general had performed there, especially in the dismembering the whole kingdom of *Messenia* from them, they had still cause to fear what their forces might do under two such generals; and had accordingly taken due care to strengthen themselves against them, and to provide themselves with a good number of auxiliaries from other states, especially from that of *Athens*, with whom they had renewed their old treaty, and had agreed, that each should have the command five days alternately, as hath been already shewn in their history ^u. Soon after this treaty, the *Arcadians* renewed the war, and took *Pallene* in *Laconia* by storm, put the garison to the sword, and were presently assisted by the *Argives* and *Eleans*, and especially by the *Thebans*, who sent to them seven thousand foot, and five hundred horse, under the command of *Epaminondas*; which last so alarmed the *Athenians* likewise, that they immediately sent *Gobrias*, with some forces, to oppose his passage in good earnest; and he so behaved himself against the *Thebans*, that he gained the whole glory of this second repulse: so that they were forced to abandon *Peloponnesus* a second time, as we have already shewn in a former section ^w. This ill suc-

Spartans
prepare
against
the The-
bans.

Arca-
dians be-
gin the
war.

Gobrias
sent to op-
pose Epa-
minondas

^u See before, p. 117.

^w See before, p. 118.

Era; and though the painter was forced out of *Thebes*, on account of a tumult that happened there, before he had put the finishing hand to it, yet *Meneclides*, who had it in his possession, made no scruple to propose the hanging it up in some public place, with an inscription, that it was in memory of the victory gained by *Charon* at *Plataea*, which he failed not to magnify with his usual eloquence. *Pelopidas*, who could not but perceive the drift of this pretended patriot, and that it was plainly intended by him as a slur on that more complete one, which he and his colleague had since gained, thought himself obliged to oppose the mo-

tion; which yet he did with singular candour and modesty, especially with respect to *Charon*, to whom he took care to give all due praise; but, at the same time, made the people so sensible of the absurdity of the proposal, and of the malice and impertinence of its author, that they thought fit to lay an heavy fine upon him, even greater than they knew he was able to pay; which quashed his hopes of ever succeeding against such a powerful rival, tho' it did not prevent his continuing a common disturber of the government, till they forced him at last to banish himself for insolvency (5).

(5) *Iidem ibid.*

Epami-
nondas
a graded.

cess gave fresh occasion to the enemies of *Epaminondas* to blame his conduct in the highest terms; notwithstanding the singular bravery with which he and his troops had forced the pass, even his friends could not but suspect him of partiality for the *Spartans*, in not pursuing his advantage over them, and making a greater slaughter of them, when he had it in his power; whilst his enemies made it amount to no less than treachery to his country; and, though so severe and so ill-grounded an accusation could not but appear to the more considerate and unbiassed as the effect of party-malice, yet it wrought so far upon the much greater part of the people, that their brave general was once more deprived of the government of *Bœotia*, and reduced to the condition of a private man. He did not continue long under this disgrace, before an occasion offered to make his services again of such necessity to the state, as to give him an opportunity to retrieve his fame, and wipe off the stain, which his enemies had thrown upon him.

Lycome-
des cor-
rupts the
Arcadi-
ans.

AMONG the *Theban* allies who had engaged in this last expedition, especially the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Arcadians*, these last, who, as we hinted above, had begun the war, by invading *Laconia*, were grown so elated at their extraordinary success, that they would no longer act in subordination to the *Thebans*. They were instigated to this refusal by their general *Lycomedes*, a man of birth and fortune, and of an ambitious spirit, who had command of them in most of their late expeditions; and, by his success and bravery, had so far gained their confidence and esteem, that he began now to remind them, that the whole *Peloponnesus* did properly belong to them, as the original inhabitants of it; that they were the most populous nation in all *Greece*, and had been always most considered and esteemed by the rest for their singular stoutness and bravery, and, as such, had always borne the first rank of auxiliaries; insomuch that the *Spartans* had never done any thing against *Athens* without them, nor would the *Thebans* now have appeared against *Sparta*, had they not been supported by them: that, as they had formerly promoted the interest of the one, so they were now doing the same to the *Thebans*; so that, if they did not henceforth insist upon an equal share of the command in their turn with them, they would, in the end, find them *Spartans* too. This speech made such an impression upon the *Arcadians*, that they made no difficulty to agree to whatever he should propose, and to assure him, that there was nothing so difficult, that they were not ready to undertake. In the

Artaxer-
xes's nego-
tiations
broken.

midst of these broils, *Artaxerxes* made a second attempt to reconcile the *Grecian* states, in order to obtain some auxiliaries from them; but his measures were broken, by the *Spartans* insisting on having *Messenia* restored to them; which the *The-*

bans

bans absolutely refused. In the mean time, these last were not ignorant of the measures which the *Arcadians* were taking against them, nor wanting in their resentment, though they could easily foresee, that they would be so far from answering their sanguine expectations, that they would only excite others of their allies to desert them, as they accordingly did; the consequence of which would be, that the *Spartans*, who had received fresh reinforcements from *Persia* and *Sicily*, would fall upon them with greater fury. The thing happened accordingly soon after, under the conduct of the brave *Archidamus*, the son of *Agésilas*, who gained that signal victory over *Arcadians* and the *Argives*, in which he killed ten thousand of them, *ans de-* without the loss of one man on his side; from which it was *feated.* stiled by the *Spartans* the tearless victory ^x. This signal defeat was so far from being the only bad effect of their ill-timed folly and pride, that it brought a train of other misfortunes upon them; whilst the *Thebans* and *Eleans* (the former of whom were highly displeased at their late measures, and the latter had withdrawn themselves from them, on account of their refusing to restore some of their towns, which the *Spartans* had taken from them) looked upon their present disasters as a just punishment for their arrogance and perfidy to them ^y.

ALL this while the *Thebans* had raised themselves to such an *Thebans* height of power, as had gained them the greatest credit and *become* influence, not only among their neighbouring states, but even *powerful.* among foreign princes; insomuch that they were invited to be moderators and umpires, particularly in *Macedonia*, where they quickly composed the quarrels about the succession, and had taken at one time thirty, and afterwards fifty, *Macedonian* youths of distinction as hostages, and, among the former, *Philip* the king's brother, and father of *Alexander the Great*. This prodigious sway of theirs was chiefly owing to the justice and equity, as well as great abilities, of *Pelopidas*; for, as to *Epaminondas*, he still continued in the condition of a private man; but the next expedition of the former proved the means of raising the latter to his pristine rank and credit. The occasion and success were as follows:

THE *Thessalians*, who had groaned some time under the *Thessa-* tyranny of the usurper *Alexander* surnamed the *Pheræan*, sent *lians ap-* an embassy to *Thebes*, to implore their aid and protection: *ply to the* upon which *Pelopidas* was immediately sent as ambassador, to *Thebans.* expostulate with him on their behalf. He was then in *Mace-* *Pelopidas* *don*, on the occasion lately mentioned; and, upon his return, *sent thi-* *ther.*

^x XENOPH. Hellen. l. vi. DIOD. SIC. l. xv. PLUT. in vit. Ages. & Pelopid. PAUSAN. in Lacon. JUST. l. vii. CORN. NEP. & alii. See before, p. 118. 122, 123. ^y Ibidem ibid. Vide sup. ibid.

Imprisoned
by Alexan-
der.

His bold
message to
him.

marched directly to *Pharsalus* in *Theffaly*, in order to punish the treachery of some mercenaries, who had deserted the *Thebans* in that expedition; but, when he came thither, he was surprised to be met by the tyrant, at the head of a numerous army, before that city, whilst his own was but as an handful of men in comparison of it. However, whether he supposed, or would be thought to do so, that *Alexander* came thither to justify himself, and answer to the complaints alleged against him, he went, with *Ismenias* his colleague, to him, unarmed, and unattended, not doubting but his character, as embassador from so powerful a republic, joined to his own character and authority, would protect them from insult or violence; but he found himself mistaken, to his no small surprize; and *Polybius* justly calls it an unpardonable imprudence to trust himself so far into the power of one, whom he knew to be so wicked and perfidious; for he had no sooner got them in his hands, than he caused them to be seized, and sent prisoners to *Pheræ*. Not content with that indignity, he ordered, that every one that had a mind should be admitted to see them, not doubting but his being thus exposed would prove a means of breaking the spirit of the brave *Pelopidas*, against whom he bore the greatest grudge; but it had a quite contrary effect upon him, and only served as a means of sending the tyrant several severe messages, and in a bold kind of defiance; particularly he sent to tell him, “That it was imprudent and absurd in him to
“ cause so many innocent and worthy citizens to be tortured
“ and butchered, and to spare him, who, he knew, if ever
“ he escaped out of his hands, would not fail to make him
“ suffer the punishment due to his crimes.” To which intrepid challenge the surprised tyrant sent this answer, *Why is Pelopidas in such haste to die?* and received this reply, *It is, that thou mayst perish so much the sooner, by becoming still more hateful to GOD and man.* This last message had such an effect upon him, that, instead of making a spectacle of him any longer, he caused him to be more closely confined, and forbid any but his wife *Thebe* to see or speak to him. This lady had heard so much of his intrepid bravery and good sense, that she readily accepted the office, and had several intercourses with him, which we shall give our readers in the margin, because we would omit nothing that *Plutarch* and other authors have preserved to us, that contributes to the glory of this truly great man (L).

IN

(L) The first compliment this lady paid to him was, telling him, with abundance of meekness, and a flood of tears, that she highly pitied his wife; to which *Pelopidas* answered, *And I you, who can bear with Alexander, when you are not his prisoner,*

IN the mean time, the *Thebans*, highly resenting the indignity offered to their ambassadors, sent immediately an army into *Theffaly*; but, whether thro' ill fortune or ill conduct, the generals were repulsed, with great loss, by the *Pheræan* usurper, who, expecting some such invasion from that quarter, had taken care to put himself in a condition of giving them a warm reception; and met them accordingly, at the head of his forces; so that they found themselves obliged to retire soon after, without performing any other exploit than giving him this fruitless proof of their resentment, whilst he kept still pursuing them, and killed a great number of their men: and it was owing to the brave *Epaminondas*, who was among them only as a private centinel, that they were not totally cut off; for the *Thebans*, finding themselves in such imminent danger, which they attributed to the incapacity of their generals, had immediately recourse to him, whose valour and experience had been so often tried; and, partly by persuasions and intreaties, and partly by threats, obliged him to take the command: which soon gave a different turn to their affairs, and turned their flight into a safe and regular retreat; for he took the horse and light-armed foot, and placed himself at their head in the rear, and charged the enemy with such vigour and bravery, that he obliged them to desist from their pursuit.

HOWEVER, as the army had suffered such loss before, as not to be sufficient to pursue them in their turn, he was obliged to return with them to *Thebes*, with their pusillanimous generals, where the latter were fined twelve thousand drachms each, and the former was reinstated in the command, and sent with a new reinforcement, to repair the late dishonour, and prosecute their revenge. The news of his being in full march on this errand, greatly alarmed the tyrant; and well it was

soner. This reply made a great impression upon her, and roused in her such a sense of her husband's ill usage, that she often repeated her visits to that general, and freely acknowledged to him the many outrages she had received from him. *Pelopidas*, on the other hand, forgot not any thing that could exasperate her against him, till he had wrought her up to the highest pitch of resentment. These frequent interviews, and the consequences of it, have given the whole affair the appearance of an intrigue between them; and it is not improbable, that she would have gladly brought matters to that issue; but we can hardly believe, that either his age or virtue would suffer him to go such a length; and it is more probable, that he encouraged her visits, in order to consult with her on the proper means of revenging herself and him on her bloody husband, as she effectually did soon after, by the help of his brothers, as we shall see in the sequel.

Pelopidas
released,
and Epa-
minondas
restored.

for him, that the new *Theban* general, preferring the safety of his imprisoned colleague to all other considerations, forbore pushing hostilities to extremes, for fear of provoking the enemy to wreak all his fury on him : to prevent which, he contented himself, for a while, with hovering about with his army, and now-and-then with such slight skirmishes as should intimidate the tyrant, and bring him the sooner to make some satisfactory offers ; for as to himself, he thought it too dishonourable to enter into any treaty or alliance with a man who was universally abhorred, as an usurper, tyrant, and a monster of cruelty. His method succeeded according to his wish ; and *Alexander*, being fully convinced of the superiority of the *Theban* general, in all respects, was glad to accept of a truce of thirty days, and to restore *Pelopidas* and *Ismenias* to him : upon which he immediately withdrew his forces, and returned with them to *Thebes*. *Epaminondas* gained no small reputation, not only for the conduct, sagacity, and bravery, with which he conducted this whole affair, but much more for the regard he paid to the safety of the two *Theban* ambassadors, and most of all on his generous behaviour to the *Theban* citizens, at his return, in overlooking their unjust resentment against him, and the noble use which he made of that command to which he was unanimously and immediately restored : upon which occasion *Pelopidas*, and his colleague, failed not to do all possible justice to the merit of their deliverer ².

Raises the
glory of
the The-
ban state.

By this time *Thebes* was raised to a sufficient height of reputation and glory, for her strength and valour, the conduct and bravery of her generals, and for her justice and integrity, to begin to aim, in earnest, at the sovereignty of *Greece*, in her turn. The main obstacle to it was, that the other states grew so jealous of her present greatness, as to enter into the strongest alliances and confederacies to prevent its farther growth ; so that, not being able now to procure many allies at home, they made no difficulty to seek for them abroad ; and the *Lacedæmonians*, by leading the van, gave them a plausible pretence to follow their steps, and to procure an alliance with *Persia*, which, at that time, they found was ready to accept of the offers on any terms ; the only question was, which of the three states should be preferred, *Sparta*, *Athens*, or *Thebes*. At the same time, the latter proposed to their few confederates, to send likewise proper deputies to the *Persian* court, in order to support their respective interests ; which they readily agreed to. These were the *Arcadians*, *Eleans*, and *Argives* ; at the head of whose deputation *Pelopidas* was sent, on the behalf of the *Thebans* ; which the *Athenians* being apprised of, appointed

Deputies
sent to
Persia.

² PLUT. in Ages. & Pelopid. DIOD. SIC. & alii supra citat.

two on their part (M). These, being all arrived at the *Persian* court, began to pursue each their respective interests; but *Pe-lopidas* had, by that time, gained such credit at the *Persian* court, both for his singular address, and his extraordinary ex-
 ploits, that he was distinguished, in a particular manner, from all the other deputies, and was received by the king with the most manifest marks of honour and esteem, particularly at his audience, where he represented to that monarch, that the *Thebans*, from the battle of *Platæa* to that present time, had constantly adhered to the crown of *Persia*, whereas the *Spartans* had broken with them for no other cause than that they refused to join with them against him. He thence took occasion to remind him of their late and signal success at *Leuctra*, and invasion of *Laconia*, intimating withal, that the overthrow of the *Arcadians* and *Argives* was owing to their not having been assisted by them. He added several other judicious remarks, equally proper to incline the *Persian* monarch to the *Theban* side; and succeeded so well in it, that *Artaxerxes* freely owned himself convinced, that the *Thebans* were the people on whom he could most safely depend; and, after having greatly applauded the equity of his demands, ratified and confirmed them with great readiness, to the no small mortification of the

das's suc-
cess at the
Persian
court.

Treaty
confirmed.

(M) Nothing more plainly shews, however, the degeneracy into which *Greece* was sunk by this time from its antient grandeur and pride; for, till now, such general deputations and congresses at the court of *Persia* had never been heard of, whatever application might have been made to it by private persons or states; for this was, in some measure, making it umpire of all their differences, and giving the *Persians* an advantage which neither they, nor any other nation, had ever had before; tho' the peace of *Antalcidas*, in which their monarch had had the greatest sway, had, in some measure, paved the way to it, and prepared the *Grecians* in general to receive that foreign yoke: whereas but a little before that, the *Persians* had met

with the most mortifying repulses, and *Artaxerxes* himself been greatly distressed, whilst the *Lacedæmonians*, under their king *Agésilas*, were ravaging his provinces even to the heart of his empire (6). *Sparta* therefore was justly blamed for having laid the foundation for this dishonourable change; and for which nothing can be said in their excuse, but that their fear of being eclipsed, if not perhaps mastered, by two such powerful rivals as *Athens* and *Thebes*, had forced them upon that shameful and disadvantageous expedient; in which they were, however, so far from succeeding, especially against the latter, that they had the mortification to find it preferred to all the rest, as will be seen by-and-by.

(6) *Iidem* *ibid.* Vid. brief parallel. La Tour in vit. Epaminond. Stanyan, & alios.

Year of other states. The substance of them was, that the liberties
 the flood formerly granted to the other towns of Greece should be con-
 1985. firmed; that *Messenia*, in particular, should continue free and
 Bef. Chr. independent on the jurisdiction of *Sparta*; that the *Athe-*
 363. *nians* should lay up their fleet; and that the *Thebans* should be
 looked upon as the antient and hereditary friends of *Persia*.

THIS last advantage which they gained over the other states
 of Greece, helped to complete the glory of *Thebes*, which till
 now had only held the second rank, being still rivaled some-
 times by *Sparta*, and at others by *Athens*, and to give it the
 superiority over them, and consequently over all Greece. *Pelo-*
pidas had all the credit of this negotiation, upon whose return
 the *Thebans* set themselves about making the best advantage of
 it. The first step they took was, to send orders to all the de-
 puties of the other states, to assemble at *Thebes*, in order to
 ratify the treaty concluded at the *Persian* court. They came
 accordingly; but when the oath was tendered to them, they
 expressed an uncommon surprize, and absolutely declined it,
 alleging, that they were sent by their principals to hear the
 articles read, and not to sign and swear to them, which they
 could not do without their knowlege and approbation. Some
 of them likewise, particularly *Lycomedes*, the *Arcadian* gene-
 ral, objected, that the place of congress ought not to be held
 at *Thebes*, but in *Arcadia*, where the seat of war then was;
 others objected against the partiality of the king of *Persia*, in
 favour of the *Thebans*, as being plainly done with a view not
 to restore Greece to its antient liberty, but to second their am-
 bitious designs of enslaving it; upon which the *Corinthians*
 openly declared, that they saw no occasion for the treaty: so
 that the congress broke up, without any other effect than an
 universal discontent, notwithstanding the pains which the *The-*
bans took, by private conferences, to court some, and awe
 other states into a ratification. The consequence of all which
 efforts was, that they all followed the example of the *Corin-*
thians; and resolved from thenceforth to oppose, with all their
 might, the growing power of the *Thebans*, and to defeat all
 their ambitious views and measures. All this while *Artaxerxes*
 beheld their disputes and jealousies with an unexpected indif-
 ference, and stiffly refused to concern himself farther about
 them; for this was, indeed, what he could not do, without
 bringing all the other *Grecian* states upon him, who were, by
 this time, universally disposed to unite against them and him,
 and to make it a common cause. The *Athenians*, above all
 the rest, had given a manifest proof of their resentment against
 that part of the treaty which obliged them to lay up their navy,

Idem ibid.

by

by putting *Timagoras*, one of their deputies to the *Persian* Athenian court, to death, upon his return from thence, as a betrayer of his country, and as having closed in with *Pelopidas*, instead of acting in concert with his colleague. What seemed most to countenance this accusation was, that he was, next to the *Theban* general, the most esteemed and caressed by that court, and had, with him, received the richest presents from the *Persian* king ^b.

THESE discouragements, one would have thought, might have hindered the *Thebans* from the farther prosecution of their designs, especially as this last attempt had so far opened the eyes of their old allies the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and other *Peloponnesian* states, that they absolutely refused to act any longer in concert with them; but, instead of that, it only set them on finding out means to oblige, since fair promises could not induce them to it. Hitherto the *Achæans* had forborn taking any part in the public quarrel, and were now looked upon as the properest means to force the rest to it. Accordingly, *Epaminondas* was sent against them, at the head of a powerful army; and, whether they were not able to make head against him, or had been privately bought over by him, they easily submitted to, and entered into an alliance with him, by which they engaged to act in concert with the *Thebans*. By this means the *Arcadians* soon found themselves distressed on both sides; on one by the *Achæans*, and on the other by the *Spartans*; which obliged them to have recourse again to their old allies the *Thebans*, who took occasion from thence to raise new commotions in *Peloponnesus*, as we have seen in the history of *Sparta* and *Athens*. Among those who suffered most on account of the *Thebans*, were the *Phlians*, who, by reason of their situation, were the most exposed of all their allies, and were openly invaded by *Euphron*, a man of great power, who, during these disturbances, had set up a little kind of tyrannic government in *Sicyon*, and had now engaged the *Arcadians* and *Argives* to join with him against them; so that they were just on the brink of being swallowed up, having maintained already a close siege, and defended themselves with surprising success and bravery against so powerful a confederacy, by which their little city was surrounded on every side, especially after they had suffered so much from the *Lacedæmonians*, as we have elsewhere seen ^c. They were, however, happily relieved by the *Athenians*, who sent *Chares* to their assistance, and caused the siege of it to be raised.

By this time the *Athenians* had found means to draw off the *Arcadians* from *Thebes*, and to make an alliance with them;

^b *Idem* *ibid*,

^c See before, p. 112.

Corinthi-
ans ally
with the
Thebans.

Peace
made,

the chief promoter and manager of which was *Lycomedes* the *Arcadian* general, lately mentioned, who was soon after murdered, upon his return from *Athens*, by a party of exiles; or, as others say, by the *Lacedæmonians*, who invaded *Arcadia* on account of that alliance, and slew him and two hundred of his men, as has been formerly related ^d. However that be, the *Athenians* having, upon this new accession, made a treacherous attempt upon *Corinth*, of which they were the protectors, and as such had garisoned it with their troops, obliged the latter to break their alliance with them; which being a kind of declaration of war, they thought fit, first of all, to secure themselves, by concluding a peace with the *Thebans*; which they accordingly did, in conjunction with the *Phliansians*, and some other states; and upon these terms, that every one should enjoy their own: even the *Spartans* were, at least seemingly, induced to come into it, by the mediation of the king of *Persia*, who had sent a plenipotentiary to settle once more, as it was called, the tranquillity of *Greece*, tho', at the same time, they openly declared, that they would never listen to a peace till *Messenia* was restored to them, in the condition they had received it from their ancestors. However, they agreed to be quiet for the present, as did also all the other contending parties: and this patched-up peace was called putting an end to the *Laconic* or *Bæotian* war, after it had continued about five years from the battle of *Leuctra* (N).

^d See before, p. 116.

(N) There is no small disagreement between the historians of those times about the dates of several of the above-mentioned transactions, between the battle of *Leuctra* and the peace we are speaking of; though they are commonly supposed to have all happened between these two epochas, or within the space of five years. There is likewise some dissimilarity between the facts themselves, as they are related by those various authors quoted in the margin (7), and which would

carry us too far to endeavour to reconcile, could it be done with any tolerable certainty; for which reason, we shall content ourselves with just observing that variety, where-ever it happens, without swelling the history with long and intricate notes; which would be hardly excusable in a work of this nature, were they even more satisfactory than we have reason to think those to be which have hitherto been attempted by those who wrote *ex professo* (8).

(7) Vid. Plut. in *Agefil.* & *Epamin.* Diod. Sic. l. xv. *Xenoph.* *Hellen.* l. vi. & *orat.* in laud. *Agefil.* Corn. Nep. in vit. *Epamin.* Pausan. in *Lacon.* Justin. l. vi. *Athen.* *deipnosoph.* &c. (8) De hoc vid. Sylb. *Gedogn.* not. in Pausan. Palmer. *antiq. Græc.* Meurs. Briet, La Tour, Stanyan, et al. mult.

How-

HOWEVER, the present distracted state of Greece gave but little hopes that it would be of any continuance; neither did the principal states seem to have had any such thing in view, but to have made use of it only to gain time and opportunity to consult the best means of suppressing the growing power of the *Thebans*, the thing which, at this present juncture, gave them the greatest inquietness: so that the greater states saw themselves under a necessity to keep their forces up in arms against them, whilst the lesser ones were so involved, either as accessary in their quarrels, or principals in their own, that, by the very next year, the old contests broke out with as much *and broken* vehemence as ever. The *Arcadians* and *Eleans* began with reviving their respective rights to the country of *Triphylia* (O), *Triphylia* which had hitherto passed from the one to the other; and the *invaded* latter, being defeated in this last contest, were forced to apply to *Sparta* for help, whilst the former, being now supported by the *Athenians*, harassed the country of *Elis*, and had seized on several towns in it. By the next year the *Eleans*, who, as we have formerly seen, were the original possessors of the *Olympic* races, and the presidents over these games, had *Pisæans* that honour taken from them by the *Pisæans*, who, encouraged *seize the* by the *Arcadians* and *Argives*, took upon them the manage- *Olympic* ment of that solemnity: but, in the very midst of those exer- *games* cises, the *Eleans* fell so furiously on the *Arcadians* and *Argives*, that they had almost totally routed them; but, being at length overpowered, were forced to retreat back to their city, tho' with great honour and applause from the people who were there assembled from all parts of Greece (P).

(O) This small territory, which is indifferently called *Triphylia*, *Triphalia*, *Triphylis*, and *Triphylus*, was situated on the coast of *Peloponnesus*, between *Elis* and *Messenia* (9), and contained, among other towns of lesser note, those of *Samicum*, *Lepreum*, and *Hypana*; the former of which was the only maritime one, the rest were situated in the inland. The *Arcadians* and *Eleans* had long contended for this district, and commonly the longest sword carried it: the former were chiefly eager for it on account of its maritime town of *Samicum*;

but the latter had the best right to it.

(P) This was so much the more wondered at, because the *Eleans* had never, till then, signalized themselves for any feats of arms, but rather bore a quite different character; however, though they lost their aim at this time, and the *Pisæans* kept the field, and proceeded with the sports, yet they went so far as to protest against the legality of that *Olympiad*, and absolutely refused its being registred in their annals.

(9) *Polyb. l. iv. c. 77. Pausan. et alii.*

Thebans **THE** *Thebans*, in the mean time, who were ever watchful
aim at the over every thing that could be turned to their own advantage,
dominion failed not to take hold of these *Grecian* dissentions, as a pre-
of the sea. tence for increasing their forces; and *Epaminondas* thought it
a proper opportunity for his countrymen to make a bold effort
to obtain the dominion at sea, as they had obtained it, in a
great measure, at land. He proposed it to them in a public
assembly, and encouraged their hopes from the experience of
the *Lacedæmonians*, who, in *Xerxes's* time had, with ten ships
only at sea, gained the superiority over the *Athenians*, who had
no fewer than two hundred; and added, that it would be a
disgrace now to *Thebes*, to suffer two such republics to ingross
the empire of so extensive an element, without putting in, at
least, for their share of it. He reminded them of their late
conquests and successes, as well as of the vast treasure they had
heaped up by it, which could hardly be employed in a more
noble attempt than the equipment of a gallant fleet; and that,
if they were not now quite so expert in maritime affairs as their
neighbours, they might soon become so; and, in the mean
time, they could be easily assisted by the *Rhodians*, *Chians*,
and other seafaring nations: so that, if they were not wanting
to themselves, they had now a fair opportunity of making as
great, if not a greater figure at sea, than ever *Sparta* or *Athens*
had done. He had scarcely ended speaking, before the people,
one and all, readily came into his proposal, not without extra-
ordinary applause, and immediately ordered an hundred gallies
to be equipped; and, in the mean while, sent him to *Rhodes*,
Chios, and *Byzantium*, to secure them to their interest, and
get what assistance he could from them. His negotiations had
all the success that could be wished for, notwithstanding the
strenuous opposition of the *Athenians*, and of their admiral
Laches, who was sent with a powerful squadron against him.
But what more effectually thwarted all his measures, was
the work that they found for him at land, and the obliging
the *Thebans* to take part in the quarrels that then reigned
among their neighbours; so that whatever projects they had
concerted proved abortive for the present; and the death of
Epaminondas, which happened not long after, put an effectual
stop to them, as we shall see in the sequel.

*Opposed
by the
Atheni-
ans.*

*Plot at
Thebes
discovered*

DURING the absence of that general, and of his colleague
Pelopidas, the *Orchomenians*, being spirited up by some *Theban*
fugitives, had formed a design to change the *Theban* govern-
ment into an aristocracy; and three hundred horsemen of the
former had been actually sent, to put it in execution. Their

* Vide PLUT. DIOD. SIC. C. NEP. PAUSAN. &c.

project, however, was timely discovered by the vigilance of the magistrates, who caused them to be seized, and put immediately to death. They next sent a sufficient force against the city of *Orchomenos* (Q), with orders to put all the men to death, Orchomenos and to sell the women and children for slaves; which was punctually done; after which they rased that noble city to the ground. *Pelopidas* was then on his way to *Theffaly*, at the head of a powerful army, whither he had been sent to assist the *Theffalians*, who still groaned under the tyranny of *Alexander* the *Pheræan*, and had made several brave efforts to recover their liberty, but had still been overpowered by that usurper. It happened, however, that, as he was upon his march, an eclipse of the sun obliged him to stop short, tho' contrary to his own opinion, who was above minding such superstitious fooleries; but the rest of the army, being, according to the ignorance and superstition of those times, greatly alarmed at it, obliged him to give way to them, they looking upon him to be chiefly concerned in that sinister omen; and the augurs having confirmed the people in that notion by other signs, and pretending that the *Theban* sun was on the point of being eclipsed, *Pelopidas* having, in vain, endeavoured to dispel their fears about him, and explode their notion, as ridiculous, and beneath his regard, resolved to march on; which he did accordingly, at the head of only three hundred horsemen, who attended him as volunteers. He was soon after joined by the *Theffalians*, and encamped in the face of the enemy, tho' far superior in number, and consisting of above twenty thousand men. A fierce engagement soon ensued, in which both sides fought with uncommon bravery. The place where the battle was fought was called *Cynocephalea* (R), from several little hills on it,

The battle
of Cyno-
cephalea.

(Q) Of this city, which was one of the wealthiest in all *Boeotia*, we shall have occasion to speak in the history of *Achaia*. The punishment it now underwent was justly looked upon as an uncommon piece of cruelty among the *Grecians*, and such as would have been strongly opposed by the two *Theban* generals, had they been then present; for they are rather admired for their magnanimous generosity towards those that fell into their hands; they never having been known to put any man to death they had conquered, nor deprived any city of its liberty after they had taken it (10).

(R) These were hills, or rather eminences, in the neighbourhood of *Scotussa* in *Theffaly* (11), and were called *Cynocephalæ*, or *Cynoscephalæ*, from their resemblance to dogs heads. This place hath since become fa-

(10) Vid. *Plut.* in *Pelopid.* et *Epaminond.* sub fin.

(11) *Strab.* l. ix.

it, between which there ran a large plain. Both sides endeavoured, at first, to post themselves on these eminences with their foot, whilst *Pelopidas* ordered his cavalry to charge that of the enemy on the plain, which they did with such success, that they soon put them to the rout, and pursued them over the plain. This obliged the tyrant to gain the tops of the hills, where he greatly annoyed the *Theffalians* that endeavoured to force those ascents; so that *Pelopidas* was obliged to give over his pursuit, to come to their relief. This immediately inspired the *Theffalians* with fresh courage, who began again to charge the enemy at several onsets; and soon threw them into such disorder, that they were forced to give way. *Pelopidas* no sooner perceived the advantage, than he began to look about for *Alexander*, with a design of engaging him; and, upon his having found him out, as he was commanding his right wing, and endeavouring to rally his men, moved directly to him; and, being got near enough to be heard by him, challenged him to decide the battle by single combat with him. *Alexander*, instead of accepting the offer, turned about, and, with all the speed he could, ran to screen himself amongst his guards; upon which *Pelopidas* charged him with such furious speed, that he obliged him to retire farther, and shelter himself within their thickest ranks; the sight of which made him attack with fresh vigour, and fight more desperately against him. He tried, in vain, several times, to break thro' their ranks to come at him, cutting down great numbers of those that came forward to oppose him: his eagerness, at length, exposed him so far to the darts that were shot at him at a distance, that some of them went quite through his armour, and gave him a desperate wound or two, while the rest advanced, and stabbed him in the breast with their spears. Thus fell the great *Pelopidas*, whose excessive eagerness to lay his enemy at his feet, made him rush precipitately on his own death (S), which fell out on the first year of the one hundred and fourth *Olympiad*.

Pelopidas
slain.

It is plain, that *Pelopidas* suffered himself to be hurried too rashly on his fall by his hot and fiery temper; and that he exposed himself more than was

consistent with his usual prudence in other cases: so that his untimely fall deserves rather to be pitied than commended. But it is to be remembered, that he fought in the cause of liberty; in which case his zeal, joined to the sanguineness of his temper, could not be easily restrained, but more especially at this juncture, when he was engaged

(12) Vide *Plut.* in *vit.* *Flamin.*

It is scarce possible for words to express the grief and despair *Deep* which not only his brave volunteers, but likewise the *Thessa-mourning* *lians, for him.*

against a most profligate tyrant and usurper; one who not only oppressed some of the most faithful allies of *Thebes*, but had been base enough to affront and imprison him, and his colleague, when they came to him in quality of ambassadors from their state; upon which account he could not but feel a more than common eagerness to rid the world of such an inhuman monster.

We must likewise observe, that, about this time, this noble spirit of patriotism was greatly sunk all over *Greece*; and that the cause of liberty was, in some measure, deserted by most other great states; insomuch that the very *Spartans*, who had so bravely exerted and signalized themselves formerly in favour of the oppressed, were now so far sunk from that noble spirit, that they were then making their servile court to *Dionysius* the tyrant of *Sicily*, and supplying him with officers. The *Athenians* were likewise kept in pay at that time by this very *Alexander*, and had so far debased themselves as to erect a statue in honour of him. And we may safely say, that *Thebes* seems to have been the only commonwealth that retained any remains of that antient love of liberty, and concern for the injured. This therefore was a proper time for *Pelopidas* to advance his own and his country's honour, and to let the other states of *Greece* see, that the *Thebans* were the only people who stood up in defence of liberty, and waged wars against all ty-

rants and oppressors; as it was indeed their chief motive in entering into this expedition, and putting it under the conduct of a general who was a declared enemy to all usurpers, and arbitrary government; for such he had always shewed himself from his very first appearing in public, as will be further seen by the remainder of his excellent character, which we are now going to give our reader.

Pelopidas was of one of the best families in *Thebes*, and was possessed betimes of a large fortune, which he only made use of in relieving such as wanted and deserved his assistance. *Epa-minondas* was one of the first of whom he made choice, as an object worthy of his bounty, though he never could prevail upon him to accept of any presents from him; which singular modesty wrought so far upon him, that he resolved, from that time, to imitate that illustrious youth, and to conform himself to a plain, frugal, and laborious life; so that, from thenceforward, there appeared nothing either in his dress, table, or way of living, but the most unaffected simplicity, even when he was afterwards raised to the highest posts in the *Theban* commonwealth. He did not content himself with a close imitation of so brave a patriot, but readily joined with him in his design of promoting the same spirit among his fellow-citizens; a reformation which they thought so much the more necessary, as they observed how much it had contributed to the

lians, and other allies, shewed at the sight of their slain general: some of the latter, who had perceived the danger he was exposed

Spartan glory and interest, whilst the present low figure which *Thebes* then made in *Greece*, was owing to their indulging themselves in luxury, corruption, and every destructive vice. But in this noble work *Epaminondas* is justly reckoned to have had the greatest hand, as will more fully appear in the character we shall draw of him in the sequel, whilst *Pelopidas* being more intent on the public affairs of state, his constant application had made him so far negligent of his own private ones, that he very much impaired his estate, notwithstanding his plainness and œconomy; so that, having, by that time, a great number of children to provide for, he found himself under some difficulties he had never so much as before thought of; and even then, when some of his friends took occasion to observe to him what an useful and necessary thing money was, he only replied, that it was so only to that man yonder; pointing to a poor blind and lame object that stood in his view.

But tho' there was such a conformity of manners between him and *Epaminondas*, the same plainness and frugality, the same disposition to virtue, and love of their country, yet *Pelopidas* was always more fond of the exercises of the body; whereas *Epaminondas* was quite given up to those of the mind; and this it was made the former shine in the world much sooner than the other, who preferred a quiet and

studious life: this did not, however, hinder their entering into the strictest friendship, which *Plutarch* tells us, did not begin to shew itself in so eminent a degree till the siege of *Mantineæ*, or soon after the peace of *Antalcidas*; by which time *Epaminondas*, whom the service of his country forced from his private studies, gave some of the first marks both of his valour and merit, and of his affection to *Pelopidas*. They were both at that time engaged together, and their wing giving way, they both stood their ground, and fought in each other's defence, till *Pelopidas* received a grievous wound, which made him fall among the slain. *Epaminondas*, tho' wounded likewise, and believing *Pelopidas* to be dead, yet chose to fall with him rather than leave his body in the power of the enemy; and had certainly been slain in the bloody conflict, had not the Spartan king *Agefipolis*, with whom the *Thebans* were then allied, come up from the other wing, and snatched them both from imminent death (14).

It is most likely, that this action happened before the siege of *Mantineæ*, from the account *Pausanias* gives of it, though it be not taken notice of, nor particularly described, by *Plutarch*, or any other writer; nor doth it appear from what was said at the beginning of this section, concerning these two generals entering into action, that they had signalized themselves to-

(14) *Idem ibid. Liv. hist. l. xxxiii. c. 7. et alii.*

exposed to, came down the hill, with all possible speed, to his relief; but when they perceived, that they were come too late to save him, both they, and the rest of the little army, thought on nothing but how to revenge his death. They rallied accordingly both horse and foot, as quick as possible; and began

gether so early. However, this circumstance, which so strongly cemented their friendship, and comes so well attested, was too remarkable to be omitted, especially as the success of their exploits afterwards was chiefly owing to that perfect union and good understanding which so remarkably shone between them, without the least alloy of that jealousy or rivalry either at home or abroad, which had proved so fatal to *Athens*, *Sparta*, and other *Grecian* states. The case was indeed very different with respect to these two great patriots; they had no private interests, no selfish designs of their own, nor any ambition, but how to promote the public welfare; and were above all sordid views of enriching themselves at their country's loss; so that whatever success either of them had, was equally pleasing and acceptable to the other, as long as the *Theban* state reaped the benefit of it.

What farther relates to *Pelopidas*'s particular character, is as follows: He was stout, active, and indefatigable, bold and intrepid, and so successful, that he never lost one battle. So well was he fixed in the hearts and affections of the *Thebans*, that he was chosen thirteen times governor of *Boeotia*, and, as *Diodorus* says, without interruption, from the time of their recovering the citadel of *Cadmea*, which laid the foundation for the recovery of the *Theban* liberty, in which he had the greatest hand, as we

have already seen. Upon the whole, therefore, he may be justly looked upon as the second, and, in many respects, the first man of *Thebes*, especially in the noble part he bore in shaking off the *Spartan* yoke, and restoring *Thebes* to its antient privileges and government. And even in this so far was he from envying his coadjutors any share of their glory, that he seemed even willing to raise it above his own. He would indeed have been glad, that *Epaminondas* might have shared some part of the honour of so glorious an enterprize, and often and earnestly pressed him to it; but he declined it as a scene that was like to occasion too much outrage and bloodshed; and modestly told him, that if the others, who were concerned in it, were as moderate as their chief, he should make no difficulty to join with them; but he plainly foresaw, that some of them would carry their anger and resentment too far, which would necessarily involve the innocent with the guilty. However, he approved in the main of their design, as the cause of liberty; and though he avoided engaging in the desperate and bloody part, yet he contributed greatly to the success of it, and from that time went gladly hand in hand with him, in raising the *Theban* state to the height of power and greatness in which we have seen it above; and we may say, that with these two the *Theban* glory rose and set.

*Pompous
funeral.*

*Thebans
defeat
Alexan-
der.*

to charge the enemy afresh, and with such desperate fury, that they, at length, gained a complete victory over them, and killed above three thousand of them in their pursuit, besides a much greater number which they had slain on the field of battle, tho' they still looked upon all these advantages as vastly too small to compensate the loss of their brave general. But, when they came to be a little cool after the slaughter they had made, it was then that they, the *Thebans* especially, displayed one of the most mournful scenes that can be imagined. They lamented him in the most tender manner, and in the most affectionate terms, styling him their father, their protector, saviour, instructor, and every thing that was great and excellent, whilst the auxiliaries not only bore a mournful and sympathizing part with them, but appeared even to vie with them, in their expressions of the liveliest grief and concern for their loss, and strove, by all endearing ways, to do honour to his memory. The whole army was seized, it seems, with such a sense of their loss, that they did not so much as stay to put off their arms, unbridle their horses, or even to dress their wounds; but ran in crouds to the deceased body, and heaped the spoils of the enemy about it. They cut off their own hair, and the manes of their horses; and those that retired into their tents, neither kindled a fire, nor took any kind of refreshment. In their mournful procession, attending the bier, they not only shewed him all the marks of honour, but every city through which they passed came to meet the funeral pomp, with their magistrates and priests at their head, both they and the inhabitants carrying crowns, golden armour, and other trophies, and accompanied the corpse to the place of its interment, where the ceremony was performed by the *Thessalians*, with a pomp and splendor worthy of so great a general; for these, it seems, had begged it as a singular favour of the *Thebans*, that they might bury him, and, in the most pressing terms, had urged it as a kind of right due to them, as being the greatest sufferers in this public loss; for, said they, you have, indeed, lost a great general, and in that we share in common with you; but we have likewise lost, in him, all our hopes of recovering our liberty; and, under this heavy misfortune, our paying these last honours to him, may prove some small alleviation to our sorrow. Upon all which considerations the *Thebans* were easily prevailed upon to grant them their request. Soon after which, having received some fresh reinforcements from *Thebes*, they rallied their troops, and their spirits, and thought on nothing but of revenging the death of their brave general. They did not, however, do it with that severity as one might have reasonably expected, or as would, in all likelihood, been done, had

had *Epaminondas* been at their head ; but, whether the generals had been bought by the usurper, or the troops did not care to pursue their advantage any farther, they contented themselves with stripping him of all his ill-gotten conquests, and restoring these cities to their antient liberties, which had so long groaned under his tyranny, and let him go quietly to his own capital, as we shall see in the sequel.

A LITTLE before *Pelopidas*'s death, the *Persian* king, *Xeno-Embassy* *phon* tell us, sent an ambassador to *Thebes*, with orders sealed from with the royal seal, to receive the oaths of alliance from all *Persia*, the states of *Greece*, which was then renewed, and in which that monarch insisted upon the *Thebans* being now comprehended, who had been excluded out of it in a former one, thro' too great a partiality in *Agessilaus* against them. This proved a deadly blow to all *Greece* ; and the *Thebans*, among the rest, received no small mortification from all the other states, whose deputies, there assembled, refused absolutely to include the *Thebans* in it, on the same foot and rank with *Sparta* : so that the ambassador insisting upon it, and refusing to accept of their oaths, unless they engaged to assist *Thebes* with all their might, and upon all occasions, the congress broke up, every one *Congress* choosing to return to their respective homes, rather than sign *broke up* any such treaty. This put the *Thebans* under a great difficulty, it being equally dangerous to attempt to force so many nations to submit to the *Persian* monarch's orders against their will, or to incur his resentment by not doing it. *Epaminondas* chose the mildest way, which was to save his country's honour, without exposing it too far ; and contented himself with obliging the *Achæans*, as being the nearest to *Bæotia*, to enter into an alliance with them. He invaded them accordingly with a *Achæans* powerful army, and struck them with such a panic, that, not *invaded* being able to make head against him, they sent deputies to throw themselves at his feet, and implore his mercy ; which he readily granted, and told them, that he was not come to subdue them, but to court their friendship, and assured them of his protection : upon which the alliance was ratified on both *Ally with* sides ; and *Epaminondas* returned with his army into *Bæotia*, *Thebes* without committing the least hostility against them. However, as their vicinity to the *Spartans* made them justly apprehensive of being called to an account for that alliance, they prayed him, that he would not leave them to their mercy : *Put under* whereupon he appointed them *Theban* magistrates in most of *its* *protec* their cities, and left stout garisons in them ; and, by this *tion* wise conduct, and a feigned kind of war, he obtained from them what they had refused in time of peace.

ABOUT the same time, the *Corinthians* gave such a proof of their fidelity to the *Spartans* their antient allies, as obtained them

them the friendship and favour of *Epaminondas*, and of the whole *Theban* state. They were then engaged in a troublesome and dangerous war against the *Athenians*, who attacked them both by sea and land, whilst their own troops, both horse and foot, which had been raised in haste, were quite unfit to make head against them. However, they made shift with them, such as they were, to defend their capital with great vigour and courage, and gained several considerable advantages against the *Athenians*: but this made them afraid lest they should call in the *Thebans* to their assistance; for, had these joined forces with them, *Corinth* must have been inevitably ruined; and they had behaved lately in such a manner to them, especially in their strenuous opposition to the *Persian* treaty lately mentioned, that they had all the reason in the world to dread their resentment no less than their power. On the other hand, should they have endeavoured to obtain an alliance with them, they were in no less danger from the *Lacedæmonians*, who would not have failed to have made them pay dear for their treachery to them; for the *Corinthian* territories being situate just between those of *Thebes* and *Sparta*, as we have elsewhere shewn, they were sure, that whatever side they called to their assistance would engage the other as fiercely against them. In this sad dilemma they were, when their accustomed policy suggested the following successful expedient:

Corinthians sue the Thebans for peace. THEY sent immediately deputies to *Thebes*, to make some overtures of peace; which being there accepted, they further proposed, that their allies should likewise be consulted upon it, to the end that those that were for war might there declare it, and might be authorized to pursue it; and those who were for peace might conclude and secure it. This second proposal being likewise agreed to by the *Thebans*, the *Corinthians* sent their deputies to *Sparta*, to desire that republic's consent to the peace; who addressed themselves to the *Spartan* council in words to this effect: You see before you, O *Lacedæmonians*, your friends and allies, who come to acquaint you with their intentions, and are unwilling to do any thing without your knowledge and consent. Every thing assures us, that your design is for carrying on the war: whilst we find ourselves quite exhausted, and unable to continue it, and, on that account, come to beg of you to consent, that we may make peace both with you and with the *Thebans*. It is your interest, as well as ours, to give us some time to breathe, and to recover our exhausted strength; for, by this means, you will engage us, as your allies, to be again serviceable to you, whenever we shall be in a fit condition for it; whereas, by obliging us to ruin ourselves by a new war, you deprive yourselves for ever of all future assistance from us. This speech had the desired effect; and the *Spartans* gave them leave

Speech to the Spartan council.

leave to make peace with the *Thebans*, though, at the same time, they declared, that, as to themselves, they were still under a necessity of continuing the war with them, till *Messenia*, which *Thebes* had deprived them of, was restored to them, in the condition they had received it from their ancestors.

THE *Corinthians* lost no time to acquaint the *Theban* state with what they had done, and to desire the conclusion of the proposed treaty of peace; whereupon the *Thebans*, who had not understood them in that sense, agreed only to admit them into their alliance, but refused to make any absolute treaty of peace with them. To this they replied, that such an alliance could not answer their end, since it would not free them from the war, which they were so desirous to shun; and that their power was confined to the concluding of a peace, without any other conditions. At the same time they gave the *Thebans* to understand, that the fear of disobliging their old friends and allies the *Spartans*, and of exposing themselves to their resentment, was the only motive of their refusing the proposed alliance with *Thebes*.

THIS modest speech wrought differently with the *Theban Peace* council; and some of the more sordid members of it were for casting off all friendship or regard to the *Corinthians*; but it wrought a quite different effect on the noble and generous *Epaminondas*, who took occasion from it highly to applaud and extol their fidelity to their old friends, especially at this critical juncture, when their declining an alliance with the *Thebans* exposed them to the effects of their resentment, which they were now in no condition to avert. This, he rightly observed to the council, was the more to be admired and encouraged by the *Theban* state, whose glory it was to protect the injured, and humble the oppressors, and by no means to permit a people to be sufferers for their singular uprightness and fidelity: in consequence of which, he readily granted the requested peace, not only to them, but to all their allies, who should be desirous to be included in it, and upon this only proviso, that, in case of a rupture between *Thebes* and *Sparta*, *Corinth* should remain neuter, and not take part with either side; which the *Corinthians* not only complied with, but religiously observed during the whole war, which was soon after declared between those two states. But to return to *Pelopidas*:

THE news of his death had no sooner reached the *Theban* capital, but the whole city was seen in as deep a mourning as his army. However, they sent a reinforcement to it of seven thousand foot, and seven hundred horse, as well to revenge the death of that general, as to improve the victory he had

News of it at Thebes.

Alexander
defeated.

gained over the enemy; by the help of which they fell so furiously on them, that they quickly broke, and totally defeated, the shattered remains of *Alexander's* army; who was thereupon forced to sue for peace, and to accept it on such conditions, as the conquerors thought fit to impose, though in the mean time they were much more moderate than he deserved, or had reason to hope for, or would, in all likelihood, have obtained, had their brave general been still alive; for they contented themselves with obliging him to restore all the towns he had taken from the *Thessalians*, to withdraw his garisons out of all the places he had unjustly seized, and to bind himself, by an oath, to take part with the *Thebans* in their wars, when and where-ever they should require it; and, on these terms, they suffered him to return in peace to his own dominions. Here his late misfortunes having rendered him more cruel and bloody than ever, so that his tyranny was become quite insupportable, he was at length dispatched in his bed by his wife *Thebe*, assisted by her brothers, about seven years after his defeat. His body was afterwards dragged along the streets, trodden under foot, and left a prey to the dogs, though all too short of his deserts, considering the horrid butcheries, and inhuman cruelties, he had been guilty of, and which the reader may see a specimen at the bottom of the page (T).

Thebans
push on
their good
fortune.

ALL this while the *Thebans* were watching to improve every commotion that happened, every success they met with, to the forwarding of their then reigning and favourite project of increasing their power above all the rest, and, in their turn, to give laws to *Greece*. Their late success in *Thessaly*, and the rupture between the *Arcadians* and *Mantineans* at the same time, about some consecrated money, which the former had taken out of the temple of *Olympias*, to pay their troops employed against the *Eleans*, and which the latter called a downright sacrilege (V), besides other discords that reigned in the other

(T) Among other instances of his cruelties, we are told, that he used to condemn some to be buried alive; others to be sewn up in bears and boars skins, and to be baited and shot at for his diversion. He had likewise surprised and massacred, in the most dreadful manner, the inhabitants of whole cities, who were in friendship and alliance with him: but to friends and foes he

was such a monster of perfidy and cruelty, that he was become hateful to all about him, and so deserved a much more severe death than that he met with.

(V) They did not content themselves with condemning the action as sacrilegious, but brought over several of the council of ten thousand, who had at first consented to it, not only to retract their opinion, but to protest

other states of *Greece*, gave fresh encouragement to *Thebes* to set up for arbiters in those disputes; and so much the more as those, who had embezzled the sacred money, and wanted rather to embroil matters, than to have them brought to light, sent that republic word, that the *Arcadians* were just upon the point of revolting to the *Spartans*, and advised them to come and put an immediate stop to it; and, at the same time, dispatched some private directions to a *Theban* officer in *Tegea*, to apprehend several of their own people, as disturbers of the peace; which was accordingly done, and several eminent persons were confined, as prisoners of state; but were soon after discharged, and loud complaints were made against such arbitrary and unjust proceedings. The officer was accused, before the *Theban* senate, for having intermeddled in their affairs, and endeavoured to interrupt the good correspondence between the two states. It was even insisted on by some of the *Tegeans*, that he should be indicted and proceeded against by his principals; whilst the more moderate sort, who foresaw the consequences that were like to attend such appeals, and that it would infallibly bring the *Thebans* upon them, loudly protested against their marching into their territories, and did all they could to prevent it; but in vain did they try to oppose it: the *Thebans* were then become too powerful and ambitious to miss so fair an opportunity of getting once more footing in *Peloponnesus*, as they had long ago premeditated; and *Epaminondas* was so far from making a secret of their design, that he told the *Arcadian* deputies, in justification of it, that, as it was on their account that the *Thebans* had engaged in the war, they had acted treacherously with them in making peace with *Athens* without their consent; however, that, when he was got with his army on his march into *Peloponnesus*, to assist his friends, he would soon see what proofs they, the *Arcadians*, would then give of their fidelity. This speech did not fail to alarm them greatly, especially as it was spoken in such a magisterial stile, and threatening tone. Even those, who were best affected to the *Thebans*, could not forbear expressing their dislike of it; and all, that had the welfare of *Peloponnesus* at

Epami-
nondas
enters Pe-
lopon-
nesus.
Answer
to the Ar-
cadians.

test against the deed as impious and infamous, and such as would intail a curse on their posterity. The debate about it was chiefly between the *Mantineans* and *Tegeans*; but it was carried to such an height on both sides, and was likely to have caused such ill blood among them, that the *Arcadians* thought it necessary to

make up matters as well as they could between the two contending parties, as well as with the *Eleans*; but those who had the greatest share of the money being unwilling to refund it, found means to put them into a greater confusion, by engaging the *Thebans* in the quarrel.

cart,

heart, readily agreed with the *Mantineans*, that there was no time to be lost to use all proper means to prevent the impending storm.

A confederacy formed against the Thebans.

ATHENS and *Sparta* were accordingly applied to, and were easily prevailed upon to assist the *Mantineans*, and to come into a strict confederacy against the *Thebans*; and, to prevent all disputes about the command of the army, it was agreed, that each state should have it in its own territories; which plainly shews how terrified they all were at the apprehension of a fresh descent of the *Thebans* into their territories: for this was a point which neither the *Spartans* nor *Athenians* would have so readily given up to the *Arcadians*, though these had formerly as strenuously insisted upon it, even when they were almost reduced to the last extremity, and had never been able to obtain it till now. But *Epaminondas* was then in full march, at the head of his *Bæotian* troops, with some *Eubæan* auxiliaries, and a body of stout *Theſſalian* horse; and was moreover to be joined by the *Messenians*, *Argives*, and several other nations, as soon as he had entered *Peloponnesus*. The confederate army against him had ordered their rendezvous at *Mantineia*, the place which, they naturally concluded, would be first attacked, as being the chief seat of those who had revolted from the *Thebans*. But, whilst they were securing themselves on that side, *Epaminondas*, who wisely considered how far this confederacy and expedition must have drained the city of *Sparta* of its main strength, broke up privately from *Nemea*, where he had lain for some time encamped, and marched all that night, with a design to have surprised that important capital; but, his project being timely discovered, as we have seen in the history of that republic ⁱ, the vigilant king took care to disconcert it; so that, though the *Theban* general made several vigorous assaults on that city, he was so stoutly repulsed, and the *Spartans* behaved with such intrepid valour, that he was forced to retire, and turn his thoughts against *Mantineia*, which he judged by this time to have been quite defenceless. He judged rightly indeed; for the place was not only drained of its troops, but likewise of its inhabitants, who took that opportunity, whilst the scene of war was in *Lacedæmon*, to gather in their harvest, and were scattered all over the country; so that he would not have met with any difficulty in gaining the town, had not the *Athenian* auxiliaries come unexpectedly to its relief, and given him a fresh repulse, as we have seen in a former section ^k.

His attempt on Sparta frustrated.

Against Mantinea

THESE two last defeats greatly exasperated the *Theban* general, who had never till now been used to them, and could

ⁱ See before, p. 119.

^k Ibid. p. 119, 120.

not but foresee, that they would not only lessen his reputation with his allies, but, if not timely retrieved, would fully the glory of all his former exploits. What added to his present difficulties was, that the time allotted him for this expedition was almost expired; so that he had but a short space left to undertake some brave atchievement, which might recover his and his country's honour, and keep up the spirits of his auxiliaries, and those under his protection. He was moreover got very far into the enemy's country, and saw plainly enough how narrowly they watched all his motions, and how well prepared they were to oppose him, whatever attempt he resolved upon, whether to attack them, or to retreat; which last, he knew, could not be done, without abandoning his allies to them. Under all these difficulties, he rightly considered, that no time must be lost; but that he must immediately resolve upon a decisive battle, in which, if his pristine fortune followed him, he might at once retrieve his affairs, and make himself master of *Peloponnesus*; or, if that failed him, as it lately had done, fall honourably in the attempt. We have *The battle* already given an account of the ill success of this action with *of Manti-* respect to *Epaminondas*¹; to which we shall only add, that *nea.* he made the wisest disposition of his troops, attacked and fought *Epami-* with the most intrepid courage and conduct, and had opened *nondas's* himself a way through the *Spartan* phalanxes, thrown them *valour* into the utmost confusion, and made a terrible slaughter of *and con-* them, insomuch that the field of battle was covered with their *duct.* wounded and slain, when, in the heat of the fight, having ventured himself too far, in order to give them a total overthrow, the enemy rallied again, pouring their whole fury, and three whole volleys of darts, at him, some of which he drew out, and returned to them, till at length, being covered with wounds, and weakened with the loss of so much *Wounded* blood, he received a mortal wound from a javelin, and was, *and slain.* with great difficulty, rescued from the enemy by his brave *Thebans*, and brought alive, though speechless, into his tent^m. As soon as he had recovered himself, he asked his friends that were about him, what was become of his shield; and, being told that it was safe, he beckoned to have it brought to him, and kissed it. He next inquired which side had gained the victory; and, being answered, *The Thebans*, he replied, Then all is well; and, upon observing some of his friends bewailing his untimely death, and his leaving no children behind him, *Last* he is said to have answered, *Yes, I have left two fair daughters,* *words.*

¹ Ibid. p. 120. ^m PLUT. in eund. & in Agesil. XENOPH. Hellan. ubi supra. DIOD. SIC. l. xv. CORN. NEP. in vit. Epaminond. PAUSAN. in Messen. & Lacon. JUSTIN. l. vi. c. 7.

Year of the flood 1986. Bef. Chr. 362. *the victory of Leuctra, and this of Mantinea, to perpetuate my memory (X).* Soon after this, upon the drawing of the point of the javelin out of his body, he fell, as it were, in the arms of victory; and, congratulating the good fortune of his country, expired.

THE consequence of that noble general's fall, and of this bloody fight, in which neither side could boast any great advantage over the other, but a great loss of men on both sides, insomuch that *Xenophon* makes it a drawn battle, was, that both parties agreed on a cessation of arms, and parted, as it were by consent, to take care of their wounded and slain (W).
The

(X) The generality of the best historians, such as *Plutarch*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Cornelius Nepos*, *Pausanias*, &c. assure us, that *Epaminondas* was never married, but preferred celibacy as a life that suited his studies better at first, and his attendance on the public interest of his country after he came to make a figure in it. *Polyænus*, an author of no great exactness, is the only one that hath affirmed the contrary, and pretends that he was married, and had a son by his wife; and, to add weight to this, says, that *Phæbidas*, who surprised the *Cadmean* citadel, was so deeply in love with her, that she was obliged to acquaint her husband with it, who thereupon advised her not to discourage his addresses to her; intending to make him fall into a snare he had laid for him. A base artifice this, and unworthy of so excellent a patriot and philosopher, and, as such, rejected as a scandalous fiction!

However, according to him, this intrigue ended in the death of *Phæbidas*, who, he says, was stabbed by a troop of young men in womens apparel; which is likewise contradicted by the historians above-quoted, who mention him as commanding a

body of *Spartan* troops several years after. *Stesibrotus* (which is the name of *Epaminondas*'s pretended son) is represented by him as a rash extravagant youth, unworthy in every respect of such a father, except in point of courage, or rather rashness, which hurried him on, contrary to his express orders, to give battle to the enemy, and for which he gave him up without pity or reluctance to the severity of the law, and caused him to be put to death; as if it had been worth while to raise a son to that great patriot, merely to bring him to so melancholy an end. However, as our author tells that story with a serious air, and seems to think, that it enhanced the glory of his hero, we could not avoid mentioning it upon this occasion, as not taken notice of by any other antient author, and justly exploded by all the moderns.

(W) The author above-quoted adds, that each party did indeed erect trophies as victors, but that neither of them took any towns, or gained any accession of territories, or increase of power; and that things remained in the same situation after the battle as they were before: however, he is not, without good grounds,

The *Thebans* indeed thus far gained the greater share of glory, that they renewed the fight, and, after a most desperate contest, gained the victory over those *Spartans* that opposed them, and rescued the body of their dying general out of their hands. However, an effectual end was put to this bloody war, and a general peace agreed on by all but *Sparta*; who refused it only *A general* because the *Messenians* were included in itⁿ. But, as to the *peace con-*
Thebans, they had no great reason to boast of this dear-bought *cluded*, victory, since their power and glory began to decline from that very time; so that it may be truly said, that it rose and set with their great general (Y).

BUT

ⁿ XENOPH. ubi supra, l. viii. PLUT. JUSTIN. DIOD. SIC. &c. ubi supra.

grounds, suspected to have been a little too partial and prejudiced in his account of this action, and to have purposely avoided saying any thing that might seem to give the preference to the *Thebans*; for, according to the generality of the other authors quoted above, they had manifestly gained the victory, though in too much concern and confusion, after their general fell, to pursue it as they might otherwise have done: and the only ground on which the enemy claimed it on their side, was on account of some *Eubæans*, and other auxiliaries, whom the *Athenians* had slaughtered in their retreat (15).

(Y) *Epaminondas*, in all respects, whether as a soldier, statesman, or philosopher, is allowed to have been not only the first man of his time, as *Cicero* justly styles him, but the greatest, perhaps, that any age or nation ever produced, being possessed of all those virtues in an eminent degree, and without the least of any one vice or failing, which, in other great men, were neither so perfectly united, nor so wholly

free from contrariety. He was of one of the greatest and most opulent families in *Thebes*; but *Polymnis*, that was his worthy father's name, had been so liberal in his education, in furnishing him with the best masters that *Greece* could afford, not only in philosophy, rhetoric, and other liberal sciences, but for all sorts of exercises and accomplishments suitable to his rank, and the hopes he had conceived of him, as well as in the magnificent manner in which he rewarded them, that he had quite embeziled his estate, and had hardly any other fortune to leave him, than what he had bestowed on him in this manner: insomuch that his house was justly esteemed at that time one of the best schools in *Greece*, and open to all the world. And *Epaminondas*, in this respect, trod so closely in his father's steps, and shewed such a noble contempt of riches, that when *Pelopidas* first took notice of him, and would have assisted him with part of that noble fortune he was then possessed of, he not

(15) Conf. Xenoph. et alios supra citat.

only

The ill
consequen-
ces of it.

BUT it was not *Thebes* alone that suffered by his loss, since we may safely add, that all *Greece* shared in it; for the peace, which was suddenly concluded upon it, seems not only to have slackened

only generously refused all his offers of that kind, but inspired him with the same indifference for wealth and grandeur; and we have seen, in the character of that patriot, what effect his example and reasoning had upon him. As for himself, he kept so steady in this noble disposition, notwithstanding the great honours he had enjoyed, and the great success he had had, that he scarcely left enough to bury him at his death; and, in this and all other respects, he proved himself a true philosopher in practice as well as in speculation.

Neither was he more desirous of fame than of wealth; and, if we may believe some antient writers (16), he was so far from affecting popularity or applause, that all his great offices were, in some measure, forced upon him; and he seems to have been acted by no other motive than the interest and honour of his country. 'Tis plain, however, from the answer he gave his mourning friends a little before his death, mentioned a little higher, as well as from some of his other sayings and actions, that he was far enough from being insensible of his own merit, and that he did not decline praise, tho' he did not covet it. And, indeed, the only thing he appears to have been covetous of, was his time, which was wholly consecrated to the improvement of his mind, and the service of his country, inso-

much that he made even his diversions subservient to those ends. His exercises in riding, running, wrestling, &c. were rather practised by him, as means to fit and harden him for all the toils and fatigues of war, than with a view of gaining glory, by endeavouring to excel in them: and it was with this view, that he expected and encouraged them in others; for he had such an aversion to slothful and indolent officers, that he discarded one of them for being too fat, alleging, that if he had used the proper exercise belonging to a soldier and commander, he would not have now appeared with such an overgrown carcase as would require two or three shields to cover his belly.

Whilst he thus took care to inure himself to the practice, he did not neglect the improving his genius in the theory; and modestly declined appearing in the army till he had made himself thoroughly master of it, as we have had occasion to hint a little higher. He had been assisted in this last by *Pelopidas*; and what progress he made in it may be easily gathered from the excellent disposition of his forces, his manner of attacking, rallying, &c. upon all occasions, more especially at the two famous battles of *Leuctra* and *Mantineia*, in which he appears to have outdone his predecessors. But what hath set him in a superior light to most other Grecian generals, is, the difficulties and discouragements he met with at his first

(16) *Justin, Plut. ubi supra.*

slackened the zeal of the principal states of it, but even to have thrown them, as well as the *Thebans*, into a perfect state of indolence

appearing in this character, and being obliged to command a people who had been, till very lately, sunk into a state of sloth and indolence, and were still riper for slavery than conquest; whereas the other *Grecian* generals, especially those of *Sparta* and *Athens*, found their troops ready formed to their hands, inured to discipline, fatigue, and dangers, and fired with a noble ambition for the honour and interest of their country; trained up and led by experienced officers, and supported by their brave fellow-citizens, in their resolution either to conquer or die. They were, moreover, spirited by the remembrance of former successes and victories, and the fame they had acquired upon several noble occasions; so that their commanders had little else to do than to pursue the track they were in, and to lead them on in the glorious path they had been inured to.

Most, if not all these advantages, were wanting in the *Theban* troops, when *Epaminondas* was nominated to the command; for tho' they had been obliged to take part in some of the late wars, which was rather done to assist their protectors than with a view of asserting their liberty, or gaining any degree of glory or superiority over their oppressors, yet they had neither discipline, ambition, or spirit, suitable to the noble designs of their general, nor any proper officers to train them up to it. It must be owned, however, that *Pelopidas* had already gone a good way

towards it, and had been still assisting him in it; but *Epaminondas* is nevertheless justly allowed the highest share in this great change; and by his bravery and zeal, as well as by his extraordinary genius, to have supplied all those defects, and, in some measure, to have created rather than raised an army; and, by his discipline and example, to have convinced the *Thebans*, that they were capable of acting as principals, and fighting their own battles; and, in a short interval, to make that brave and successful attempt for the superiority over the rest of the *Grecian* states, as we have seen they did; for it was his bold defiance of the *Spartans* that brought on the noble battle of *Leuctra*. And it appears, that he afterwards contributed more towards the effectual humbling, we might have even said reducing of them, than any one man, or, indeed, than all the other states of *Greece* put together. He was no less remarkable for the strict discipline which he kept among his troops; and as he exacted nothing from them but what they saw him foremost in practising, so he was used to say to them, If I am your general, you must act as soldiers: *Bœotia*, being a flat country, is now made the scene of war; and you must expect to keep it no longer than your hands are upon your shields. By these, and such-like speeches, as well as by his example, he had so inured them to his will, that there was no enterprize so arduous and dangerous in which they did not follow

indolence and remissness ; insomuch that, looking now upon themselves as rid from all their fears on their account, they gave

low him with the utmost confidence and alacrity.

What completes the high character of this excellent patriot, as well as general, is, that his social virtues, both with respect to his country and himself, shone even with a brighter lustre than his military ones. Every circumstance almost of his life is a pregnant proof of it. Never man shewed a more generous disinterestedness with regard to himself, nor a more sincere and unshaken zeal for the public good. As an instance of it, we are told, that the *Persians*, knowing of what consequence it was to bring him over to their interest, spared neither promises nor bribes to effect it ; but were so far from succeeding in it, that they received a very mortifying repulse from him. *Diomedon* of *Cyzicus*, in particular, had been sent to corrupt him, if possible, by a large sum of money ; and, before he ventured to attempt him, had, by the help of five talents, gained over a favourite of his, named *Micythus*, to sound him upon it. *Epaminondas* rejected the offer with a scorn and indignation worthy of so great a patriot, telling him, that he would never set the wealth of the whole world in competition with the interest of his country. It is plain, continued he, speaking to the *Persian* agent, that you do not know me ; and I am not surprised, that you should form a judgment of me from yourself ; and therefore am ready to forgive it : but I advise you, at the same time, to make the

best of your way home before you get a farther opportunity of corrupting another *Theban*. As for you, said he to *Micythus*, if you do not immediately return the five talents, I will infallibly deliver you up to the magistracy.

His behaviour to *Jason* was still more noble and singular. He was lately come to *Thebes*, to negotiate an alliance with the *Thebans* ; and actually obtained it by means of *Pelopidas*, as we have already seen ; and as he did not doubt but *Epaminondas*'s narrow circumstances would easily induce him to accept of some present from him, so he tried to gain his friendship by such considerable ones as he little thought would have met with so stout a refusal from so indigent a person : but, to his great surprize, he found them not only rejected with the utmost scorn and indignation, but himself severely reproved for offering them. This attempt of corrupting me, said that noble patriot, I resent, as the greatest indignity that can be offered to me, and shall look upon it in no other view than as a declaration of war ; and, as I am born a member of this free state, I shall be so far from selling the freedom of voting of my fellow-citizens, that I will maintain it with all my might. This inflexibility was so much the more to be admired, because it was dangerous to exasperate so powerful a prince, who was bold and successful, and at the head of an hitherto victorious army. However, *Pelopidas*, more politic, perhaps, than he, found means to appease

gave themselves, in some measure, up to luxury and idleness, to shews, sports, and festivals; and thereby gave the *Macedonians*,

appease *Jason's* resentment, and to send him back into *Theffaly*, fully satisfied with his new alliance (15).

Not long after this arrived *Theanor*, with presents from *Arcefius*; and, upon the debating whether they should be accepted, *Epaminondas* declared against it, in words to this effect, and addressed to *Theanor*: *Jason*, said he, resented my rejecting the vast presents with which he designed to corrupt me; and I gave him such an answer as his attempt deserved. Your offers are, indeed, more honourable, and consistent with virtue; and as such we esteem them; but then they are like physic to a man in health. Should you, or any of our allies, who imagined us to be at war, and incapable of maintaining it, send us a supply of men, arms, and provisions; but expect that we should accept of it, when they found us enjoying a profound peace? The case is much the same. Your generosity hath made you look upon us as sinking under the poorness of our condition, whereas that very poverty, instead of being burdensome to us, we look upon as our greatest happiness, glory, and delight, and as the most welcome guest that can come within our walls. The philosophers who sent you have, in that, made the noblest use they could of their wealth; and you may assure them, that we highly commend and thank them for it; but tell them, at the same time, that we make the

same right use of our poverty. *Theanor*, still desirous to engage him to accept something valuable from him, begged, that he would take, at least, as much as would reimburse him the charges which *Polymnis* his father had been at, in the maintenance and funeral obsequies of his late præceptor *Lyfis*. To which he replied, That *Lyfis* had abundantly repaid him, in the pains he took, to make him cherish the practice of poverty. This occasioned some friendly debate between them, in which *Theanor* endeavoured to make him sensible of the necessity of acquiring, at least, an honourable competency; which only gave the other an opportunity of displaying his talent in praise of his favourite notion of poverty, which he did with such forcible reasoning, as left *Theanor* without reply.

The truth is, *Epaminondas* had a double view in practising and promoting this darling virtue of poverty; viz. to keep himself proof against corruption, and, by his precepts and example, to reform, as much as in him lay, the luxury and depravity of the *Theban* nation. We have already shewn how far it had prevailed upon the noble *Pelopidas* to imitate and assist him in this noble design; and hope our *English* readers will not be displeased, if we subjoin some few instances of the excellent method he took to promote it among the rest of his countrymen, especially as he had

(15) See before, p. 114.

nians, hitherto a barbarous and obscure nation, an encouragement to make that bold attempt on the *Grecian* liberties, which they

frequent occasion to observe how much it had contributed to raise the *Spartan* state to that height of glory and power to which they were arrived.

He was one day invited to a sumptuous feast, in which he observed a profusion of every thing that was delicious and costly, and yet contented himself with some of the meanest fare, and would drink nothing but four wine; and, being asked, why he did so, answered, *For fear I should forget how I live at home.* Upon such another invitation, he was so shocked at the luxury and profusion of the dishes, and high perfumes, that he cried out, *I thought you were going to offer some grand sacrifice to the gods, instead of a shameful debauch;* and went away immediately; neither could any intreaty bring him back. But the most remarkable reproof he gave the *Thebans* on this head, and the last we shall mention, was on one of their grandest festivals, in which every citizen appeared in a most splendid dress, and anointed with the richest perfumes: the solemnity was to conclude with mutual entertainments, at their respective houses, in which nothing was to be spared that could promote their mirth and good cheer. *Epa-minondas*, instead of following the vogue, appeared in a plainer dress than usual, and without either ornament or perfume; and, instead of feasting with any of them, kept walking up and down in a pensive mood, in the public square of the city; and, being asked by one of his friends, why

he thus declined to partake of the public rejoicing; replied, *I do it, that there may be at least one person to mind the safety of the city, whilst the rest are drowned in wine and mirth.* By which satirical reproofs he, by degrees, so far reformed the manners of the *Thebans*, that they seemed to vie with one another in the emulation of his virtues.

As neither bribes nor promises could gain him from the interest of his country, so no threatnings nor dangers could make him betray the honour of it. It was this noble ardour, among other instances, with which his life is fraught, that made him go and fight for it as a private centinel, when his ungrateful countrymen had been induced, by the prevailing faction, to strip him of all his posts. And, how nobly he behaved in that low capacity, we have elsewhere seen, as well as his singular friendship and fidelity to *Pelopidas*, on several occasions, and his generosity to his other friends.

To conclude his excellent character, as it has been drawn by *Plutarch*, *Xenophon*, and other writers; he was judicious and grave, but yet affable, continent and patient of injuries, compassionate to others; and so strictly just, and so sincere a lover of truth, that he would not tell a lye even in jest. As for his learning, we have already touched upon it; and, in this province, he made a greater progress, in his search after knowledge of all kinds, than any philosopher of his time, who were so by profession.

they soon after did, and of which the reader may find an account in the history of *Athens*, and elsewhere; for we confine ourselves, in this section, to the share which the *Thebans*, and other auxiliaries, bore in that war; the first of which was in the succour which they gave to the *Eubœans*, by which they ^{Thebans} got an entrance into that island, as we have already mentioned ^{in Eubœa,} in a former section; and, its inhabitants being now divided

feſſion. He was eſteemed a fine ſpeaker, but was far enough from valuing himſelf upon, or making oſtentation of it, ſince it was ſaid of him, that nobody knew more, or ſpoke leſs, than he. And yet he was ſo far from admiring the *Laconic* ſtile, or magiſterial brevity, for which the *Spartans* valued themſelves, that he ſeverely rallied them for it, and told them, that, among other marks of ſuperiority over them, he had made them lengthen their monosyllables.

But, next to the love of his country, his prevailing paſſion was ſtudy; to which he was ſo ſtrongly bent, that it may be looked upon as almoſt the only inſtance of a perſon's acquitting himſelf ſo nobly to the public, conſidering the contrary byas of his inclination. And it was looked upon as no ſmall wonder, that a man who had been ſo long hid from the world, and buried, as it were, among his books, ſhould break out, at once, into ſo great and tumultuous a ſcene of action, ſhould be able to negotiate his country's intereſt abroad, direct the government at home, and lead his army with ſuch ſurpriſing ſucceſs againſt the united powers of *Greece*: but as his genius was equal to all theſe things, ſo had his applica-

tion been likewise, during the time of his obſcurity; and, being once made ſenſible by his friend *Pelopidas*, of what he owed to his country, and what the public, at that juncture, expected from him, he at once roused himſelf from his darling retirement, and from that time gave himſelf ſo much to action, that he made ample amends for it, ſince ſcarcely any man ever performed ſo much in ſo ſhort a time. We are told, that the great *Achaean* general, *Philopæmen*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak at length in the following ſection, made him his conſtant pattern to ſuch a degree, that he came but very little ſhort of him, in valour, conduct, and integrity; but he had naturally too much of the ſoldier in him, and was apt to be too rough and choleric, whereas *Epa-minondas* was cool, affable, and gentle; and never ſhewed any fierceneſs but in the field. Upon the whole, he ſeems to have been deſigned to raiſe the glory of *Thebes* above all her neighbours at that time, and that ſo ſuddenly, that it was ſaid to have been born with him; and it will appear by the ſequel of this hiſtory, to have, in a great meaſure, expired with him (18).

(18) Vide Plutarch. Xenoph. Diod. Sic. & alios ſupra citat. Meurs. de la Tour, Palmer, et Stanyan biſt. Græc. et al. mult.

into two factions, one party had recourse to the *Athenians*, and the other to the *Thebans*; and the former, who, among other advantages, had been used to draw a considerable revenue from thence, were not a little alarmed at the latter having such footing in it; but, as they had their hands full, and had enough to do to maintain their jurisdiction in other parts, they did not exert themselves so vigorously as the case required, till their brave general *Timotheus*, with his usual eloquence, roused them up to it: *What!* said he, *the Thebans in Eubœa, and you still here! They in action, and you stand deliberating! You have not yet covered the sea with your vessels! you are not running down to the Piræum! you are not yet under sail!* By these short speeches, which *Demosthenes* takes notice of as a proper pattern to be made use of on another occasion, he so shamed the *Athenians*, that they had made all the necessary preparations in five days, and soon after drove the *Thebans* out of it; who had neither forces nor spirit now sufficient to oppose them.

Driven
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Their de-
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Phocian
war.

THIS is, probably, one of the last instances of their being applied to by any states, or of their making any figure in Greece. They scarcely bore any share in the social war; and, in the *Phocian*, of which we have given an account in speaking of that nation, they were one of those states that declared against it, and sent their quota of troops with the *Thessalians* and *Locrians*, and were defeated, with the latter, by *Philomelus* the *Phocian* general, at the first onset, and with the former at the next: but the *Thebans*, having increased their troops to thirteen thousand men, came up against him, and not only for a time stopped his progress, but soon after gained a considerable advantage over him in a woody country, where, being much superior in number, they slew a great many of his forces; and *Philomelus* himself was either killed amongst them, or thrown down a precipice, according to others, and lost his life. Upon this, the *Thebans*, thinking the *Phocian* war at an end with their general, withdrew their forces; but his brother *Onomarchus*, a person equally concerned in it with the deceased, being likewise fined by the *Amphietyonic* court in a greater sum than he could pay, put himself at the head of the *Phocians*; and, having obliged the *Thessalians* to remain neuter, renewed hostilities against the other two, and took several places from them. The *Thebans*, being thus invaded, were forced to come out against him, and oppose his farther career; which they, with great difficulty, performed, having sent but just before five thousand of their forces to assist *Artabazus* in *Asia*. In the mean time *Onomarchus*, after having gained several advantages against *Philip* of *Macedon*, was at length defeated, taken, and hanged, by that monarch; and all the other prisoners were condemned

Thebans
defeated,

condemned likewise to death, as guilty of sacrilege. The *Phocian*, or sacred war, as it was then stiled, was, however, far enough from being brought to a conclusion by the death of that general, and his adherents, though, from that time, it began to take a new face, and was carried on in a different way. *Phyllus*, the brother of *Onomarchus*, a wealthy *Phocian*, put himself soon after at the head of their troops; and having, by dint of money, augmented his army with some thousands of auxiliaries, renewed it with fresh vigour in *Bæotia*; but he was so effectually worsted in three different engagements against the *Thebans*, that he thought fit to abandon the country, and turn his forces against the *Locrians*; where though he proved somewhat more successful, yet he was soon after carried off by sickness, and succeeded by *Phalecus*, *Onomarchus*'s son, then a minor, and under the tuition of *Maseas*; which last was likewise killed in the first engagement he had with the *Locrians*. From this time, the war was turned into mutual skirmishes and depredations; in which though the *Thebans* generally came in for a good share of the plunder, yet were they so far exhausted by the war, the burden of which had chiefly and explain upon them, that they were reduced to great streights, and were forced to have recourse to the king of *Persia*, from whom they easily obtained the sum of three hundred talents.

By this time the *Phocians*, who had likewise suffered greatly by the war, had so far infringed on the treasury of the *Delphic* temple, that all *Greece* cried out shame on them for it; so that, to avoid a worse consequence, they were forced to appoint commissioners to inquire into that affair, and to punish those who had the greatest hand in it. The first thing these did was to turn *Phalecus* out of his generalship, though he was restored to it again, as soon as justice had been done on the other delinquents, among whom one *Phila*, who had been intrusted with the bulk of the wealth, was condemned to be racked to death. This last, in the extremity of the torture, impeached many of his accomplices, who were likewise put to death, though they had restored all that was left of it in their hands (Y); but, as the *Thebans* had not such a rich repository to go to, they were at length so exhausted by continual depredations, that, being no longer able to sustain the war to any advantage, they saw themselves forced to have recourse to

(Y) The amount of what had been rifled out of the *Delphic* treasury, during this war, in presents, bribes, and other exigences, was computed, we are told, to have amounted to above ten thousand talents; an immense sum, and exceeding by far what *Alexander* the Great found afterwards in that of the *Persians*, as we shall see in the sequel.

Have recourse to king Philip.

Ill consequences of that confederacy.

Philip's policy.

Attempt on Thermopylæ.

Peace with Athens.

king *Philip*, who had, till now, affected a kind of neutrality in their quarrels; but was not a little pleased to see the contending parties harass and weaken each other to such a degree, as would soon give him an opportunity of acting a quite different part. Nothing could therefore have happened more answerable to his ambitious views, than this false step of the *Thebans*, nor at the same time be more likely to prove fatal not only to themselves, but to the liberties of all *Greece*, as it accordingly did; for the *Thessalians*, who had been privately drawn into *Philip's* interest ever since his accession to the throne, were now easily prevailed upon to enter into this new confederacy; after which, several other *Grecian* states, when they found themselves oppressed by their neighbours, made no difficulty to apply to the *Macedonian* king, as to a common friend and protector, and seldom failed of meeting with suitable encouragement; and, though this did not happen till some time after, that is, till he had got an absolute sway in the court of the *Amphictyons*, yet the *Thebans* are justly blamed for having been the authors of this fatal precedent, and consequently thereby of betraying the liberties of *Greece*.

For hitherto *Philip* had not been engaged in this war; and what he had done against *Onomarchus*, and his accomplices, was only under pretence of protecting the *Thessalians* against their oppressors: but his success against the one, and seeming generosity to the other, gained him such esteem, as easily induced him not only to enlarge his views, but to act more openly, and, under pretence of marching against the sacrilegious *Phocians*, to attempt the gaining the streights of *Thermopylæ*, which would have opened an easy way to him into all *Greece*. He was, however, repulsed for this time in that attempt by the *Athenians*, who lay most exposed to his passage, as we have elsewhere seen. But this failed not to alarm them, and the other states of *Greece*; and *Demosthenes*, who, by this time, was grown into some reputation, had no small hand in opening the eyes of the *Greeks* to the danger they were in from that aspiring monarch. But, the war not turning to the advantage of the *Athenians*, they found themselves obliged to sue to him for peace; which, being exactly what he wished, he readily granted, though still, on some pretence or other, he deferred the execution of it, till he had brought his forces into *Thessaly*, in order to fall upon the *Phocians*, who were now supported only by the *Spartans*. We have already spoken of this peace, which *Philip*, by his great largesses and munificence, got to be made so much in his favour, that he was suffered to pursue his own measures, to seize on the streights of *Thermopylæ*,

pylæ, to pour his numerous forces into *Phocis*, in conjunction with the *Thebans*, and to put an end to that long and destructive war; which he soon and easily effected, as we shall relate in the history of *Macedon*. Success against the Phocians.

THESE successes had, by this time, given the *Macedonian* monarch such footing in *Greece*, and such an absolute sway, especially over the *Amphietyonic* court, the far greater part of whom his gold had intirely gained to his interest and service, and his ambitious views became so visible, that *Demosthenes* was again forced to sound the alarm, and to propose to his *Athenians* the forming a new confederacy against him; to which they readily agreed. The *Thebans*, of all the rest of his allies, were looked upon as so considerable, that they were the first that were thought worthy to be invited into this new alliance; and our *Athenian* orator offered himself to be one of the deputies, and to prevail upon them to accept it; and was accordingly sent on that important errand. *Philip*, on the other side, being no less emulous to keep them in his interest, sent thither likewise his own deputies, the principal of whom was *Philip's Python*, a *Byzantine* by birth, who had been lately made a free citizen of *Athens*, but had been since gained over by that monarch. These, being allowed to speak first, failed not to display their rhetoric in favour of the *Macedonian* king, and to recapitulate to the *Thebans* the singular advantages which their alliance with him had procured to their state, and the many other signal favours they had received from him; reminding them at the same time of the frequent provocations and injuries they had suffered from the *Athenians*. They made use of several other motives to confirm them in their friendship with the *Macedonians*, such as the great prospect of plunder which *Attica* would yield them; which would be of greater advantage to them than having their own country made the scene of a bloody war, which must prove infallibly the case, if they presumed to ally with the *Athenians*. They concluded with putting it to their option, whether they would join with *Philip* in his invasion into *Attica*, or to sit neuter, and give him a free passage through *Bæotia*, or be the first that should feel the effects of his resentment for their ungrateful desertion of him. alarms the Athenians to invade the Thebans.

THE *Thebans* easily felt the weight of all these arguments, as well as the danger to which their declaring on either side was like to expose them, and against which they were but poorly prepared, having still a lively remembrance of the miseries they had endured, especially as the wounds they had received in the *Phocian* war were yet fresh upon them. Upon these considerations, they shewed so little inclination to concur

Demo-
sthenes's
speech.

with either part, that nothing less than the eloquence of *Demosthenes* could have determined them to lay aside all fear, gratitude, and other prudential motives, and expose themselves, in the condition they were in, to the dangers of a new war. But when the *Athenian* orator, who was to speak next, came to display his talents, and to set *Philip's* ambitious views in a true light; to shew them the necessity of acting against him as the common enemy of *Greece*; when he came, from the instance of his lately seizing the city of *Platæa*, and the manner of his doing it, to shew them how it was likely to fare with *Thebes* and *Bœotia*, should that monarch so far succeed as to subdue *Attica*, and that he would never stop short till he had brought all *Greece* under his yoke; the *Thebans* were so effectually alarmed at their own and the public danger, that they could scarcely contain themselves; and the force of his discourse roused them up to such a kind of enthusiasm, that they immediately declared themselves against their late ally and protector, and readily entered into the proposed confederacy at all adventures. We have seen the ill success of it in the *Athenian* history, to which we refer our readers; and shall only add, that it soon after brought on the famous battle of *Cheronæa*, which was won by the *Macedonians*, and in which the *Thebans*, who were in the right wing, behaved with their usual bravery, till *Alexander*, king *Philip's* son, fell desperately upon their *Sacred legion*, and cut them all to pieces; after which the rest of the wing was easily routed by that young prince.

Thebans
ally with
Athens.

Sacred le-
gion cut
off.

Philip's
revenge on
the The-
bans.

UPON the defeat of the confederates, *Philip*, though he treated the *Athenians* with great moderation, yet shewed such resentment against the *Thebans*, for renouncing their alliance with him, that he used them rather like traitors and criminals: and indeed it was not to be expected, that he, who assumed the same arbitrary sway over his allies, which he did over his subjects, would easily forgive such a signal defection at so critical a juncture; so that, notwithstanding the peace being on the point of renewed on both sides, he not only made them pay dear for the ransom of their prisoners, but even for leave to bury their dead. Soon after this, we are told, that he found a way, either by the sword, banishment, heavy fines, or other severities, to clear the city and state of *Thebes* of the principal men, who had been most zealous in opposing his interest, and to seize upon most of their estates; by which means he so intimidated the rest, that the greatest part of them became intirely his creatures. His next step was, to recal those who had been banished for sacrificing their country to his interest; and these he promoted to the highest posts in the government and magi-

† See vol. vi. p. 513. & seqq.

stracy, and granted them, besides other large gratuities, the power of life and death over those who had been the chief promoters of their banishment. By these, and other the like severities, he secured to himself an arbitrary power over them; and, having moreover obliged them to receive a *Macedonian* garison into their citadel, he ratified the peace with the *Athenians* and them. These were some of the fatal consequences of their alliance with that foreign and ambitious monarch, in which, if they suffered more than the other *Grecian* states, they could blame none but themselves, since they themselves laid the foundation of all the disasters which *Greece* felt then and since, the rest of which will be more properly seen in some of the subsequent chapters.

WE should now resume the sequel of the *Corinthian* history, from the epocha in which we left it; viz. from their forming themselves into a commonwealth, to their fatal catastrophe under the consul *Mummius*; but, as that chiefly consists (except what we have occasionally mentioned in this section) in their invasion of the island of *Corcyra*, and their war with the *Athenians*, in consequence of it, a full account of which hath been already given, and in their accession to the *Achaean* league under *Aratus*, their reduction by the *Macedonians*, and lastly by the *Romans*, which will be more amply treated of each in their proper place, we shall, to avoid as much as possible all needless repetitions, which are quite inconsistent with a work of this extensive nature, refer our readers, for the first of these heads, to what has been said of it in the *Athenian* history, and, for the rest, to some of the subsequent chapters.

S E C T.

S E C T. III.

The history of the several states of Greece, from the beginning of the Achæan league to its dissolution, and thence succinctly to the present time.

The history of ACHAIA.

ALL Greece, in the ages we are now to write of, may be reduced to three states, viz. *Achaia*, *Ætolia*, and *Athens*. There were, 'tis true, at this time, several other republics in Greece; but as they only acted an under-part, and in conjunction sometimes with one and sometimes with another of the more powerful states just now mentioned, their histories are so interwoven with those of the greater republics, that, to deliver them separately, would be only swelling the work with needless repetitions, as the reader will find in the perusal of the following sheets. We shall begin with the history of *Achaia*, by far the most considerable republic of Greece, in its declining times, after having premised, that the name of *Achaia* was used by the antients in three different senses. In the earlier ages it comprehended all the provinces of that great continent, which the geographers, strictly speaking, call *Greece*; that is, *Attica*, *Megaris*, *Locris*, *Phocis*, *Bœotia*, the territory of *Thebes*, *Ætolia*, and *Doris*. In after-ages it was confined to that country in *Peloponnesus* which was possessed by the *Achæans*, and extended along the bay of *Corinth*, and the *Ionian* sea, from the confines of *Sicyon* to the territory of *Elis*. In the *Roman* times the name of *Achaia* comprised not only all *Peloponnesus*, but such other cities beyond the isthmus as had entered into the *Achæan* league; upon the dissolution of which, all *Greece* was, by a decree of the *Roman* senate, divided into two provinces; viz. that of *Macedonia*, containing *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*; and that of *Achaia*, which took in all the other states of *Greece*. We have already described the country ^a; and shall therefore now proceed to the history of a people that not only maintained their own liberties amidst innumerable tyrants, but restored most of the *Greek* cities to their antient freedom.

^a See vol. vi. p. 281.

ACHAIA, a state originally of small account, rose, by degrees, to such an height of reputation and prosperity, as to rival, and even eclipse, the most powerful states of Greece. This great increase of power was not owing either to the vast numbers, or extraordinary valour, of its inhabitants, but solely to its wholesome laws, and happy constitution; for the *Achæans*, after having shaken off the tyrannical yoke of regal power, formed to themselves, on the plan of a democracy, a new system of government, which, obtaining by degrees, in all the cities of their small republic, united them into one body, and, at the same time, left them in full possession of their respective liberties, and quite independent of each other. Thus the *Achæans* were not only joined together by a firm alliance, and governed by the same laws, but moreover had the same money, weights, and measures, the same magistrates, council, and judges; and, in short, every thing so uniform, that all *Achaia* seemed but one city. This invited many of the *Peloponnesians* to embrace their form of government, and accede to the *Achæan* alliance; while, in the mean time, the authors of this institution reaped no advantage by their accession; for no sooner did any city receive their laws, but it was admitted to the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges with the rest. Neither was the fame of their wise laws, and mild government, confined within the narrow bounds of *Peloponnesus*, but even reached the *Greek* colonies in *Italy*, where the *Crotoniates*, the *Sybarites*, and the *Cauloniates*, agreed to adopt the *Achæan* laws, and govern their states conformably ^b (A). The *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans* had such an esteem of their impartial justice and equity, that they chose them, after the famous battle of *Leuctra*, to compose some differences that were still subsisting between them. The contending parties were not induced, as our author observes ^c, to refer their differences to the arbitration of the *Achæans*, by any

^b POLYB. I. ii. PAUSAN. in Achaic.

^c POLYB. *ibid.*

(A) *Polybius* tells us (1), that, great disturbances arising among the *Greek* cities in that part of *Italy* which was called *Magna Græcia*, ambassadors were dispatched to them from all parts of *Greece*; but that the council only of the *Achæans* was chosen to cure those great evils, and compose the dissensions; which they did with such success, that

all those cities, by common consent, agreed to imitate them, and to form themselves according to the example of the *Achæan* republic. Whereupon, uniting in one body, they built a temple to *Jupiter Homorius*, appointing that place for the congress of their general assemblies.

(1) *Polyb.* I. ii.

argument of their greatness or power, there being no state, at that time, in all *Greece*, that was not superior to them in both these respects, but merely in consideration of their justice and probity, which had acquired them the good opinion of all the world.

THIS form of government continued from the expulsion of *Gyges*, the last king of *Achaia*, to the time of *Alexander the Great*, upon whose death this little republic was involved in all the calamities that are inseparable from discord. The spirit of patriotism no longer prevailed among them, each city pursuing their private interest to the prejudice and destruction of their neighbours. As these dissensions and emulations were artificially sown, and carefully fomented, by the *Macedonian* princes, so they failed not to take their advantage of them; for *Demetrius*, *Cassander*, and *Antigonus Gonatus*, seizing on some of their cities, obliged them to receive the *Macedonian* yoke. In this unhappy situation they changed masters as often as *Macedon* did sovereigns; and were moreover enslaved by tyrants of their own, who, as they espoused the *Macedonian* interest, so they were supported with the whole strength of that kingdom ^d.

The Achæan league revived.

Year of the flood 2068.
Bef. Chr. 280.

THE *Achæans*, accustomed to live according to their own laws, and inured to liberty and freedom, could not brook so slavish a subjection; and therefore, in the one hundredth and twenty-fourth *Olympiad*, which was coincident with the expedition of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, they began to revive their antient union, and return to their former association. The inhabitants of *Patra* and *Dyma* gave the first example of this happy change; five years after, those of *Ægium*, having driven out the *Macedonian* garison, acceded to the alliance; the inhabitants of *Bura* followed their example, having first killed their prince or tyrant; and, soon after, those of *Ceraunia* incorporated their city into the same *Achæan* body, *Iseas* their tyrant resigning the dominion, upon promise of indemnity for what was passed ^e.

THE cities we have mentioned were the first that revived the antient association, continuing, for the space of twenty-five years, to maintain the same form of government, without being joined by any others: but, at last, the good order that reigned in this little republic, where liberty and equality, with a sincere zeal for justice, and the public welfare, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew several neighbouring cities to join them. *Sicyon* was one of the first that acceded in this manner, being induced thereunto by *Ara-*

^d POLYB. & PAUSAN. ubi supra.

^e Ibidem ibid.

tus (B) the *Sicyonian*, who, at the age of twenty years rescued his country from tyranny, and restored his countrymen to the enjoyment of their former liberties. Eight years after he had engaged his country in the *Achæan* league, he took, by surprize,

(B) *Aratus*, a native of *Sicyon*, played, on this occasion, a noble part on the stage of action, which rendered his name famous all over *Greece*. *Sicyon*, having long mourned under the yoke of her domestic tyrants, attempted to shake it off, by devolving the power on *Clinias* the father of *Aratus*, and one of her best citizens. The government began to flourish, and assume a new form, under his wise conduct, when *Abantidas* found means to disconcert his measures, and take the whole power into his own hands. He killed *Clinias*, and with him all those who stood up for the liberties of their country; and would have likewise destroyed *Aratus*, who was then but seven years old, had not the infant escaped, with some others, amidst the disorders and confusion that filled the house when his father was killed. As he was wandering about the city in the utmost consternation and distress, he accidentally entered the house of the tyrant's sister, with a design to conceal himself there till the tumult was over; for he knew not to whom it belonged. The tyrant's sister, being persuaded that this destitute infant had taken refuge under her roof by the impulse of some deity, caused him, the ensuing night, to be secretly conveyed to *Argos*, where he was educated with the utmost care by some hospitable friends of his father. The new tyranny had passed through several hands,

when *Aratus*, being come to man's estate, began to entertain thoughts of rescuing his country from the oppression it groaned under. He was greatly respected both for his birth, and the many excellent qualities which he began already to display on several occasions. The *Sicyonian* exiles, discovering in him an early aversion to tyrants, began to cast their eyes upon him as a person destined by heaven to be one day their deliverer. Neither were they deceived in their conjecture. For *Aratus* had scarce attained the twentieth year of his age, when he formed a confederacy against *Nicocles*, who was tyrant of *Sicyon* at that time; and pursued his measures with so much prudence and secrecy, that, notwithstanding the tyrant kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he scaled the walls of *Sicyon*, and entered the city, by night, before *Nicocles* had any notice, or even suspicion, of his design: however, he had the good luck to make his escape, leaving *Aratus* in possession of the city. The next morning, the people being assembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been transacted, an herald proclaimed with a loud voice, *that Aratus the son of Clinias invited the citizens to resume their antient liberty*. These joyful words were no sooner heard, but the whole multitude, with repeated shouts, and loud acclamations, flocked to the tyrant's palace, and burnt it down to the ground in a few minutes.

surprize, *Acro-Corinth* (C), and also the city of *Megara*, from the *Macedonians*, uniting them both to the *Achaëans*. The cities

minutes. Thus was *Sicyon* delivered from its tyrants without the loss of one single man on either side; for *Aratus* commanded his followers to abstain from slaughter, saying, that an action of this nature ought not to be polluted with the blood of his fellow-citizens. This circumstance gave him no less joy, than the action itself.

Sicyon began then to recover its antient splendor; but *Aratus* was not yet quite eased from his inquietude and perplexity. *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* had supported and protected *Nicocles*, and was ready to lay hold of the first opportunity to make himself master of the city, or establish in it some other tyrant: seeds of sedition were artfully sown among the citizens by his partizans and emissaries; and *Aratus* was extremely apprehensive of their effects. He therefore concluded, that the safest and most prudent conduct, in so delicate a juncture, would be, to unite *Sicyon* in the *Achaëan* league; which he did accordingly, strengthening the league with all the forces of his country, and entering himself among the cavalry for the service of that state (2).

(C) The isthmus of *Corinth* unites the continent of *Greece* with that of *Peloponnesus*. The citadel of *Corinth*, known by the name of *Acro-Corinth*, was situated on an high mountain between those two continents, which are there divided by a

very narrow neck of land; so that this fortress cuts off all communication by land from the inner part of the isthmus, and can awe, if well garisoned, all *Greece*; for which reason, *Philip* of *Macedon* used to call it the fetters of *Greece*.

This fortress *Antigonus* had taken by surprize, with a design to enslave all *Peloponnesus*; but *Aratus* wrested it out of his hand by an action equal, in the opinion of *Plutarch*, to the most celebrated enterprizes of the antient heroes of *Greece*. After he had been long meditating with himself by what means he might gain that important place, he was, by accident, furnished with an opportunity of accomplishing his design.

One *Erginus*, an inhabitant of *Corinth*, had contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker of *Sicyon*, who was a particular friend of *Aratus*. As the citadel happened one day to be the subject of their conversation, *Erginus* told his friend, that, in going to visit his brother, who was a soldier of the garison, he had observed a narrow track hewn in the rock, which led up to that part of the hill where the wall of the fortress was very low. The banker, who was very attentive to this account, asked his friend, with a smile, whether he and his brother were desirous to make their fortunes. *Erginus* understood him, and promised to sound his brother, by name *Diocles*, on that head. A

(2) *Plut. in Arat.*

cities of *Træzene*, *Epidaurus*, and *Megalopolis*, were likewise prevailed upon by him to join in the alliance, the tyrants making

few days after, he returned to *Sicyon*, and engaged with the banker to conduct *Aratus* to that part of the mountain where the wall was but fifteen feet high; adding, that his brother was ready to concur with him in every other particular relating to the enterprize. *Aratus* promised, on his part, to reward them with sixty talents, if the affair should succeed; but as he was not master of such a sum, and the borrowing it might create suspicion, he pawned all his plate, together with his wife's jewels, to the banker, as a security for the promised reward.

Aratus having thus engaged the two brothers, and surmounted a great many difficulties, each of which was sufficient to discourage any other but him, the troops were ordered to pass the night under arms. He then selected four hundred men, furnished them with scaling-ladders, and led them to one of the gates of the city; for the citadel was on the top of a steep rock within the city. They scaled the walls without being observed, *Erginus* having, with the assistance of his brother, and some others that were gained over by him, killed the centinels that were there upon duty. As they were marching in great silence through the city, they met with a small guard that was going the rounds, and killed them all but one, who, making his escape, alarmed the city. But *Aratus*, notwithstanding the alarm, continued his march; and, arriving at the foot of the rock, on which

the fortress stood, began to climb up at the head of his men. But, missing the path that was struck out of the rock, by reason of a thick fog which rose from the sea at their first entering the city, *Aratus* was not a little perplexed. The city was already alarmed; all the streets, and even the ramparts, blazed with innumerable lights, and the trumpets sounded to arms on all sides. While he was thus perplexed, the fog, all on a sudden, cleared up; and the moon, returning to shine with the same brightness as before, discovered the intricate windings of the track, which he followed at the head of an hundred of his boldest men, and arrived with much ado at the spot which had been described to him: but he found the garrison, which was by this time alarmed, ready to receive him. Whereupon he immediately dispatched *Erginus* to acquaint the body of three hundred men, which he had left behind with orders to cover his rear, with the danger he was in. While these were waiting at the foot of the rock, drawn up in a close body, *Archelaus*, who commanded the troops of king *Antigonus*, appeared at the head of a considerable band, with a design to mount the hill, and attack *Aratus* in the rear. The three hundred *Sicyonians*, at his approach, concealed themselves among the rocks; but he was no sooner past than they started out, and fell upon him with such resolution, that he was soon put to the rout. This action was scarce

making a voluntary resignation of the authority they had usurped over their fellow-citizens^f. The tyrants of the *Argives*, of the *Hermionians*, and the *Phliasians*, following their example, were likewise received into the alliance.

Constitu-
tion of the
Achæan
league.

As these glorious successes raised the reputation of the *Achæan* league, so they created no small jealousy in the neighbouring states: but, before we proceed to the wars which they were soon involved in by their jealous and restless neighbours, we shall give a succinct account of their happy constitution. All the cities subject to the *Achæan* league were governed by the great council, or general assembly, of the whole nation. To this assembly, or diet, each of the confederate cities had a right to send a certain number of deputies, who were elected in their respective cities by a plurality of voices. By this means no resolutions were taken, but what were equally advantageous to the whole confederacy, and the interests of each particular city so consulted as to leave no room for complaints. As the supreme and legislative power was lodged in the assembly, it was constantly convened twice a year, in the spring and autumn, but seldom out of these stated times, unless upon some very urgent occasion. In these meetings they enacted laws, disposed of the vacant employments, declared war, made peace, con-

^f POLYB. *ibid.* PLUT. in *Arato*.

scarce over, when *Erginus* arrived, and acquainted them, that *Aratus* was engaged with the enemy, and in great need of immediate assistance. Upon this notice, the victorious troops, conducted by *Erginus*, began to climb up the rock, proclaiming their approach with loud shouts, to animate their friends, and strike new terror into the enemy. The light of the moon reflecting on their arms, and their shouts, doubled by the echoes among the rocks, and hollow places, in the midnight silence, made them appear far more numerous than they really were. Whereupon the enemy retired after a faint resistance from the wall, and left *Aratus*

absolute master of the citadel. In the mean time the rest of the troops arriving from *Sicyon*, were not only received with open arms, but assisted by the *Corinthians* in seizing all the *Macedonians* that were in the city.

Aratus, having secured the citadel, went from thence to the city; and, having assembled the people in the theatre, acquainted them, in a long discourse, with the particulars of the *Achæan* league, and exhorted them to accede to it. They unanimously agreed to join in the alliance; whereupon *Aratus* restored to them the keys of the city, which, till then, had never been in their power since the time of *Philip* the father of *Alexander* (2).

(2) *Plut. in Arat.*

cluded

cluded alliances, &c. If any city of the league did not acquiesce to the determinations and ordinances of the diet, or refused to furnish their quotas in time of war, they were compelled to it by dint of arms. The chief magistrate of the whole league, called, by the *Greeks*, *strategos*, and, by the *Latins*, *prætor*, was chosen in the general assembly by the majority of votes. This employment was both a civil and military one, it being the *prætor's* province to preside in the diet, and command the army. They chose, at first, two *prætors*, but it was soon thought adviseable to reduce them to one; and the first who enjoyed that dignity alone, was *Marcus* the *Carian*, who was succeeded by the famous *Aratus*. The *prætor*, and other magistrates, were appointed in the vernal assemblies, and seldom continued two years successively in the same employment. The former was vested with great power, especially in time of war, but, at the same time, liable to be called to an account by the general assembly, and punished, without any regard to his dignity, if convicted of misdemeanour, or any other crime. The *demiurgi* were next in power to the *prætor*, and therefore stiled by *Polybius* and *Livy*, the supreme magistrates of the *Achéans*. They were ten in number, chosen by the general assembly from among the most eminent men of the whole league for prudence, equity, and experience. It was their office to assist, with their advice, the *prætor*, who was to say nothing before the assembly, but what had been previously approved of by the major part of the *demiurgi*. In the *prætor's* absence, the whole management of civil affairs devolved upon them; and, in some extraordinary cases, they were even impowered to summon the general assembly, out of the stated times.

FEW of their laws have reached our times; however, from the writings of the antients, we have collected the five following, which we find to have been religiously observed while the republic continued in a flourishing condition: 1. That an extraordinary assembly was not to be summoned at the request of foreign embassadors, unless they first notified, in writing, to the *prætor* and *demiurgi*, the subject of their embassy. 2. That no city, subject to the league, should send any embassy to a foreign prince or state, without the consent and approbation of the general diet. 3. That no member of the assembly should accept of presents from foreign princes, under any pretence whatsoever. 4. That no prince, state, or city, should be admitted into the league, without the consent of the whole alliance. 5. That the general assembly should never sit above three days. These laws have been explained at length, and illustrated with many useful observations, by a modern writer

Some of
their laws

of no mean character^c, to whom we refer the reader, and resume the thread of our history.

THE *Ætolians*, conceiving no small jealousy at the growing power and extraordinary success of the *Achæans*, began to instil the same into the neighbouring states, with a view of breaking the union of those cities that were already joined, and preventing others from entering into the league. The sense of the benefits which they had a little before received from the friendship of the *Achæans*, during their war with *Antigonus*, withheld them from openly declaring war against their benefactors. However, they left no stone unturned to stir up the *Lacedæmonians*, and engage their king *Cleomenes* in a war against the *Achæans*; wherein they succeeded to their wish; for *Cleomenes*, at their instigation, having built a fortress in the territory of the *Megalopolitans*, called *Athenæum*, the *Achæans* interpreted that as an open rupture, and declared, in a general assembly, that the *Lacedæmonians* should be reputed enemies^f. Such was the beginning of the war, which was called the *Cleomenic war* (C).

The Cleo-
menic
war.

Year of
the flood

2115.
Bef. Chr.

233.

ibid.

THIS declaration of the *Achæan* confederacy was no sooner heard at *Sparta* but the ephori commanded their troops to take the field, under the conduct of *Cleomenes*, who, coming up with the *Achæans* near *Pallantium*, offered them battle; but, *Aratus* declaring against an engagement, *Aristomachus*, the *Achæan* general, made a retreat; which drew severe reproaches

^c MARTINI SHOCKII respub. Achæor. & Veient.

^f Idem

(C) *Plutarch* (2) relates the occasion of this war in a quite different manner; for he tells us, that *Cleomenes*, not being able to brook the authority of the ephori, who engrossed all the power to themselves, leaving him only the empty title of king, resolved to change the form of government; and as he was sensible, that few would concur with him in that view, he imagined the accomplishment of his design would be greatly facilitated by a war; and therefore endeavoured to embroil this city with the *Achæans*, who, luckily for his purpose, had given

Sparta some occasions of complaint; for *Aratus*, as our author tells us, not being able to prevail upon the *Arcadians*, who had espoused the party of the *Lacedæmonians*, to abandon them, and enter into the *Achæan* league, invaded their territories in an hostile manner, ravaged their country, and, in a word, treated them as declared enemies. This opportunity *Cleomenes* laid hold of, and, taking the field, treated the *Achæans* as they had done the *Arcadians*. According to this account, the *Achæans*, and not the *Lacedæmonians*, were the aggressors.

(2) *Plut. in Cleom.*

upon

upon *Aratus*, both from his countrymen, and from the enemy, whose army did not amount to five thousand men in the whole, whereas that of the *Achæans* consisted of twenty thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Not long after, the two armies met again, when the *Achæans* were defeated; but *Aratus*, having rallied in the flight what troops he could, marched streit to *Mantineæ*; and, before the enemy could have any suspicion of his design, made himself master of that important place. This advantage was soon counterbalanced by the loss of another battle, wherein great numbers of the *Achæans* were slain, with *Lysicles* their general, while they were pursuing, with too much eagerness, and in disorder, the *Lacedæmonians*, who had given way, and feigned a retreat. After this victory, *Cleomenes* advanced into the territories of *Megalopolis*, where his troops committed great devastations, and got a very considerable booty. To these ravages he added insults, causing public games and plays to be exhibited in the sight of the enemy, not that he had any satisfaction in such shews and diversions, but only with a view to convince the *Achæans*, that he intirely despised them, and was sure of victory, having to deal with so contemptible a foe ^h.

THE *Achæans*, now reduced to the last extremity, and under apprehension of being enslaved by the *Lacedæmonians*, especially if they should be joined by the *Ætolians*, who, at that time, were making great preparations for a war, began to entertain thoughts of concluding a peace upon any terms; but *Aratus*, dreading the consequence of a treaty set on foot between his despirited countrymen and a victorious enemy, used his utmost efforts to divert them from it, and, at the same time, had recourse to an expedient which noways redounded to his honour: this was, to engage *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* in this war against the *Lacedæmonians*; which opened a way to the *Macedonians* into *Greece*.

ARATUS knew, that *Antigonus* had great cause to be dissatisfied with his former proceedings; but he was likewise sensible, that princes have neither friends nor enemies, but measure amities and enmities by the rules of interest: however, he would not openly enter into a negotiation of this nature, being well aware, that *Cleomenes* and the *Ætolians* would oppose it, and that the *Achæans* themselves would have reason to despair, if they should see their general applying to their enemy; he therefore resolved to prosecute his purpose with such caution as to leave no room for suspicion, and to carry on his measures so as to keep them undiscovered. He was not ignorant, that the *Megalopolitans*, by their neighbourhood to the *Lacedæmonians*, were most exposed

The Achæ-
ans invite
Antigo-
nus into
Greece.
Year of
the flood
2121.
Bef. Chr.
227.

^g PLUT. in Cleom.

^h PLUT. ibid.

to the incursions of the enemies; and, consequently, as they were greatly inclined to the house of *Macedon* for the many favours they had received at the hands of *Philip*, son of *Amyntas*, they would resort for succour to *Antigonus*, and the *Macedonians*. Having therefore gained over to his scheme *Nicophanes* and *Cercidas*, two principal citizens of *Megalopolis*, and well qualified for conducting the enterprize, by their means he brought it so about, that the *Megalopolitans* decreed to send ambassadors to the assembly of the *Achæans*, begging leave to solicit succours from *Antigonus*. *Nicophanes* and *Cercidas* were themselves sent to the *Achæans*, with orders to proceed to *Antigonus*, if they approved the proposition. The general assembly, having given audience to the ambassadors, and reflecting, that they were not in a condition to yield them any effectual succours, by reason of their great streights, assented to their proposal, and granted them leave to pursue their orders. When they received audience of *Antigonus*, they touched upon the affairs of their own country in a few words; but enlarged, pursuant to the instructions of *Aratus*, on the imminent danger to which the king himself would be exposed, should the alliance which was then talked of, between the *Ætolians* and *Cleomenes*, take place. They represented to him, that if the united forces of those two states should gain over the *Achæans* the advantages they expected, the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and the *Ætolians*, would never be satisfied with the single conquest of *Peloponnesus*, but would aspire to the empire of all *Greece*, which they could not compass without first destroying the *Macedonian* monarchy. They therefore begged him to deliberate maturely which was the safest counsel for him to take, whether to succour the *Achæans*, in opposition to *Cleomenes*, and defeat his ambitious designs, or, by neglecting the occasion of gaining the friendship of so great a people, become liable at last to sustain a war in *Thessaly*, for the empire of *Macedon*, not only with the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ætolians*, but with the *Achæans* themselves. To these remonstrances they added, that, if the *Ætolians* continued their neutrality, the *Achæans* would be capable of supporting themselves with their own forces; but if, on the other hand, the *Ætolians* should join the enemy, they must then intreat him to prevent, with timely succours, the ruin of *Peloponnesus*, which might be attended with fatal consequences to himself. They likewise took care to insinuate, that *Aratus* would give such security for his fair proceeding, and sincere intentions, as should be pleasing to both parties; and that he himself would take upon him to demand assistance when he should think it needful.

ANTIGONUS highly approved of all these representations, Antigon-
and, with great pleasure, laid hold of the opportunity of en- nus rea-
gaging in the affairs of Greece. He likewise wrote an obliging *dily com-*
letter to the *Megalopolitans*, assuring them of his assistance *plies with*
whensoever the *Achæans* should think fit to call for it. The *the invi-*
embassadors having acquainted *Aratus* with the good disposition *tation.*
wherein they found *Antigonus* towards the *Achæans*, he was not
a little pleased to find his project succeed so well. He wished,
indeed, to have had no occasion to call in foreign aids, and did
all that lay in his power to prevent it; and though necessity
obliged him to have recourse to that prince, yet, to shun the
blame that might redound upon the authors of such measures,
he took care they should appear as concerted by the *Achæans*,
without his privity. The *Megalopolitans* having acquainted
the *Achæans* with the kind reception their deputies had met
with at the court of *Macedon*, and sent the letter of *Antigonus*
to be read in the general assembly, most of them were for in-
viting that prince to march his army into *Peloponnesus*, with-
out further delay: but *Aratus*, standing up, made a long speech,
exhorting them to try first, whether they could support them-
selves with their own forces; adding, that if, after all their
efforts, fortune should declare against them, it would then be
time enough to have recourse to their friends. His advice was
approved by the whole assembly; and it was then concluded,
that the *Achæans* should employ their own forces only in the
prosecution of the war i.

THE war proved very unsuccessful for the *Achæans*, who,
being often worsted by *Cleomenes*, were obliged to abandon the
field, and retire into their strongholds. Neither were these
able to stop the career of the conqueror, who, in one cam-
paign, took the cities of *Gaphyes*, *Pellene*, *Pheneus*, *Phlionte*,
Cleonæ, *Epidaurus*, *Hermione*, and *Corinth* itself. These suc-
cesses allowed the *Achæans* no further time to deliberate; and
accordingly *Aratus*, at their intreaties, dispatched his son to
Antigonus, inviting that prince to come, with all speed, to
their assistance; and assuring him, that, on his arrival, *Acro-*
Corinth should be put into his hands. *Antigonus* immediately Antigo-
began his march towards *Peloponnesus*, at the head of twenty nus ar-
thousand foot and fourteen hundred horse; and, arriving at *rives in*
the isthmus, encamped just opposite to *Cleomenes*, who had Greece.
fortified with a ditch and rampart the whole space between
Aoro-Corinth and the *Onion* hills. As *Antigonus* did not think
it adviseable, nor even practicable, to force his way through,
and, on the other hand, had not a sufficient quantity of provi-
sions to subsist his army till the *Achæans* joined him, he was

i POLYB. ubi supra. PLUT. in Cleom. & Arat.

preparing to decamp, and transport his troops by sea to *Sicyon*. But, in the mean time, a messenger, arriving at the camp, acquainted *Aratus*, who was come to meet *Antigonus*, that the inhabitants of *Argos* had revolted from *Cleomenes*, and were then besieging the citadel; whereupon *Aratus*, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, immediately put to sea; and, arriving at *Epidaurus*, marched from thence to *Argos*, and made himself master both of the city and castle, after having defeated, in a skirmish, the partizans of *Cleomenes*, and killed *Megistones*, who had been detached from the army to their relief ^k. This success proved of great consequence to the *Achæans*, and first of all gave rise to the prosperity of the allies; for *Cleomenes*, hearing that *Argos* was taken, and being apprehensive, that the enemies would surround him, abandoned his lines, and retired with great precipitation, first to *Argos*, and then to *Mantineia*. He appeared before *Argos* quite unexpected, and, in that alarm, got into the city; but could not keep it, the citadel being in the hands of *Aratus*, and *Antigonus* pursuing him close, with all his forces.

Makes
himself
master of
several
places.

ANTIGONUS, having thus entered *Peloponnesus*, without the loss of one single man, advanced to *Corinth*, which immediately surrendered, and thence to *Tegea*, *Mantineia*, *Orchomenos*, *Hærea*, and *Telphussa*; all which places, terrified at the approach of the *Macedonians*, either voluntarily submitted, or made but a faint resistance. And now winter drawing near, he sent home his troops, and went himself to *Ægium*, to assist at the general assembly of the *Achæans*; where, after having acquainted them with the motives of his coming among them, he was chosen general of the confederate army, and the important castle of *Acro-Corinth* was, by a decree of the council, made over to him.

Megalopolis
taken and
destroyed
by Cleomenes.

IN the mean time, *Cleomenes*, receiving intelligence that *Antigonus* had sent home his army while he himself continued at *Ægium*, formed a design of surprising the city of *Megalopolis*, then become very considerable, and noways inferior, in power and extent, to *Sparta* itself. As the garison was not very strong at that time, nor the guards very strict in their duty, since *Antigonus* was near at hand, and the enemy weakened with frequent losses, *Cleomenes* imagined he might easily get into the town in the night, provided he could gain some of the inhabitants over to his interest; and accordingly applied himself to certain *Messenians*, who, having been banished their country, had taken sanctuary in *Megalopolis*: being conducted by these, he arrived at the city by night, scaled the walls, and made himself master of the place, without the least

^k PLUT. in Arat. & Cleom. POLYB. ubi supra.

opposition. Most of the inhabitants retired to *Messene*, whither *Cleomenes* sent an herald to acquaint them, that he would restore them to the possession of their city, provided they would renounce the *Achaean* league, and join the *Lacedaemonians*. But they chose rather to see themselves divested of all that was most dear and valuable to them, than to violate the fidelity they had sworn to their allies. The famous *Philopœmen*, whom we shall frequently have occasion to mention in the sequel of this history, contributed not a little to this generous resolution. This refusal highly enraged *Cleomenes*, who immediately gave up the town to be plundered, sent all the statues and pictures to *Sparta*, demolished the houses, threw down the walls, and committed so many outrages, that he left not so much as any appearance, that it had ever been a peopled place¹.

ANTIGONUS having sent his troops, as we have already observed, into winter-quarters in *Macedonia*, *Cleomenes* assembled his early in the spring, with a design to put in execution a project, which, in the opinion of the vulgar, was the result of temerity and despair; but, according to *Polybius*, a competent judge in matters of that nature, conducted with all imaginable prudence and sagacity. As the *Macedonians* were dispersed in their winter-quarters, and *Antigonus* enjoying himself with his friends at *Argos*, without any other forces but a few mercenaries, *Cleomenes*, taking the field, made an irruption into the territories of *Argos*, laying waste the whole country to the very gates of the city. What he proposed in this enterprize was, to bring *Antigonus* to hazard an engagement, which, in all probability, he would have lost; or, if he declined it, to lessen his reputation among the *Achaëans*, and raise complaints against him, chiefly in the city of *Argos*. This project succeeded according to his expectation; for the *Argians*, seeing their country ravaged and laid waste under the king's eyes, while he continued inactive, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace-gates; and, with threats, pressed him either to take the field, and protect his friends, or to resign the command of their troops to those who were less timorous than himself. But *Antigonus* was deaf to all their reproaches and remonstrances, and, in spite of the many reflections that were publicly cast upon him on that occasion, kept within the walls of the city, and tamely beheld the enemy insulting him at the very gates. Thus *Cleomenes*, having frightened the enemy, and inspired his own men with new courage, returned, loaded with booty, to *Sparta*. In the beginning of the summer, *Antigonus*, being desirous to retrieve the reputation he had undeservedly lost among the *Achaëans*, took the field, with an army of twenty-eight thou-

Cleome-
nes endea-
vours in
vain to
bring An-
tigonus to
a battle.

¹ PLUT. & POLYB. *ibid.*

sand foot, and twelve hundred horse, and advanced into *Laconia*.

CLEOMENES, not doubting but the enemy would soon visit him, took care to guard all the passes with strong detachments, and to fortify the avenues with ditches and ramparts, filling up and barricadoing the roads with large trees laid across. He marched himself, with a body of twenty thousand men, and encamped at a certain place called *Sellasia*, having reason to suspect, that the enemy proposed to pass that way; nor was he deceived in his conjecture. This pass was formed by two mountains, the one called *Eva*, the other *Olympus*. Between these runs the river *Oenus*, along the banks of which there was a narrow way leading to *Sparta*. *Cleomenes*, having thrown up a good intrenchment at the foot of these mountains, posted the auxiliaries on the eminence of mount *Eva*, under the command of his brother *Euclidas*, while he himself encamped on mount *Olympus*, with the *Spartan* troops, and the mercenaries. The cavalry he drew up along the banks of the river, sustained by a body of mercenary foot. When *Antigonus* arrived, and viewed the situation of the ground, with the fortifications and defences that *Cleomenes* had made, and observed with how much judgment he had posted his troops, he did not think it adviseable to attack him; but encamped at a small distance on the banks of the *Gorgulus*, which covered part of his army. There he remained some days, the better to acquaint himself with the situation of the different posts, and the disposition of the enemy. He often marched round their camp, feigning to attack them, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; but, finding every post well guarded, and *Cleomenes* warily watching his motions, he gave over all thoughts of forcing the enemy's camp, and retired to his own, which was equally secured against all attempts. Both armies having stood thus to their defence some days, without being able to gain any advantage over each other, the two generals at last agreed on a decisive battle.

The battle of Sellasia. It is not easy to comprehend what could induce *Cleomenes* to such a resolution: he was posted very advantageously; his troops were not so numerous as the enemy's by one third; he was supplied with all sorts of provision from *Sparta*, with which city he had a free communication: what then could make him hazard a battle, whereof the event was to decide the fate of *Lacedaemon*? *Polybius* indeed seems to insinuate the cause of this proceeding; for he tells us ^m, that *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, who had promised to assist him in this war, acquainted him, that he was not in a condition to make good his engage-

^m POLYB. l. ii.

ment, exhorting him at the same time to come to an accommodation with *Antigonus*, and the *Achaëans*. As he was therefore incapable of bearing the whole charge of the war, and had no prospect of any supplies from foreign states, we may suppose, that the desperate posture of his affairs forced him to venture a battle.

BOTH armies being drawn up, and the signals given, *Antigonus* detached a body of *Illyrians* against *Euclidas*, who was posted on mount *Eva*; but, while they were ascending the hill, some light-armed troops of the enemy, advancing, charged them in flank, while *Euclidas*, who was posted on the top of the hill, pressed them in front, and a body of mercenaries warmly attacked their rear. *Philopæmen*, who then served in the army as a volunteer, observing what danger the *Illyrians* were in, acquainted the commanders with it; but, they not hearkening to him, as he was but very young, and had not yet born any command in the army, without any orders from the generals, he attacked, with a small body of *Megalopolitans*, his countrymen, the enemy's horse, and obliged them to give ground. This forced the mercenaries, who had fallen on the *Illyrians* rear, to hasten to the relief of the cavalry; for *Cleomenes* had posted them at first near the cavalry, on purpose to support and cover them. By this means, the *Illyrians*, being disengaged, resolutely marched up the hill against *Euclidas*, who, instead of moving towards the enemy, and thereby improving the advantage of the shock, which the descent of the hill gave him, remained in the place where he was first posted. The *Illyrians*, having gained the top of the hill without any opposition, now advanced against *Euclidas* on even ground, and attacked him with such resolution, that he was obliged to abandon the top of the hill, and retire to the rocks and precipices, where he was soon defeated, and most of his men cut in pieces. This success against *Euclidas* was intirely owing to *Philopæmen*, as *Antigonus* himself acknowleged: for, after the battle, having asked the officer that engaged the enemy's horse, how he came to fall upon them before the signal; and the officer excusing himself, by saying, that a young man of *Megalopolis* had done it without his direction; the king replied, that the young man had behaved like an experienced commander, and gained the victory; but that he had acted like a raw soldier.

DURING this variety of action, the cavalry of both armies had likewise engaged on the plain by the river. The *Achaëans* behaved with uncommon bravery, being sensible that this battle would decide their liberties. *Philopæmen* distinguished him-

self above the rest; for, his horse being killed under him, he afterwards fought among the foot, killing with his own hands great numbers of the enemy, till he was, with a javelin, struck through both thighs at one stroke.

BUT the sharpest encounter was on mount *Olympus*, where the two kings engaged with their light-armed troops and mercenaries, consisting of about five thousand on each side. As they fought under the eye of their princes, every man strove to signalize himself, and perform something worthy of such spectators. It was a long time before victory inclined to either side; but at last *Cleomenes*, receiving notice that his brother was defeated on the hill, and that his cavalry began to give ground on the plain, being apprehensive that the enemy would pour in upon him from all quarters, thought it adviseable to level all the intrenchments before his camp, and order his troops to march out in front. The trumpets therefore having sounded the signal for the light-armed troops to retire, the phalanxes advanced on both sides with equal animosity; but the *Lacedæmonian* phalanx, not being able to sustain the shock of the double *Macedonian* phalanx, gave ground, and soon fell into the utmost confusion. The overthrow then became general; the *Lacedæmonians* were every-where cut in pieces; and those, who found means to make their escape, fled from the field of battle in the greatest disorder. *Cleomenes*, with a small party of horse, retreated to *Sparta*, whence he departed the night following to *Gythium*, where he embarked on a vessel that attended him there, according to his directions, and sailed to *Alexandria*, accompanied by a small number only of his intimate friends. *Plutarch* assures us, that most of the foreign troops in both armies were slain in this engagement; and that, of five thousand *Lacedæmonians*, two hundred only outlived that action.

Antigon-
nus enters
Sparta
without
resistance.
CLEOMENES had scarce set sail, when *Antigonus* arrived at *Sparta*, and made himself master of it without resistance; for *Cleomenes* had advised the citizens to receive *Antigonus*, assuring them at the same time, that, whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country. The conqueror treated the inhabitants in a very friendly manner, declaring to them, that he had not engaged in a war against the *Spartans*, but against *Cleomenes*, whose flight had disarmed his resentment. He added, that nothing could render his memory so glorious in future ages, as to have it said, that *Sparta* had been preserved by the prince, who alone had the good fortune to conquer it. Having, in this courteous manner, addressed the citizens, he declared them free, and restored them

to the full enjoyment of their antient privileges. He shewed *And leaves* an inclination to continue some time among them; but was *it free.* obliged to leave the city three days after he had entered it. His departure was occasioned by the intelligence he received, that the *Illyrians* had invaded *Macedonia*, and were committing there dreadful ravages. If *Cleomenes* had respited giving battle three days only, or had fortified himself in *Sparta*, and held out for so short a space of time, he would have preserved his dominions. From *Sparta* *Antigonus* marched to *Tegæa*; which city he likewise declared free; and from thence to *Argos*, where the general assembly of the *Achæan* confederacy was then sitting. There he was thanked by the deputies of each city of the *Achæan* league, and, by a decree of the council, declared the protector of *Achaia*. From *Argos* he proceeded, by long journeys, to *Macedon*, where he gained a signal victory over the *Illyrians*; but, on that occasion, straining his voice to animate his men, he burst a vein; and, having voided a great quantity of blood, he fell into an ill state of health, which soon after took him out of the world *P*. Thus ended the *Cleomenic* war, leaving all *Greece* in a profound tranquillity.

BUT the *Ætolians* were soon weary of peace, which obliged *The war* them to live honestly, and abstain from plunder and rapine, *of the con-* which they used to subsist on, leading much the same life on *federates.* land, as pirates do at sea. They had no sense of friendship or alliance, accounting all those as enemies, whom they could prey upon, and believing they had a right to any thing they could take away. However, during the life of *Antigonus*, the fear they were under, lest he should fall upon them, kept them in awe. But he was no sooner dead, and *Philip* the son of *The Æto-* *Demetrius*, who was then very young, placed on the throne, *lians enter* than they returned to their old manner of life, entering the *the terri-* territories of the *Messenians*, and carrying off their cattle, and *territories of* whatever else they could meet with. Complaints were made *the Messe-* to their chief magistrates of such proceedings; but they seemed *nians in* rather inclined to encourage than restrain such robberies, being *an hostile* sharers in the booty. The chief author of all these disorders *manner.* was one *Dorimachus* of *Trichonia*, a turbulent young man, and, as our author calls him *q*, every way an *Ætolian*; who, being sent to *Phigalia*, a city in *Peloponnesus*, but of the *Æto-* *lian* confederacy, to be as a spy upon the *Achæans*, encouraged the loose rabble of that place to plunder their neighbours, with a view of enriching himself with their spoils. To him therefore chiefly the *Messenians* had recourse, demanding reparation for the damages they had suffered, and begging he would not give countenance to the disturbers of the public tranquillity.

P POLYB. l. ii.*q* POLYB. l. iv.

Dorimachus told their deputies, that he would come himself to *Messene*, and there hear their complaints, and see all their grievances redressed. He went to *Messene* accordingly; but, application being made to him by the chief sufferers, he dismissed them with very reproachful language, and menaces; nay, while he still remained in the city, a band of *Ætolian* robbers from *Phigalia* attacked in the night a certain country-house called *Chiron*, killed all those who made resistance, bound the rest, and carried them off, together with cattle and furniture. Hereupon the *Messenians*, having cited *Dorimachus* to appear before their assembly, arrested him on his entering the council, and kept him in prison till he promised, in the most solemn manner, that reparation should be made for all the injuries they had suffered, and the authors of the late slaughter put into their hands. But he was no sooner returned to his own country, than he prevailed upon the *Ætoli-ans* to revenge the treatment he had met with at *Messene*, by declaring war against the *Messenians*; which being proclaimed, the *Ætolian* pirates began to infest the neighbouring seas, taking all the ships they met with. They even made prize of a ship belonging to the king of *Macedon*, and, carrying her to *Cythera*, sold there both the ship and her company. In short, they plundered all the coast of *Epirus*; made an attempt on *Thyrea*, a city of *Acarmania*; and, conveying some troops privately into *Peloponnesus*, surprised and kept possession of a strong hold called *Clarium*, in the *Megalopolitan* territory, making use of it to lodge and secure their plunder. And now, having a place of retreat in the very heart of *Peloponnesus*, they began their march to *Messene*, plundering the cities of *Patrae* and *Pharæ*, which were of the *Achaean* alliance; and laying waste all the countries through which they passed, till they came to *Phigalia*, which they chose for their place of arms, making from thence frequent inroads on the lands of the *Messenians*.

The Achæ-
ans re-
solve to
assist the
Messen-
ians
against
the Æto-
lians.

THE *Achæans*, in the mean time, assembling, according to custom, at *Ægium*, the complaints of the *Patraeans* and *Pharæans* were heard, and the deputies of the *Messenians* sent to implore the assistance of the *Achæans* against the common enemy. After the assembly had deliberated on these matters, it was agreed, that the state had been affronted by this insolent proceeding of the *Ætoli-ans*, who had presumed to enter *Achaia* in an hostile manner, contrary to the treaty of peace: whereupon, justly provoked at these infractions, they resolved to send succours to the *Messenians*; and that, as soon as the prætor should have raised them, they would then proceed fur-

* POLYB. l. iv.

ther

ther to execute what should be thought expedient by the assembly. *Timoxenus*, who was the prætor of the *Achæans*, was not at all pleased with the decree of the assembly; for, his authority not being yet expired, he had no mind to head the army, which duty was annexed to his office, as having a very mean opinion of the *Achæan* soldiery. But *Aratus*, provoked at the indignities they had suffered by the audacious *Ætolians*, lost no time in putting the *Achæans* under arms, being determined to come speedily to a battle with the enemy. Five days before he entered on his charge, he dispatched orders to all the towns and cities, appointing them a day when all their young men, fit for the service, should assemble at *Megalopolis*. All the *Achæan* youth being drawn together, pursuant to his orders, at the place of rendezvous, he sent a messenger to the *Ætolians*, requiring them to depart the territories of *Messene*, and not to march into *Achaia*, on peril of being treated as enemies. The *Ætolians*, not being at that time in a condition to make head against the army of the *Achæans*, complied with his demand: whereupon *Aratus* dismissed the *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians*, who had joined him, marching only with three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, to observe the motions of the enemy, and prevent them from plundering the country. As he drew near them, he observed, that they were marching off with an immense booty; which so provoked him, that he could not forbear attacking them under all the disadvantages imaginable. The dispute was long and obstinate; but at last the *Achæans*, having the disadvantage of the ground, and being overpowered with numbers, were obliged to retire. The *Ætolians* pursued them close with great shouts and acclamations, and made such a slaughter of the fugitives, that they must have all been cut off, had they not had at hand the safe retreats of *Orchomenos* and *Caphya*. The *Megalopolitans*, who had drawn all their forces together, in order to join *Aratus*, arrived the day after the battle, and proved of no other use, than to bury those, whom they hoped to have relieved. And now the *Ætolians*, having gained a complete victory, contrary to their expectation, marched, without fear or danger, quite cross the *Peloponnesus*, made an unsuccessful attempt on *Pellene*, plundered the territories of *Sicyon*, and encamped on the isthmus.

Battle of
Caphya
lost by
Aratus.

Year of
the flood
2127.

Bef. Chr.
221.

IN the mean time, the *Achæans* having called their general *Aratus* assembly, complaints were made against *Aratus* by all the allies, as the cause of the loss and dishonour which they had sustained. And indeed there was no dispute, but *Aratus* had greatly erred in having, we may say, usurped the magistracy, by taking it upon him before he was regularly elected into his charge; and he could not deny, but what he had undertaken thereupon had succeeded

accused be-
fore the
assembly
of the
Achæans.

succeeded very ill. However, he endeavoured to prove, that the loss of the battle was not his fault; adding, that, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he asked pardon; and hoped, that, in regard of his past services, they would not censure him with more rigour than humanity. His submission, on this occasion, changed the minds of the whole assembly, and the people began to vent their rage upon his accusers; who, privately withdrawing, left *Aratus* in greater esteem among all ranks of people, than he had ever been to that time: the assembly gave themselves intirely up to his counsel and conduct, and reinstated him in the command of the allied army. However, the remembrance of his defeat had thrown a great damp on his courage; so that he behaved as a prudent civil magistrate, rather than as an able warrior: and, though the *Ætolians* often gave him opportunities to distress them, he made no advantage of them; but suffered their parties to lay waste almost the whole country* (D).

The Achæ-
ans recur
to Philip
of Mace-
don;

who rea-
dily joins
them.

THE *Achæans* were therefore forced to address *Macedonia* again, and call in *Philip*, in hopes, that the affection he bore to *Aratus*, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to send them speedy succours; for *Antigonus*, on his death-bed, had, above all things, intreated *Philip* to join with *Aratus*, and follow his counsel in all things relating to *Greece*. He had also sent him, when very young, into *Peloponnesus*, to learn the art of government under the eye of so great a statesman. *Philip*, having given audience to the *Achæan* deputies, and understood, by their speech, the injuries they had suffered from the *Ætolians*, contrary to the articles of peace agreed on in the reign of *Antigonus*, promised to assist them with the whole strength of his kingdom; and accordingly, soon after, set out for *Greece*, and arrived at *Corinth*. Upon his arrival, the ambassadors of the confederates, who were already met at *Corinth*, began to concert with him what mea-

* POLYB. ubi supra. PLUT. in Arat.

(D) *Aratus* was accused in the assembly, first, of having taken the command upon him before he was duly elected: secondly, he was blamed for having dismissed the *Achæan* troops, while the *Ætolians* were still in the heart of *Peloponnesus*, notwithstanding he had before been well assured that they did all they could to engage *Peloponnesus* in a war. The third article against him was, his venturing to join battle with so few troops, when he might have made, with great ease, a safe retreat to the neighbouring towns, and there reinforced his army. The last and heaviest charge against him was, that after he had resolved to give the enemy battle, he did not make one soldier-like step in the whole conduct of the action.

fures they should take with relation to the *Ætolians*. Complaints were made to the king by almost every city in *Peloponnesus* against them, and war unanimously declared both by the king, and the confederates. It was moreover enacted by the assembly, with the concurrence and approbation of *Philip*, that all those, who had been sufferers by the *Ætolians* since the death of *Demetrius*, father to *Philip*, should be received into the confederacy; and that, if any city or state had been awed into an alliance with the *Ætolians*, and paid them tribute, they should be forthwith set at liberty, the security of their respective governments committed to their own hands, and all garisons withdrawn. This decree was sent to all the confederate towns, to the end that, it being every-where received and ratified by the suffrages of the people, they might jointly, in their different states, proclaim war against the common enemy: which was done accordingly, and the war from thence called the *confederate war* ¹.

THE *Ætolians*, on the other side, prepared for war, and chose for their prætor one *Scopas*, who had been the chief author of all the violences they had committed. *Philip*, having concerted with the *Achæans* the operations of the ensuing campaign, marched his army back into *Macedon*, where he employed all the winter in making the requisite military preparations. He won over *Scerdilaidas* to the *Achæan* league. He was a petty king of *Illyria*, and had engaged in an alliance with the *Ætolians*; but was, at that time, highly incensed against them, for refusing to give him, according to the articles agreed upon between them, share of the spoils which had been got at the taking of *Cynætha*. This breach of articles so disgusted him, that he was easily prevailed upon by *Philip* to enter into the common alliance, and furnish a fleet of thirty ships, on the terms of being paid yearly the sum of twenty talents ^u. The *Achæans* likewise sent to invite all their allies to join them in the confederacy. The *Acarnanians*, without any hesitation, declared war against the *Ætolians*, though they were most exposed to the enemy's insults, as lying nearest the *Ætolian* territories, and no-ways in a condition to defend themselves. Our author bestows the highest encomiums on this people, telling us, that there is no nation among the *Greeks*, with which friendship may be more safely contracted, there being none that profess more regard to public or private faith, or will venture further for the love of liberty; that, both in public and private treaties, they prefer honour to all other considerations; and that, however weak, they have often, in de-

War de-
clared
against the
Ætolians.

Several
states join
in an al-
liance
against
them.

¹ POLYB. *ibid.* p. 294, 299.

^u Idem *ibid.* p. 305, 306.

fence of their reputation, engaged in the greatest dangers w. The *Epirots* refused to declare war, till *Philip* should first proclaim it. The *Messenians*, for whose sake the war was undertaken, declared, that they would not engage in it, unless *Phigalia*, which commanded their frontiers, were first drawn off from the *Ætolian* league. The *Lacedæmonians* had declared at first for the *Achæans*; but, the contrary faction prevailing, they joined the *Ætoliens*. Thus all things falling out to the wish of the *Ætoliens*, they entered on the war with great hopes of success; while the *Achæans* had but a melancholy prospect of their affairs: for *Philip*, on whom chiefly they relied, was yet but forming his army; the *Epirots* were slow in their preparations; and the *Messenians* continued neuter; while the *Ætoliens*, assisted by the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*, attacked them on all sides ^x, and gained very considerable advantages. Embassadors were therefore dispatched to *Philip*; who, hearing the danger his allies were in, marched out to their relief, with fifteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horse; and, crossing *Thessaly*, arrived in *Epirus*. Here he was prevailed upon by the *Epirots* to lay siege to *Ambracia*, which took him up forty days, and gave the enemy time to prepare against his coming; whereas, if he had led his army directly into *Ætolia*, he would, in all likelihood, have at once put an end to the war. While *Philip* was employed at *Ambracia*, *Scopas*, at the head of a very numerous body of *Ætoliens*, took his march through *Thessaly*, and, entering *Macedonia*, ravaged the country, without the least opposition, returning home in a short time, with an immense booty. However, this did not hinder *Philip* from pursuing the siege of *Ambracia*, and, after the surrender of that city, entering *Ætolia*, and seizing on a great many important places. He would have soon reduced all *Ætolia*, had he not been obliged to repair to the relief of his own country, which the *Dardaniens* were upon the point of invading. At his departure, he assured the embassadors of the *Achæans*, that, as soon as he should be able to compose his affairs at home, he would return into *Greece*, and assist them to the utmost of his power. His unexpected arrival so terrified the *Dardaniens*, that they dismissed their army, after they had got near the frontiers of *Macedonia*, and retired home: whereupon *Philip*, returning to *Thessaly*, spent there the remaining part of the summer in the city of *Larissa* ^y.

Philip
marches to
the assist-
ance of the
Achæans,
and lays
siege to
Ambracia;

which he
reduces.

IN the mean time *Dorimachus*, whom the *Ætoliens* had just before appointed their prætor, drawing together their troops, led them into the *Upper Epirus*, laying waste the whole

^w POLYB. p. 330.

^x Idem ibid. p. 334.

^y Idem ibid.

country,

country, not so much in prospect of profit to himself, as out of malice to the *Epirots*. He did not even spare the temple of *The Æto-*
Dodona, but laid it in ashes, carrying home all the ornaments *lians take*
and rich furniture of that stately edifice. *Philip*, having notice *and plun-*
of these ravages, though it was now the depth of winter, left *der the*
Larissa; and, taking with him three thousand *Chalcaspides*, so *temple of*
called from their carrying brasen shields, two thousand buckler- *Dodona.*
men, three hundred *Candiots*, and about four hundred horse,
marched through *Theffaly* and *Eubæa* to *Corinth*, where he
arrived, without any one's having the least notice of his march.
On his arrival he sent for *Aratus*, and dispatched letters to his
son, who bore the same name, and was that year prætor, and
commander in chief of the *Achæan* forces, requiring him to as-
semble the troops as soon as possible, and appoint a place of
rendezvous. *Caphya* was the place agreed on, whither while
Philip was marching, he met with a detachment of two thou-
sand *Eleans*, who, under the command of *Euripidas*, were
advancing to plunder the territory of *Sicyon*; and, having at-
tacked them unexpectedly (for they were quite ignorant of
Philip's return), he took about twelve hundred of them, and
cut the rest in pieces. Three days after, he arrived at *Caphya*,
where he halted two days to refresh his troops; and then, to-
gether with *Aratus* the younger, who had there drawn together
ten thousand *Achæans*, he advanced to *Psophis*, with a design *Psophis*
to besiege it. This was a bold attempt; for the city was ac- *taken by*
counted impregnable, both on account of its natural situation, *the conse-*
and the many fortifications which had been added to it (E); *derates,*
and, besides, was furnished with a strong garison, commanded
by *Euripidas*, who had escaped from the late defeat. *Philip*
encamped on an eminence, at a small distance from the town;
and, after viewing the fortifications and situation of the place,
was a long time doubtful whether he should attempt it, or
not; but, at length, reflecting on the great importance of such
a fortress, he resolved, at all adventures, to begin the siege.
Having therefore ordered his troops to refresh themselves, and
be in a readiness under their arms by break of day, he com-
manded them to march down, and pass the bridge over the

(E) *Psophis* was the most an-
cient city of *Arcadia*, situated
in the very heart of *Peloponnesus*,
and on the west borders of *Ar-*
cadia towards the frontiers of
Achaia. It was surrounded on
the west side by a rapid stream,
which, during the winter, was
no-where fordable; on the east
by the *Erymanthus*, a great and

violent river; on the south by a
torrent, which emptied itself into
the *Erymanthus*; on the north it
was defended by an eminence
very strong by nature, and great-
ly improved by art, which served
for a citadel; and, besides, the
walls and works about the town
were very considerable both for
their height and thickness.

Erymanthus; which they did, without opposition, the garison not suspecting they would venture on such a dangerous enterprize. Having crossed the river, they approached the town, and lodged themselves at the very foot of the wall. This struck *Euripidas*, and the garison, with great terror; for they never imagined, that the enemy would be so bold as to make an essay of their strength against a place so well fortified and provided, or to undertake a long siege, by reason of the winter, and bad weather. What they chiefly apprehended was, that *Philip* might become master of the place, by intelligence. But when these fears were over, there being none in the town so much as inclined to the king's party, they betook themselves to the defence of the works, the greatest part of the *Ætolians* mounting the walls, while the *Elean* mercenaries made a sally by a gate, in the upper part of the town, in hopes of surprising the enemy on that side. In the mean time, the king, having appointed three several attacks to be made, ordered ladders to be raised, by men destined for that particular service, against each place, with a strong guard of *Macedonians* to support them; then, commanding the signal to be given, they advanced to the assault, on all quarters of the town. The garison for some time made a brave resistance, overturning many of their ladders; but their darts beginning to fail them, and the *Macedonians* bravely maintaining the attack, notwithstanding the opposition they met with, they deserted, at length, their posts, and betook themselves, by flight, to the citadel, leaving the *Macedonians* possessed of the walls. At the same time, the *Candiots*, who had engaged the party that had made the sally, beat them back, and, in the pursuit, entered confusedly with them into the town; so that it was taken in all quarters at once. The inhabitants, with their wives and children, took sanctuary in the citadel, as did *Euripidas*, and such as had time to provide for their safety^z. *Euripidas*, foreseeing what must inevitably befall him, capitulated with *Philip*, and yielded up the citadel, after having obtained indemnity for all that were retired thither, both townsmen and strangers. The king being obliged, by the bad weather, to take up his abode here for some days, he assembled all the *Achæans* that were with him; and, after shewing them of what importance the city of *Psophis* was to them, in the war they had on their hands, generously gave it up to their deputies, assuring them, at the same time, that he would let no occasion pass of shewing them the strongest proofs of his affection to their nation, and zeal for their interest.

Philip
gives up
the town
to the
Achæans,

^z POLYB. *ibid.* p. 336.

FROM *Pfophis* the king led his army to *Lasion*, which he and several found abandoned both by the *Elean* garison and the inhabitants. This town likewise he delivered up to the *Achæans*, as places that he did the city of *Stratus* to the *Telphussians*, whom the *Eleans* had driven out. From *Stratus* he continued his march to *Olympia*, where, after he had allowed his troops three days rest, he entered the territories of the *Eleans*, sending detachments abroad, to plunder and lay waste the country, while he encamped, with the main body of the army, in the neighbourhood of *Artemisium*. This territory had been formerly accounted sacred, in regard of the *Olympic* games, which were solemnized there every fourth year; and all the nations of *Greece* had agreed never to turn their arms against it; but the *Eleans* had forfeited this privilege, by engaging in the wars of *Greece*, and adhering to one party against another. As the territory of the *Eleans* was the best peopled, and the most fruitful, of all *Peloponnesus*, and the inhabitants so fond of a country life, that they could never be prevailed upon to inhabit their towns, the allied army found here so great a booty, that they could scarce carry it off, the soldiers being overloaded with the rich moveables of their country-houses, besides the many prisoners, and numerous herds of cattle, which greatly embarrassed them in their march. *Philip* therefore found it necessary to retire out of the *Elean* territory, and re-encamp at *Olympia*, taking, on his march, the fortrefs of *Tbaleme*, whither many of the *Eleans* had conveyed their most valuable effects ^a.

WHILE *Philip* was thus employing his arms in defence of the *Achæan* liberties, one of his courtiers formed a project of reducing them to a state of slavery. Among the many tutors and governors left by *Antigonus* to king *Philip*, who came a child to the crown, *Apelles* held the chief rank, and had preserved a powerful influence over the young prince. This minister took it into his head to reduce the *Achæans* to the same condition in which the *Thessalians* were at that time; that is, to subject them to the caprice of the ministers of *Macedon*, leaving them only the bare name of liberty, which was the case of the *Thessalians*. To compass this design, his first essay was on the patience of the *Achæan* soldiery, whom the *Macedonians*, by his orders, often dislodged, taking possession of their quarters, when they found them better provided than themselves, and depriving them of their plunder. When they complained of this hard usage, he caused them to be put under arrest, and severely punished by the common executioner, imagining that, by this sort of usage, he should be able, by

^a POLYB. *ibid.*

Philip's
good qua-
lities.

degrees, to bring the *Achæans* to bear any burden the king should think fit to lay upon them. But *Aratus* complaining to the king of this injurious treatment, and imparting to him the project of *Apelles*, that prince assured him, that care should be taken for the future, to prevent any such injuries; and accordingly he ordered *Apelles* never to lay any commands on the *Achæans*, without the concurrence of their prætor, or chief officer. The *Achæans*, overjoyed at the favour the king shewed them, and the orders he had given for their peace and security, were ever bestowing the highest encomiums on his equity, and other exalted qualities. And, indeed, if our author is to be credited, he was possessed of all those virtues which can endear a king to his people, such as a lively genius, an uncommon understanding, an happy memory, an agreeable utterance, an unaffected grace in all his actions, and a beautiful aspect, heightened by a majestic air, which bespoke the greatness of his mind; but his brightest virtues were the sweetness of his temper, his affability, and a great desire to please and content all who lived under his government ^b. How he forfeited this great character our author gives him, and from a glorious king became an inhuman tyrant, we refer to a more proper place.

He reduces the city of Aliphera. THE king, having thus settled matters between the *Macedonians* and *Achæans*, decamped from *Olympia*; and, having caused a bridge to be laid over the *Alpheus*, entered the territory of the *Triphalians* (F), reduced the city of *Aliphera* (G), and in a few days brought all that country under subjection. The rapidity of his conquests struck such terror into all the

^b POLYB. ubi supra, p. 338, 339.

(F) This country, which took its name from an *Arcadian* youth, lies on the sea-coast of *Peloponnesus* between the *Eleans* and *Messenians*, on the north-west skirts of *Achaia*. Its towns were *Sancticum*, *Lepreum*, *Hypana*, *Typanæa*, *Pyrgus*, *Æpyium*, *Bolax*, *Styllagium*, and *Phryxa*. All these places the *Eleans* had reduced to their obedience, together with *Alipharæa* a town of *Arcadia*, and *Megalopolis* itself, a city at that time of great note (3).

(G) *Aliphera* was seated on the top of an high and steep hill, which was defended by a strong fortress. In this fortress was to be seen a brazen statue of *Minerva*, famous for its size, and the excellence of the workmanship. The inhabitants themselves, as our author tells us, could give no clear account why it was placed there, nor at whose charges. It was the work of *Hecabodorus* and *Sostratus*, and generally esteemed the most beautiful and finished piece they ever performed (4).

(3) Polyb. l. ii. p. 339, 343.

(4) Idem ibid. p. 343.

neighbouring states, that most of them voluntarily submitted, and the rest, after a faint resistance, were forced to receive the yoke. Having thus greatly weakened the *Ætolian* confederacy, he returned, loaded with spoils and glory, to *Argos*, where he passed the remainder of the winter c.

APELLES had not yet so given over his project, as to be without hopes of bringing, by degrees, the *Achæans* to a servile subjection; but he well knew, that both the *Aratus's*, father and son, withstood his design; and that the king held them in great esteem, especially the father, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. He therefore resolved to attack them both, and by fraud and address put them, if possible, in disgrace with the king. With this view, he sent for all those who were of the opposite faction among the *Achæans*, and enemies to *Aratus*; and, having instructed himself in their several interests and characters, he employed all his arts to engage them in his friendship, acting in their favour with the king, whom he endeavoured to persuade, that, if he continued to treat *Aratus* with so much deference, he could never hope to gain any thing on the *Achæans*, further than was stipulated by the articles of confederacy; but, if he would be pleased to countenance those he should recommend, he might soon compass whatever he desired, and dispose of all matters in *Peloponnesus*, at his pleasure. The new friends enforced these reflections, and improved on the arguments of *Apelles*. As the time of electing a new prætor was drawing near, he prevailed with the king to be present at the *Achæan* assembly, and to employ all his interest in favour of one *Eperatus*, a declared enemy to *Aratus*, who was accordingly elected, in preference to *Timozenus*, whom *Aratus* had set up. Thus *Philip*, notwithstanding his excellent parts, became the tool of his prime minister. And now *Apelles* began to think, that he had advanced far in his enterprize, having obtained an *Achæan* prætor of his faction: he therefore renewed his attempts, being determined totally to destroy the interest of *Aratus* with the king. An incident which happened at that time armed him with new calumnies. *Amphidamus*, chief of the *Eleans*, who had been taken prisoner, persuaded the king, that it would be no difficult matter to procure him the friendship of his countrymen; and that he could easily make them covet his alliance. Hereupon the king discharged him without ransom, empowering him to assure the *Eleans*, that, on condition of their entering into an alliance with him, he would suffer them to live in the intire enjoyment of all their privileges, and exempt them both from garisons and tribute: but the *Eleans* would not listen to any conditions,

c POLYB. p. 343.

Aratus
found in-
nocent,
and re-
stored to
the king's
favour.

how advantageous soever, declaring, that no consideration should be capable of inducing them to abandon their antient allies. This so unreasonable a refusal *Apelles* ascribed to the ill services done clandestinely by *Aratus*, telling the king, that he had kept *Amphidamus* from enforcing, as he had engaged to do, his offers to the inhabitants of *Elis*; and that, on *Amphidamus*'s departure from *Olympia* towards *Elis*, he had conferred with him, and made him change his mind, being by him persuaded, that it would be noways for the interest of *Peloponnesus*, that *Philip* should acquire any power over the *Eleans*. The king immediately sent for *Aratus*, and insisted upon *Apelles*'s charging him to his face with what he had brought against him in private. This *Apelles* did not scruple to do, and that with such an air of assurance as might have disconcerted innocence itself. He even added, that since the king had discovered his insincerity, by which he had rendered himself so unworthy of his kindness and good offices, the whole matter should be referred to the general assembly of the *Achæans*, and the king, in the mean time, return with his army into *Macedon*. This was what he wanted, not doubting but he should get him condemned there, by the powerful influence of his authority. *Aratus* besought the king not to give credit over-hastily to what he heard, shewing, that it was a piece of justice owing by a king more than by any other man, to a person accused, to command that a strict inquiry be made into the several articles of impeachment, and till then suspend his judgment. In consequence of this, he required, that *Apelles* should be obliged to produce those who were witnesses to the conference whereof he had been accused, and likewise the person who had given *Apelles* the information; and that, in short, nothing ought to be omitted whereby the king might arrive at the certain truth of the matter, before he discovered any thing to the assembly. The king thought *Aratus*'s request very just and reasonable, and engaged his royal word, that he should be gratified in it. Not long after, *Amphidamus*, being suspected by the *Eleans* to favour the king's party, was obliged to fly his country, and retire to *Dymas*, whither the king was come to settle some affairs. *Aratus* laid hold of this opportunity, and begged the king, that he himself would examine *Amphidamus*, since the secret was said to have been imparted to him. He complied with his request; and, upon a strict examination, found that there was not the least ground for the charge. Accordingly *Aratus* was pronounced innocent, and restored to the king's favour and confidence ^d.

^d POLYB. *ibid.* p. 344, 349.

As *Philip* began to want both money and provisions for his *Supplies* army, he prevailed upon the *Achaean* magistrates, by means of *decreed to Aratus*, to convene a general assembly at *Sicyon*; where, on *Philip by* the report he made of the state of his exchequer, and of the urgent want he was in of money to maintain his forces, it was *the Achæ-ans.* decreed, that the instant his troops should set out on their march, fifty talents should be advanced to the king, with ten thousand measures of wheat; and that afterwards, so long as he should carry on the war in person in *Peloponnesus*, he should receive fifteen talents a month. This renewed his esteem for *Aratus*, to whom he was indebted for so large a supply, as he himself acknowledged, in a private conference which he had both with the father and the son, after the council was dismissed. On this occasion he imputed all that had passed to the artifices of *Apelles*, begging them to forget their wrongs, and continue to him their affection in the same degree as heretofore, since he considered them now more than ever^c.

AND now the armies beginning to move from their winter-quarters, it was resolved to prosecute the war likewise by sea, in order to divide the enemies forces, and be able to carry their arms with more ease whithersoever they should judge it most expedient; for they had to do, at once, with the *Ætolians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Eleans*. Pursuant to this resolution, the king ordered the fleet, both his own and the *Achaean* ships, to rendezvous at the port of *Lechæum*, where he commanded the *Macedonian* phalanx to be instructed in the use of the oar.

WHILE *Philip* was thus employed in training up his *Ma-Treason-cedonians* for naval expeditions, *Apelles*, who could not brook *able prac-* the diminution of his credit with the king, nor suffer that the *tices of* counsels of *Aratus* should be followed, and not his, took secret *Apelles.* measures to defeat all the king's designs. He agreed with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*, two chief officers who were to act in the army, that they should secretly thwart and obstruct all his measures, while he, making his abode at *Chalcis*, should take care to shorten and retard his supplies; so that he should be obliged, for want of money and provisions, to pass the whole summer in a state of inactivity. His view was to make himself necessary to his sovereign, and to force him, by the ill posture of his affairs, to throw himself into his arms. With this prospect he acted his own part so well, that, by stopping the convoys of money and provisions that were sending to the king, he reduced him to such difficulties, that he was obliged to pawn all his plate to supply his wants.

PHILIP, thinking his *Macedonians* now sufficiently instructed in the use of the oar, embarked with six thousand of them,

^c POLYB. l. v. p. 350.

Paleis be-
sieged.

Treachery
of Leon-
tius.

and twelve hundred mercenaries, steering his course towards *Patræ*, where he arrived the next day. From *Patræ* he dispatched messengers to the *Epirots*, *Messenians*, *Acar-nanians*, and *Scardilaidas*, requiring them to hasten with their ships, and join him at *Cephalenia*. He then left *Patræ*, and came to *Paleis*, a strong city in the island of *Cephalenia*. Here finding plenty of corn on the ground to maintain his army, he disembarked, and sat down before the place, drawing his vessels ashore, and securing them with a good ditch and palisado. He had appointed the confederates to meet him at this place, and was mighty desirous to become master of it before their arrival. It was of great use to the *Ætolians*, who from thence made all their descents on *Peloponnesus*, and plundered the coasts of *Epirus* and *Acar-nania*. *Philip* therefore, having viewed the situation of the town, caused the military engines to be planted before it, ordering his *Macedonians* to undermine the walls: they went chearfully to work; and, in a short time, undermined great part of the wall, propping and supporting it with great wooden stakes. The king then summoned the town to surrender; which the garison refusing to do, fire was set to the posts that sustained the walls, and a breach made six hundred fathoms wide. *Leontius* was ordered to mount the breach, and enter the town over the ruins of the wall: but he, mindful of his agreement with *Apelles*, having corrupted some of the chief officers that served under him, attacked the enemy so faintly, that he was repulsed with great loss, when he had the fairest opportunity that could be wished for of taking the town. This obliged the king to raise the siege, though he was joined by the *Epirots*, *Acar-nanians*, *Messenians*, and by fifteen vessels sent him by *Scardelaidas* ^f.

WHILE *Philip* was thus employed at the siege of *Paleis*, *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* marched, at the head of a numerous army, into the territories of *Messenia*, and *Dorimachus* the *Ætolian*, with a strong detachment, into *Thessaly*, both with the same design of obliging the king, by this double diversion, to break up the siege. Whereupon ambassadors were dispatched to him from the *Acar-nanians* and *Messenians*, the former advising him to make an inroad into *Ætolia*, and thereby oblige *Dorimachus* to return to the defence of his own country; and the latter intreating him to sail directly to *Messenia*, where he might easily surprise *Lycurgus*, who was not under any apprehension of being attacked. *Leontius* strongly seconded this advice, foreseeing, that, if the king followed it, he would be obliged to spend the whole summer there, while the *Ætolians* would be at liberty to put all to fire and sword in *Thessaly* and

^f POLYB. *ibid.* p. 350, 365.

Epirus; for during the season of the *Etesian* winds, which continued most part of the summer, it was impossible to return back, as they were not, in those days, very expert mariners. *Aratus* therefore did not fail to declare in favour of the former opinion, shewing how advantageous it would be to fall on the *Ætolians*, while their country was unfurnished with troops; and adding, that the opportunity of making descents was not to be neglected, now that *Dorimachus*, with the *Ætolian* troops, was employed elsewhere. The king, who ever since the cowardly behaviour of *Leontius* at *Paleis*, began to suspect his fidelity, followed the advice of *Aratus*; and, having wrote to *Eperatus* the *Achæan* prætor, to assemble his troops, and march to the relief of the *Messenians*, he himself weighed anchor, and arrived the next day at *Leucas*: there he landed his forces; and, having caused his vessels to be carried over the isthmus of *Dioryctus*, he passed into the gulf of *Ambracia*, which runs far up into *Ætolia*, and came before day-break to *Lemnæa*. Here he commanded the soldiers to take a short refreshment, and to be in a readiness to march, without any baggage but what was absolutely necessary. While the king was on the point of setting out from *Lemnæa*, *Aristophontes*, Philip the *Acar-nanian* general, came to join him, with all his forces; for that people, having been great sufferers by the *Ætolians*, greedily embraced so fair an opportunity of repaying them in their own coin; and, on this occasion, not only such as were obliged by their laws to bear arms, but even those who were exempted, in regard of their age or long services, took the field. The *Epirots*, incited by the like motives, were not less forward, though, by reason of the extent of their country, and the sudden arrival of king *Philip*, they had not been able to draw all their forces together. The king, being thus reinforced, departed from *Lemnæa*, in the close of the evening, leaving the baggage under a strong guard, and arrived, by day-break, at the river *Achelous*, intending to surprise the important town of *Thermæ*. *Leontius*, foreseeing that this enterprize would be attended, in all likelihood, with success, advised the king to encamp on the banks of the *Achelous*, and allow the army some rest, after so fatiguing a night's march, being willing, that the *Ætolians* should have some time to bethink themselves, and provide for their defence: but *Aratus*, being now sensible, that *Leontius* opposed all promising designs, pressed *Philip* by no means to consent to any delay, nor, upon any reason whatsoever, respite his march, the success whereof lay in dispatch. The king followed his advice, and, setting out that instant, marched directly to *Thermæ*, through a very rugged and almost impracticable road, cut between two steep rocks, and exceeding narrow. *Thermæ* was the capital of *Ætolia*,

Philip
joined by
the Acarnanians
and Epirots.

Thermæ
the metro-
polis of
Ætolia
surprised
and plun-
dered.

Ætolia, and the place where their yearly assemblies and fairs were held. As it was reckoned impregnable, by reason of its situation, and no enemy had ever before dared to approach it, the *Ætolians* had lodged in it all their most valuable effects. So great therefore was their surprize, when they saw *Philip* all on a sudden appear before it, that they had not so much presence of mind as to shut the gates, or make the least resistance. The *Macedonians* and allies were permitted to plunder the town, which abounded with all sorts of provisions, military stores, and valuable moveables. The army remained that night in the town, and the next morning, every one choosing out of the booty what was most valuable, and easy to be carried away, they made an heap of the rest, and burnt it before the camp. They likewise saved the best arms which were found in their armories, exchanging them with such of their own as were less serviceable, and burning the rest, to the number of fifteen thousand suits &c.

The temple
levelled
with the
ground.

THE *Macedonians* did not stop here; but, calling to mind what the *Ætolians* had done at *Dium* and *Dodona*, they set fire to the porticoes of the temple, and leveled that magnificent structure with the ground, throwing down, defacing, and breaking in pieces, to the number of two thousand statues of exquisite workmanship, and, at that time, greatly esteemed even in *Greece*. They respected, however, such as were known, either by their form or inscription, to represent any of the gods. The desolation was such as to strike the king himself, and those about him, with a kind of terror, though, at the same time, they believed that they had not over-acted their revenge for the sacrilegious impieties of the *Ætolians* at *Dium*.

Philip at-
tacked in
his retreat
by the Æ-
tolians;

PHILIP, having plundered the town, marched back the same way he came: the booty he placed in the van, guarded by his heavy-armed troops; the *Acarnanians* and mercenaries were posted in the rear; and the king himself, with a body of light-armed *Macedonians*, ready to face the enemy in what part soever they should appear; for he was extremely solicitous to pass the streights before the *Ætolians* could draw together a body of troops to oppose his passage: but he had scarce begun his march, when three thousand *Ætolians*, headed by *Alexander* the *Trichonian*, fell on his rear, and put them into great confusion. This *Philip* had foreseen, and accordingly placed a detachment of *Illyrians* in ambush behind a rising-ground. These, unexpectedly appearing, fell on the enemy, who had charged beyond them; and, having killed about an hundred of them, and taken as many prisoners, obliged the rest to save

who are
put to
flight.

themselves by flight among the rocks and woods. He was again attacked near *Stratus*; but, having repulsed the enemy with great courage and resolution, he arrived safe and unmolested at *Lemnæa*, where he had left his baggage and vessels. Here he sacrificed to the gods, by way of thanksgiving for the success that had attended his arms in that expedition; and, at the same time, to express his joy, gave his officers a royal entertainment. *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were present; but every one soon perceived, by their behaviour, that they looked with an evil eye on the good fortune of their master. During the whole entertainment they could not help throwing out against *Aratus* the most injurious and shocking railleries. But words were not all: at the breaking up of the banquet, being heated with wine, and fired with anger, they pursued him with stones till he got into his tent. This put the whole army in an uproar, not only the *Achæans*, but the *Macedonians* themselves, running from all quarters to his assistance. The noise soon reached the king's ears, who, after a strict inquiry into the whole affair, condemned *Megaleas* (for *Leontius* absconded) in a fine of twenty talents, and put him under arrest. The next day he sent for *Aratus*; and, after expressing his sense of the violence that had been offered him, he gave him new assurances of his protection. *Leontius*, in the mean time, being informed how the king had proceeded with *Megaleas*, came boldly, with a croud of soldiers, to the royal tent, thinking thereby, as that prince was but young, to put him into some apprehension, and awe him into another resolution touching the offenders. Being come into the king's presence, *Who has been so bold*, said he, *as to lay hands on Megaleas?* *It was I*, replied the king, in a majestic tone; *and whatever has been done is by my express command.* This resolution in the king so frightened *Leontius*, that he immediately retired from his presence. He no sooner withdrew, but the king called a council to examine into the affair, and hear what was alleged against *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and their accomplices. *Aratus* charged them with all those criminal practices we have already taken notice of; and discovered the whole conspiracy of *Apelles*. As he urged nothing against them but what was vouched by competent witnesses, they were all found guilty. The king, however, by an unseasonable clemency, pardoned them, and even set *Megaleas* at liberty, *Leontius* binding himself for the payment of the fine the king had laid on him.

DURING *Philip's* expedition into *Ætolia*, *Lycurgus* king of *Sparta* made an inroad into the territories of the *Messenians*, but did nothing worth recording. *Dorimachus* likewise, who had led a considerable body of *Ætolians* into *Thessaly*, with a

^a POLYB. ubi supra, p. 368, 376. PLUT. in Arat. p. 1049.

design to lay waste the country, and thereby oblige the king to raise the siege of *Paleis*, returned without compassing either, having found the *Thessalians* ready to give him a warm reception. He therefore kept on the mountains till he heard that the *Macedonians* had invaded *Ætolia*, when he left *Thessaly*, and hastened to the relief of his own country: but, before he arrived, the king was retired¹.

The confederates enter the country of the Lacedæmonians. IN the mean time, *Philip*, having embarked his troops at *Leucas*, and plundered the coast of *Hyanthes* in his way, arrived at *Corinth*; where landing his forces, and ordering the vessels to be carried over to *Lachæum*, he dispatched messengers to the confederate towns of *Peloponnesus*, appointing them to rendezvous their troops at *Tegæa*. He then marched from *Corinth*, and came the next day to *Tegæa*, whence he proceeded with such of the *Achæan* horse as were there ready, holding his route over the mountains, with a design to fall by surprize on the *Lacedæmonian* territories. After four days march through a desert country, he gained the top of those hills that command the city of *Sparta*; and thence advanced to *Amycla*, a town distant from *Sparta* about four miles. The *Spartans*, who had heard of the success he met with at *Thermæ*, were strangely alarmed, when they saw the young monarch appear so suddenly in their territories, and approaching the very gates of their metropolis. Several skirmishes were fought, in which *Philip* was always victorious; but we shall omit the particulars, which would swell the history to an undue length; and only say, that this expedition proved no less glorious to the king's arms than that of *Ætolia*; for he laid waste the enemy's country far and near, took and destroyed several towns, beat *Lycurgus*, who, with a body of two thousand *Lacedæmonians*, had attempted to cut off his retreat; and returned, with an immense booty, to *Corinth*. Here he found ambassadors from *Rhodes* and *Chios*, who came to offer their mediation, and incline both parties to a peace. The king, dissembling his real intention, told them, that he was willing to conclude a peace with the *Ætolians* on reasonable terms; and charged them, on their return, to dispose his enemies to it. The king, at that time, had formed a project of making a descent on the territories of the *Phocians*, and executing there an enterprize of great importance. Having therefore dismissed the ambassadors, he hastened to *Leontium*, proposing to embark his troops there.

Leontius, Megaleas, Ptolemy, and Ptole- BUT he was scarce gone, when *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and *Ptolemy*, who was also one of *Philip's* chief officers, began to employ the authority they had over the forces that remained at

¹ POLYB. *ibid* p. 372.

Corinth, to draw off their affections from their prince, and win my, raise them over to their own interest. They represented to them, a tumult chiefly to the light-armed troops, and the king's guards, that among the they, who were the first in all hazards, and secured the rest troops. of the army from all danger, were not treated according to their merit; and that, instead of being distinguished by any particular reward for their service, they had been even deprived of the booty which they had taken; notwithstanding the constant custom, in like cases, to the contrary. The soldiers, especially the youth, were so inflamed by these seditious discourses, that, assembling in parties, they plundered the houses of the king's chief favourites, and carried their insolence to that height, as to force the gates of the king's own palace. That prince, receiving timely notice of the tumult, flew to *Corinth*; and, assembling the *Macedonians*, made them sensible of their fault in a long harangue, intermixed with gentleness and severity. The tumult being appeased, some advised the king to seize on the authors of the sedition, and punish them with the utmost severity; others thought it more adviseable to gain them by gentle methods, the king being still young, and his authority not yet intirely fixed in the minds of the people. This advice he followed for the present, stifling his resentment, and pretending to be very well satisfied. He returned to *Lachæum*, after exhorting his troops to union and concord; but it was now too late to undertake any thing against the *Phocians*, who had drawn together their forces, and were prepared to receive him.

In the mean time *Leontius*, being well apprised, that the king, though he carried it fair with him as to outward appearance, would not fail, in due time, to vent his just resentment upon him, had recourse to *Apelles*, giving him notice of the danger he was in, and pressing him to leave *Chalcis*, and hasten to court. *Philip* had been informed, by *Aratus*, of the whole conduct of *Apelles*; but had kept his thoughts so close, that nobody could discover, from his behaviour, any change in him with respect to his prime minister, who continued to govern at *Chalcis* more like a sovereign prince, than a subject (H).

(H) *Apelles*, during his residence at *Chalcis*, governed all things with an arbitrary sway, as if he, and not *Philip*, had been invested with the sovereign power. Wherefore the magistrates, and such as had charge of the affairs in *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, applied to him alone,

and took his directions in all matters of importance. When any of the *Greek* towns had occasion to publish new laws or ordinances, or confer honours or preferments, there was scarce ever any mention made of the king, but of *Apelles* (5).

(5) *Polyb. l. v. p. 350, & seqq.*

Apelles
how re-
ceived by
Philip.

Leontius
arrested.

He therefore no sooner heard of the danger his client was in, but he left *Chalcis*, not doubting but he should be received at court after the usual manner, and change the king's mind at his pleasure. As he drew near to *Corinth*, *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and *Ptolemy*, who were the chief officers in the army, prevailed, by their authority, on the flower of the king's forces to meet him, and attend him, by way of guard, into the town; so that he made his entry with a pompous train, and went directly to wait on the king. But the officer, who was on duty at the gate of the royal palace, and had received orders to that effect, stopped him, and told him, that he must wait; for the king was not then at leisure. *Apelles* was thunder-struck at so unexpected a reception, and, after having waited some time in silence, retired to his lodgings, attended only by his own domestics, all the rest having already deserted him (I). *Megaleas*, seeing the prime minister, on whose protection he relied, fallen into disgrace, made his escape to *Athens*, leaving *Leontius*, who was his surety for the sum of twenty talents, to shift for himself. Hereupon the king, having sent the buckler-men, whose chief officer was *Leontius*, to *Triphalia*, under the command of *Taurion*, pretending to have some extraordinary occasion for their service, caused *Leontius* to be arrested, giving out, that it was for the payment of the twenty talents which he was bound for, but in reality to have him in his power, and to found the disposition of the soldiery. The troops which he commanded no sooner received notice of his arrest, but they sent a petition to the king, importing, that, if the commitment of *Leontius* was on any other account than that of his being surety for *Megaleas*, the king would be pleased not to determine any thing against him during their absence; and that they should interpret any sentence in his prejudice as an injury done to them, and resent it accordingly: but, in case *Leontius* was under an arrest to secure the payment of the money due on account of *Megaleas*, they would readily contribute towards satisfying the debt. But their affection shewn to *Leontius* proved unseasonable, and was taken so ill by the

(I) Behold the uncertain state of mortal greatness, says our author; in one and the same moment men are raised to the highest preferments, and sunk to the lowest ebb of fortune; and this chiefly in the courts of princes, where, like counters, their value rises and falls, according to the place they are set in; for those, who follow the court, are great and little at the pleasure of their master, who carries their fortune in his hands (6).

(6) *Idem ibid.* p. 351.

king,

king, that it became the occasion of his death sooner than was expected ^k.

DURING this interval, the embassadors returned from *Ætolia*, bringing with them proposals for a truce of thirty days. ^{A thirty days truce} They assured the king, that the *Ætoli*ans were inclined to ^{granted to} peace; and that they had appointed a day for their general ^{the Æto-} assembly to meet at *Rhium*, where they prayed the king to be ^{lians.} present, promising all the advances possible on their part towards a general pacification. *Philip* accepted of the truce, and sent his dispatches to the confederates, requiring them to send their respective deputies to *Patræ*, to negotiate a peace with the *Ætoli*ans. He himself immediately set out from *Lechæum*, in order to assist at it, and arrived the next day at *Patræ*. There letters were delivered to him, directed by *Megaleas* to the *Ætoli*ans, encouraging them to pursue the war against *Philip* and the *Achæans*, since the king was in the utmost distress for want of money and provisions. They contained likewise most reproachful and injurious reflections on the king; which shewed his hatred to him, and convinced him, that the whole faction of *Apelles* sought his destruction. He therefore ordered him immediately to be taken into custody, together with his son, and a youth his favourite, and so sent to *Corinth*. At the same time he enjoined the magistrates of *Thebes* to prosecute *Megaleas*, who had retired thither from *Athens*; but he prevented his tryal, by laying violent hands on himself. ^{Megaleas lays violent hands on himself.} Not long after, *Leontius* received sentence of death, and likewise *Apelles*, with his son and favourite. History can scarce furnish us with a more remarkable example of the ascendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of his sovereign, in order to satiate, with impunity, his avarice and ambition. ^{Leontius and Apelles put to death.} It was with the utmost difficulty that *Aratus* roused the king from his irresolution and servitude, and prevailed upon him at last to exert himself, after he had been so long deaf to the repeated complaints of his subjects, and blind to all the faults of his favourite minister ^l.

As to the *Ætoli*ans, they were sincerely disposed to peace, being grown weary of a war, in which all their projects had succeeded quite otherwise than they expected. They had flattered themselves, that they had to do with a young unexperienced prince, *Philip* not being yet arrived, as they imagined, at an age of conduct and experience; but they found him an able and enterprising leader, and well qualified both for counsel and execution. However, when they came to hear of the mutiny of the troops, and the conspiracy of *Apelles*, hoping these troubles would beget distractions at court, they postponed their

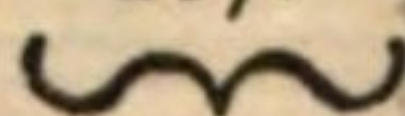
* POLYB. *ibid.* p. 373, 374.

^l Idem *ibid.* p. 376.

The confederates resolve to pursue the war.

Year of the flood

2131.
Bef. Chr.
217.



Aratus
again
chosen
prætor.

Thebes of
Phthiotis
taken by
the confederates.

meeting at *Rhium*. *Philip*, and the confederates, who had an hopeful prospect of the issue of the war, and wished for nothing more ardently than to break off all negotiations of peace, were glad of the opportunity which the enemy furnished them with, and accordingly animated each other to the prosecution of the war. As winter was drawing near, *Philip*, after engaging the allies to meet him with the forces early in the spring, weighed anchor, and returned to *Corinth*. There he gave the *Macedonians* leave to retire to their winter-quarters in their own country; while he, coasting *Attica*, went to *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, where *Ptolemy*, the only conspirator that remained, was sentenced to die, and executed accordingly.

By this time *Eperatus*, who had been chosen prætor of the *Achæans*, by the influence of *Apelles*, as we have related above, was become universally despised, as being no-ways qualified for that trust; which is commonly the case in forced elections. No one would pay obedience to his orders, and, the country being open and defenceless, great havock was made in it by *Pyrrhias*, at the head of three thousand *Eleans* and *Ætolians*. The *Achæan* troops, being in arrear of their pay, refused to obey the prætor's orders, when at any time they were commanded to march out to the relief of the country, and deserted in great numbers. All this was owing to the insufficiency of *Eperatus*; but, happily for the *Achæans*, his authority was almost expired, and, early in the summer, *Aratus* appointed to succeed him^m. The new prætor found the *Achæan* mercenaries corrupted by an universal decay of military discipline, and the cities no-ways disposed to contribute towards the carrying on of the war. In the general assembly, after having warmly exhorted their deputies to the prosecution of the war, he wrested from them a decree, empowering him to levy eight thousand mercenary foot, and five hundred horse, besides three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, which were to be raised at home. By the same decree, the *Megalopolitans* were to contribute three hundred foot, and fifty horse; and the *Argians* the like numberⁿ.

In the mean time, *Philip*, having ordered such stores and provisions as he had amassed during the winter to be brought from *Larissa*, set out on his march towards *Greece*, with a design to begin the campaign with the siege of *Thebes* called *Phthiotis* (L), whence the *Ætolians* used to make continual

^m POLYB. p. 377.

ⁿ Idem, p. 378.

(L) This city was situate near the sea, about eight-and-thirty miles distance from *Larissa*; and was on the frontiers of *Magnesia* and *Thessaly*, its territory bor-

dering on *Magnesia* towards *Demetrias*, and on *Thessaly* towards that tract which was inhabited by the *Pharsalians* and *Pheræans*.

inroads

inroads into the territories of *Demetrias*, *Pharsalia*, and even *Larissa*. Accordingly, having divided his army into three bodies, he invested the town, and, with an hundred and fifty catapults, and other engines for casting of stones, began to batter the walls night and day, without intermission. The inhabitants at first made a vigorous resistance; but, great numbers of them being killed by the many darts and stones that had been cast into the town, and the rest quite tired out by incessant attacks, which kept them continually in action, their resolution began to fail; and, the *Macedonians* advancing their mines, and now preparing to give the assault, they thought fit to surrender at discretion. *Philip* plundered the town, sold the inhabitants, and, repeopling it with a colony of *Macedonians*, changed the name of *Thebes* into that of *Philippopolis*.

NOT long after the town had surrendered, new ambassadors came to him from *Chios*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and from *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, to propose the concluding of a peace. The king replied, as he had done before, that he was inclined to put an end to the war; and that they needed but apply to the *Ætolians*, to know whether they were willing to concur with him in restoring *Greece* to its former tranquillity. *Philip* was in reality very far from being inclined to a peace; but, as he did not care to declare his true intentions, he told the ambassadors, that, in the meantime, he was determined to pursue his enterprizes.

HE afterwards set out, with his friends and favourites, for *Argos*, to be present at the *Nemeæan* games. While he was one day assisting at one of these public sports, he was interrupted by an express sent him from *Macedon*, with advice, that the *Romans* had lost a great battle in *Tuscany*, near the lake *Thrasymenus*; and that *Hannibal* was master of all the open country. This news *Philip* imparted to none but *Demetrius*, of *Pharus*, injoining him all possible secrecy. *Demetrius*, glad of this opportunity, advised him to put a period to the *Ætolian* war with what expedition he could, in order to invade *Illyricum* (M), and afterwards cross over into *Italy*. He added,

(M) *Scerdilaidas*, a petty king of *Illyria*, whom we have mentioned above, thinking himself ill treated by *Philip*, who had not yet paid him the money that was due to him according to the treaty agreed on by both parties, fitted out a squadron, with orders to take by reprisal what was due by agreement. This squadron, being admitted into the port of *Leucas* (for *Scerdilai-*

das was in alliance with the *Achaëans*) seized there some *Macedonian* vessels; and sent them, together with the *Macedonians* that were on board, into *Illyricum*. From thence they sailed to *Malta*, taking all the king's vessels they could meet with. A war with this prince, *Demetrius* thought, would prove very favourable to his present project.

S

that

that such a design would gain him the affections of the whole *Greek* nation; that the *Achæans* would join him out of the affection they bore him, and the *Ætolians* through fear, after the calamities they had suffered in the present war; that such an expedition would be his first step to universal monarchy, which none had a better claim to than himself; and that the present distress of the *Romans* offered him a favourable opportunity of executing so mighty a project. Such counsel as this could not but charm a king, who was in the flower of his youth, successful in his exploits, bold, enterprising, and of a race which had always grasped at universal empire.

Philip inclined to conclude a peace.

HOWEVER, as no man could better conceal his real intentions, a very rare quality in so young a prince, he did not shew that strong inclination for peace, which he had in reality conceived. He only dispatched letters to the confederates, exhorting them to send their deputies to the assembly, to negotiate a peace; and, in the mean time, the better to hide his inclinations, he advanced with his forces to *Losion*; and, after taking a small fortress which was built on the ruins of that place, he made as if he intended to possess himself of *Elea*. Both parties were grown so tired of the war, that his summons was received every-where with great joy; and plenipotentiaries from all parts hastened to *Naupaëtus*, which was the place appointed for the conferences. The king, to give a more expeditious issue to the affair, came at the head of his army, and, encamping within less than a league of the place, attended there the result of their conferences. The first article which the king caused to be proposed to the *Ætolians* by the ambassadors of the confederate cities was, that every one should continue in possession of his conquests; which article being agreed upon, the rest met with no difficulty; so that the treaty was soon concluded, and ratified by *Philip* and the *Achæans* on one side, and the *Ætolians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Eleans*, on the other.

The speech of Agelas of Naupaëtus at the opening of the assembly.

AT the first opening of the assembly, *Agelas* of *Naupaëtus* made a speech before the king and the confederates, which deserves a place here, since *Polybius* has thought it worthy of relating at length in his history. He told them, that the *Greeks* ought, above all things, to shun all occasions of war among themselves, and render thanks to the gods, that, becoming now of one mind, and leading each other, as it were, by the hand, like those who ford a river, they had a prospect of uniting in mutual defence of themselves and their cities against the barbarians, whose designs they had so much cause to apprehend; that, though they could not give perpetuity to the present union, it behoved them, at least in that juncture,

• POLYB. *ibid.* p. 435.

to agree as one man in the preservation of their liberties, since none could be ignorant of the great power of the Barbarians, and the mighty war they were like to have on their hands with that people; that it was evident to every one, who was ever so little skilled in politics, that the conquerors, whether *Carthaginians* or *Romans*, would not confine themselves to the empire of *Italy* or *Sicily*, but extend their conquest farther, even to *Greece* itself: wherefore he exhorted them, especially *Philip*, to keep a watchful eye on the danger that threatened them; saying, that this prince would be able to avert it, if, instead of impairing the strength of the *Greeks*, as he had hitherto done, and rendering them, by that means, an easier prey to their enemies, he would now take their affairs to heart, and act for the whole *Greek* nation, as if *Greece* were his inheritance; that, by this means, he would win the affection of the *Greeks*, who would be inviolably attached to him, and concur in all his measures; that, if his mind was bent on great enterprizes, and he thirsted after glory, he should extend his prospect towards the west, and keep an eye on the war, which had set all *Italy* in a flame; that he should watch the event of it, improve it to his advantage, and generously aspire to the dominion of the world; that, if he had any disputes with the *Greeks*, he should leave the decision of them to another season; for, if he once suffered the storm, that was gathering in the west, to reach *Greece*, it might justly be feared, that it would then no longer be in their power to make war, conclude a peace, or manage their affairs as they pleased.

THIS speech, which was a clear prediction of what happened *A peace afterwards to Greece*, inspired both the confederates and *Philip* *concluded.* with an eager desire of peace. And this is the first time that the affairs of *Italy* influenced those of *Greece*; for, after this, neither *Philip*, nor the other powers of *Greece*, regulated their conduct from the state of their respective neighbours, but kept their eyes fixed on *Italy*, as the only object of their attention. The *Asiatics*, and the inhabitants of the islands, did the same soon after, having no more recourse, in their disputes, to *Antiochus* or *Ptolemy*, to southern or eastern princes, but turning their eyes westward, and sending ambassadors, some to the *Carthaginians*, others to the *Romans*. In like manner the *Romans*, awakened by the growing power and enterprising genius of *Philip*, dispatched ambassadors into *Greece*, to obviate betimes the dangers that threatened them from that quarter, as will be seen in the sequel of this history P.

As soon as the peace was ratified, the *Achaëans* raised *Timoxenus* to the prætorship, and then returned to their antient

manner and custom of life, after having re-edified the walls of their cities, rebuilt their temples and altars, established their worship, and repaired the public and private damages, which they had sustained during the war.

Philip
changes his
conduct.

Disturb-
ances at
Messene.

BUT this happy state of tranquillity was soon disturbed by that very prince who had procured it. *Philip*, having concluded a peace with *Hannibal*, began to change his conduct; and, thinking it necessary to bring all *Greece* to an absolute subjection, before he made any attempts upon *Italy*, he began with the *Messenians*, who had been lately admitted into the *Achaean* confederacy. The city of *Messene* was at this time rent into two factions, the nobility striving to humble the people, and the people to lessen the power of the nobility. These contentions became so violent, that both factions agreed to call in *Philip*, and refer their differences to his arbitration. The ambitious prince was glad of this opportunity, and flew to *Messene*, with a design to make himself master of the city. On his arrival, he found *Aratus* employing his best endeavours to compose their differences, in a manner that no ways suited his private ends. He therefore did not think fit to advise with him; but held private conferences with such of the *Messenians* as resorted to his palace: the nobility he encouraged to curb the insolence of the unruly rabble with the utmost severity of the laws; but used a quite different stile in talking with the heads of the popular faction, telling them, that they were to blame for suffering themselves, being so many, to be oppressed by a few, as if they had no hands to defend themselves against tyrants. Thus both parties, presuming on the king's assistance, thought it adviseable to exert themselves before he was gone, since he seemed so well disposed to countenance them. Accordingly, the nobility gave orders for the apprehending of some orators, who stirred up, said they, the people to sedition. This alarmed the populace, who, falling upon the nobility, murdered, in their rage, above two hundred of them. This was what *Philip* had proposed from the very beginning, being well apprised, that, if one party were destroyed, it would be no hard task for him to get the better of the other; neither did *Aratus* the younger forbear reproaching him with it in very bitter and offensive terms; but the king, who, on such occasions, had a marvelous command of his temper, smothered his resentment; and, taking *Aratus* the elder by the hand, asked him, whether he would not attend him, up to the castle of *Ithome*, where he intended to sacrifice. This castle commanded the city of *Messene*, and kept the farther parts of *Peloponnesus* in awe, as *Acro-Corinth*, which he was already possessed of, did the hither. *Ithome* was held by some of the popular faction, who, looking upon *Philip* as their deliverer, ad-
mitted

mitted him without the least jealousy. While the sacrifice was performing, the entrails of the victim being, according to custom, put into his hands, he shewed them to *Aratus*, and, with a smile, asked him, whether they prognosticated, that, being now in possession of so important a place, he should tamely part with it, or rather keep it for his own use. *Aratus* made no reply; but *Demetrius Pharius*, though the king had not asked his advice, gave this officious answer: *If you are a soothsayer, you must quietly be gone from hence; but, if you are a king, you must not let slip so fair an opportunity, but hold the ox fast by both his horns*; alluding thereby to *Ithome* and *Acro-Corinth*, which were called the two horns of *Peloponnesus*. The king, however, would have *Aratus* by all means to give his opinion; who told him, That, if the place could be kept without breach of faith, he would do well to keep it; but if, by seizing *Ithome*, he must lose the strongest castle he had, his credit, he thought it far more adviseable to deliver it up to its owners. This advice *Philip* followed for the present, but ever after maintained a secret grudge against *Aratus*; which he perceiving, retired from court, and led a private life at *Sicyon*, where he had leisure to repent his ever calling the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*. *Philip*, having now got rid of so troublesome a censor, marched his forces into *Epirus*, where he seized on the town of *Oricum*, and laid siege to *Apollonia*, which he was soon forced to raise in a most shameful manner, his camp being surpris'd by the *Roman* prætor *Lævinus*, and he forced to make his escape half-naked. After this disappointment, he returned to *Peloponnesus*, not having yet laid aside the thoughts of subjecting the *Messenians*; but they, being now on their guard, refused to admit him into their city: whereupon, calling them his enemies, he laid waste the whole country, and retired, without being able to reduce the city, the *Achæans*, who were his confederates, refusing to lend him any help for such an enterprize; for *Messene*, as we have observed above, was at that time a member of the *Achæan* body. This backwardness of his confederates he ascribed to *Aratus*; and therefore, as he did not now scruple to commit the most heinous crimes, he resolved to sacrifice both the father and son to his resentment. He dared not employ open force and violence, in regard of their great reputation, and the respect which was universally paid to their virtue; and therefore charged *Taurion*, one of his officers, to dispatch first the elder *Philip* secretly during his absence. *Taurion* obeyed the wicked command, though not without some reluctance. He insinuated himself into *Aratus's* friendship, and often invited him to dinner; which gave him an opportunity of poisoning him with a poison which was sure, but slow in its operation.

Year of the flood 2132. Bef. Chr. 216. *tus* was not ignorant of the cause of the lingering distemper which he fell into; but, reflecting that complaints would only stir up the *Achæans* against him, and create new disturbances, he bore it patiently, as if it had been a common and natural disease: one day only, happening to spit blood before one *Cephalion*, who was his bosom-friend, and seemed somewhat surpris'd, he said, *Behold, my dear Cephalion, the effect of friendship with kings.* This brought him to his end in *Ægium*, being then in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and prætor of the *Achæans* the seventeenth time. The *Achæans* were for burying him in the place where he died; but the *Sicyonians* claimed this honour as due to the place where he was born. Accordingly, changing their grief into mirth, they went, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and clad in white robes, to bring the body of their deceased hero to *Sicyon*, dancing before it, and singing hymns and odes in commendation of his eminent virtues, and exalted qualities. He was interred, with the utmost pomp and solemnity, in the highest part of the city, which was ever after called *Aratium*. The *Achæans* decreed, that divine honours should be paid him, and appointed a priest for that purpose. *Plutarch* tells us, that, in his time, two solemn sacrifices were still offered him annually; the first on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, and this sacrifice was called *soteria*; the other on his birth-day. During this sacrifice, the young men and children walked round the altar, singing odes to the lyre in honour of their deliverer; and the senate, crowned with garlands of flowers, followed the procession. To this they are said to have been encouraged by an oracle of *Apollo* ⁹.

His character.

ARATUS was, without all doubt, one of the greatest men of his time, and may justly be stiled one of the founders of the *Achæan* republic, he having brought it to that form and splendor, by which it became one of the most powerful states of *Greece*. However, his talent lay more in contriving a war-like stratagem, in forming and projecting extraordinary enterprises, than in executing them. In his administration, he was guilty of one very great error, which was, the calling in the kings of *Macedon* to the assistance of the republic; an expedient which no well-wisher to his country could approve, and was the more dishonourable in him, as he was prompted to it out of jealousy to *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*: for that prince, after having reduced the *Achæans* to the last extremity, was willing to restore the prisoners, and all the places he had taken, on condition that they would create him prætor of *Achaia*. The *Achæans* were inclined to accept of a peace on these terms;

⁹ POLYB. l. viii. p. 518, 519. PLUT. in Arato.

but

but *Aratus*, thinking it would be very dishonourable for him, who had, for many years, borne the chief sway in the republic, to be thus supplanted by a young man, used his utmost efforts to dissuade the *Achæans* from yielding to the conditions proposed by *Cleomenes*; and, because they could no longer hold out against that warlike prince with their own strength, he had recourse to *Antigonus* king of *Macedon*, put him in possession of *Acro-Corinth*, and thereby enabled him, and his successors, to manage the affairs of *Greece* at their pleasure^r. But for this he atoned both with his own death, and with that of his son, which was more deplorable; for *Philip*, growing completely wicked, as *Plutarch* expresses it, commanded a kind of poison to be given him, which deprived him of his understanding, and prompted him to commit such abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal ignominy on his name, had they been done deliberately, and while he was in his senses; insomuch that, though he was then in the flower of his age, his death was looked upon not as a misfortune, but as the greatest blessing that could befall himself, and his family^s.

THESE inhuman and tyrannical proceedings of *Philip* highly incensed the *Achæans* against him, as he afterwards found by experience, when they were more at liberty to act as they pleased. At present they were not in a condition to support themselves without him, the *Ætolians*, their irreconcilable enemies, having entered into an alliance with the *Romans* against the king, and his confederates. The main article of this new alliance was, that the conquests should belong to the allies; but the booty and slaves to the *Romans*. Their calling in thus the Barbarians (for so the *Greeks* styled all nations, except their own) provoked them more against the *Ætolians*, than all the mischief *Philip* had done them: wherefore they resolved, in their general assembly, to join the king against the *Ætolians*, and their confederates. Thus a new war was kindled in *Greece* between *Philip* and the *Achæans* on one side, and the *Romans*, *Ætolians*, *Lacedæmonians*, *Eleans*, king *Attalus*, and *Scerdilaidas*, on the other. The *Ætolians* immediately began hostilities, invading and laying waste the *Achæan* territories: whereupon the *Achæans* dispatched deputies to *Philip*, who was then in *Thrace*, imploring his assistance. *Philip* readily complied with their request; but the *Ætolians*, being joined by some *Romans*, and the forces which *Attalus* had brought with him out of *Asia*, marched out to meet him, before his conjunction with the *Achæans*. Both armies met near *Lamia*, a city of *Thessaly*. The *Ætolians* were commanded by *Pyrrhus*, who had been that year appointed their general, in conjunction with

New troubles in Greece.

Year of the flood 2139. Bef. Chr. 209.

^r PLUT. in Cleom. & Arat. ^s PLUT. ibid.

king *Attalus*. *Philip* proffered him battle; and he, thinking it would be disreputable in him to decline it the very first year of his command, rashly engaged, and was intirely defeated. However, to retrieve his reputation, he gathered together the scattered remains of his army, in hopes of performing some worthy action before the end of the campaign; but *Philip* attacked him the second time, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest to shut themselves up in *Lamia*. This double overthrow so disheartened the *Ætolians*, that they sent ambassadors to treat of a peace with *Philip* and the *Achæans*; for the *Romans*, after having put the *Ætolians* in motion, were retired to *Corcyra*, fully persuaded, that the king had so much business upon his hands at home, that he could not have time to think of *Italy* or *Hannibal*. *Philip* put off the negotiations of peace till the next assembly of the *Achæans*, and, in the mean time, granted the *Ætolians* a truce of thirty days. When the assembly met, the *Ætolian* ambassadors, being introduced, made such unreasonable proposals, as to take away all hopes of an accommodation: whereupon *Philip*, and the *Achæans*, being resolved to pursue the war at all events, began to make greater preparations than ever, having so many enemies to oppose at the same time. The king, leaving four thousand men with the *Achæans*, to defend their country, went to assist at the *Nemeæan* games in the city of *Argos*; and, from thence returning into *Achaia*, marched, in conjunction with *Cycliades* the *Achæan* prætor, against the city of *Elis*, which had received an *Ætolian* garison. After they had plundered the territory, they advanced, in battle-array, to the very gates of the city, hoping thereby to draw the *Ætolians* to an engagement. Accordingly they sallied out, when *Philip* was greatly surprised to find, that the garison partly consisted of *Romans*; for *Sulpitius*, having left *Naupactus* with fifteen gallies, and landed four thousand men, had entered the city the night before the engagement. The fight was very bloody, and many fell on both sides. In the heat of the action, *Damophantes*, general of the *Elean* horse, espying *Philopœmen*, who commanded that of the *Achæans*, advanced against him with great ardor and fury. The latter waited for him, without stirring from his post; and, having unhorsed him at the first encounter, fell upon the enemy's cavalry with such resolution, that they quickly betook themselves to flight: but, the *Romans* charging the *Macedonians* with great vigour, the latter began to give way; which *Philip* observing, spurred on his horse, and rushed headlong into the midst of the *Romans*, where his horse, being wounded, threw him. The *Macedonians* then returned with new vigour to the charge, each party signalizing themselves in a very extraordinary manner, the *Romans* with a view to take the king prisoner,

The Ætolians defeated.

The Romans assist the Ætolians.

Philopœmen's gallant behaviour.

soner, and the *Macedonians* to save him. The king was carried off, in spite of the utmost efforts of the *Romans*, and the *Macedonians* obliged to retire at a greater distance from the town. The next day *Philip* invested and took a stronghold of the *Eleans*, where he found a great booty, consisting of twenty thousand head of cattle, besides four thousand *Eleans*, whom he sold for slaves. This made amends for his disappointment at *Elis* ^t. But, in the mean time, news was brought him, that the *Dardanians* had made an incursion into *Macedon*: whereupon he immediately set out to defend his own country, leaving with the *Achæans* a body of two thousand five hundred men. At the same time *Sulpitius* sailed back with his fleet to *Ægina*, where he joined king *Attalus*, and passed the winter. During the king's absence, the *Achæans* gained a considerable victory over the *Ætolians* and *Eleans* near the city of *Messene*.

EARLY in the spring, *Sulpitius* and *Attalus*, quitting their winter-quarters, sailed with their fleets to *Lemnos*, and thence advanced to *Oreum*, a chief city of *Eubœa*, which was treacherously delivered up to them by *Plator* the *Macedonian* the Roman commander. *Attalus* laid siege to the city of *Opus* in *Achaia*, which *Philip* having notice of, advanced with incredible diligence to the relief of his allies, having marched upwards of sixty miles in one day. The city had surrendered a little before his arrival; but *Attalus*, the instant he heard of his approach, abandoned it, and retired with precipitation to his ships ^u.

Oreum in Eubœa
betrayed to the Romans.
 Year of the flood
 2141.
 Bef. Chr.
 207.

WHILE *Philip* was thus employed against *Attalus* and the *Romans*, *Machanidas*, who had succeeded *Lycurgus* tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, advanced, at the head of a powerful army, to the borders of *Achaia*, with a design to lay waste the country, and, by that means, oblige *Philip* to leave the enemy, and relieve his allies. He could not have chosen a more improper season for such an expedition; for *Philopœmen* had been that year appointed, for the first time, commander in chief of the *Achæan* forces. As we shall often have occasion to mention this great warrior, it will not be improper to say something here of his extraordinary parts, which rendered him worthy of all those honours that were afterwards heaped upon him by the *Achæan* republic. He was born in *Megalopolis*, a city of *Arcadia*, in *Peloponnesus*; and, from his very infancy, discovered a strong inclination to the profession of arms. He was nobly educated by *Cassander* of *Mantineia*, a man of great probity, and uncommon abilities. He was no sooner able to bear arms but he entered among the troops which the city of *Megalopolis* sent

Philopœmen appointed prætor of the Achæans. His character.

^t POLYB. l. x. p. 612, & seqq. LIV. l. xxvii. n. 29, 33. PLUT. in *Philop.* ^u LIV. *ibid.*

to make incursions into *Laconia*, and in these inroads never failed to give some remarkable instance of his prudence and valour. When there were no troops in the field, he used to employ his leisure in hunting, and such other manly exercises. Thus he spent his time, till he attained the thirtieth year of his age, when *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta* attacked *Megalopolis*. We have seen what courage and greatness of soul he displayed on that occasion. He signalized himself no less some time after in the battle of *Sellasia*, where *Antigonus* gained a complete victory over *Cleomenes*. *Antigonus*, who had been an eye-witness of his prudent and gallant behaviour, made him very advantageous offers to gain him over to his interest; but he rejected them with scorn, having an utter aversion to a court-life, which he compared to that of a slave, saying, that a courtier was but a slave of a better condition. As he could not live idle and inactive, he went over to the isle of *Crete*, which was then engaged in war, and served there as a volunteer till he acquired a complete knowledge of the military art; for the inhabitants of that island were, in those days, accounted excellent warriors, being scarce ever at peace among themselves. *Philopæmen*, having served some years among the troops of that island, returned home; and was, upon his arrival, appointed general of the horse; in which command he behaved so well, that the *Achaean* horse, heretofore of no reputation, became, in a short time, famous all over *Greece*. He was soon after appointed general of all the *Achaean* forces, when he applied himself, in good earnest, to the re-establishing of military discipline among the troops of the republic, which he found in a very poor condition, and universally despised by their neighbours. *Aratus*, indeed, was the first that raised the *Achaean* state to that pitch of power and glory to which it arrived: but the success of his enterprizes was not so much owing to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence and politics. As he depended on the friendship of foreign princes, and their powerful succours, he neglected the military discipline at home; but the instant *Philopæmen* was created prætor, or commander in chief, as he was a great captain, he roused the courage of his countrymen, in order to put them into a condition to defend themselves, without the assistance of, or dependence on, foreign princes. With this view, he made great improvements in the discipline, changing the manner of their exercise, and likewise their arms, which were both very defective. He had thus, for the space of eight months, exercised his troops every day, making them perform all the motions and evolutions, and accustoming them to manage, with dexterity, their arms, when news was brought him, that *Machanidas* was advancing, at the head of a numerous army, to invade
Achaia.

Achaia. He was glad of this opportunity to try how the troops had profited by his discipline; and accordingly, taking the field, met the enemy in the territories of *Mantineia*, where a battle was fought, of which we have spoken elsewhere ^u. *Philopæmen*, having killed *Machanidas* with his own hand, struck off his head, and carried it from rank to rank, to encourage his victorious *Achæans*, who continued the pursuit, with great slaughter, and incredible ardor, to the city of *Tegea*, which they entered together with the fugitives. The *Lacedæmonians* lost on this occasion above eight thousand men, of which four thousand were killed on the spot, and as many taken prisoners. The loss of the *Achæans* was very inconsiderable, and those that fell were mostly mercenaries ^w.

THE *Achæans*, to perpetuate the memory of this victory, which was intirely owing to the conduct of their general, cast a brazen statue, representing *Philopæmen* in the same attitude in which he killed the tyrant, and placed it in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*.

THIS victory over the *Lacedæmonians*, and the many advantages gained by *Philip* over the *Ætolians*, inclined the *Ætolian* faction to sue for a peace in good earnest. King *Attalus* was returned home, to defend his own kingdom against *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, who had invaded it: the *Romans* had so much business on their hands at home, *Asdrubal* being ready to enter *Italy*, and join his brother, that they concerned themselves very little with the affairs of *Greece*, leaving their friends there to shift for themselves: the *Ætolians* therefore, finding themselves thus deserted by their most powerful allies, concluded a peace with *Philip* and the *Achæans* upon very disadvantageous conditions. Scarce was the peace agreed on, when *P. Sempronius* the proconsul arrived, with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty-five gallies, to succour the *Ætolians*. When he heard how affairs went in *Greece*, he was very much offended at the *Ætolians*, for concluding a peace without the consent of the *Roman* senate, contrary to the express words of the treaty. However, he was easily prevailed upon to come into their measures, and, in the name of his republic, to strike up a peace with *Philip* and his allies; for, the year following, it was agreed, by the mediation of the *Epirots* and *Acarnanians*, that the *Romans* and *Philip* should be included in the treaty, and thenceforth live in amity. *Philip* caused the king of *Bithynia*, the *Achæans*, the *Bæotians*, the *Thessalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirots*, to be included in the treaty. The *Romans*, on their side, named king *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, a petty

A general
peace con-
cluded.

Year of
the flood
2144.

Bef. Chr.
204.

^u See above, p. 151, 152. ^w POLYB. l. xi. p. 629, 631. PLUT. in *Philop*.

prince of *Illyricum*, *Nabis* tyrant of *Sparta*, the people of *Elis*, the *Messenians*, and the *Athenians*. This peace was very acceptable to both parties; to *Philip*, that he might have leisure to settle the affairs of his own kingdom; to the *Romans*, that they might carry on the war against the *Carthaginians* with more vigour ^x.

THE peace, thus concluded, was not of long continuance. *Philip*, having settled his affairs at home, and finding that the fortune of the *Carthaginians*, his friends in the west, declined apace, began to study how he might enlarge his dominions in the east. Accordingly, he invaded at the same time the *Rhodians*, the *Athenians*, and king *Attalus*, contrary to the late treaty: whereupon war was declared against him by the *Romans*, and *Sulpitius* the consul appointed to carry it on. The *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians* joined *Philip*: the former he gained over to his interest by restoring to them the cities of *Orchomenos*, *Heræa*, and *Triphylia*, which he had formerly appropriated to himself. He likewise put the *Megalopolitans* in possession of the city of *Aliphera*, to which they laid claim; and, by these means, kept them for some time in his alliance ^y. The *Romans* watched all opportunities of engaging so powerful a people in their interest, and at last found a very favourable one; when the *Roman* consul *Sulpitius* arrived first in *Greece*, one *Cycliades* was prætor of the *Achæans*, a man intirely devoted to the *Macedonian* party, being supported in his tyrannical government by the protection of *Philip*. The *Achæans*, suspecting that he aimed at an absolute power, and was concerting measures with the *Macedonians* to bring their republic under subjection, as *Nabis* had lately done at *Sparta*, expelled him; and put the government into the hands of *Aristenes*, who, on all occasions, had given signal proofs of his affection to the *Romans*. This opportunity the consul laid hold of to bring *Achaia* into an alliance with *Rome*; but left the execution of the design to his brother *Quinctius*; who immediately sent a deputation to the *Achæans*, offering to put them in possession of *Corinth*, which had formerly belonged to them, if they joined with the *Romans*. This was a powerful attractive: however, as *Philip* had done them many important services, they were unwilling to disoblige him; besides, they were under no small apprehension of *Nabis* tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who had openly declared for *Philip*. At the same time they were afraid of the *Romans*, who seemed to be an over-match for the *Macedonians*. These were the dispositions of the *Achæans*, when they assembled at *Sicyon*, to hear the *Roman* ambassadors, who came attended with deputies from king *Attalus*, the *Rho-*

The Achæ-
ans join
Philip a-
gainst the
Romans.

The Achæ-
ans soli-
cited by
Quinctius
to declare
for the Ro-
mans.

^x LIV. l. xxix. n. 12.

^y Idem, l. xxxii. n. 5.

dians,

dians, and the *Athenians*, on purpose to dispel their fears, and make the strongest impressions on the minds of so wary a people. *Philip* likewise sent an ambassador to the assembly, named *Cleomedon*; whose intrigues the *Romans* had reason to fear, he being a man of great interest in *Achaia*. The ambassadors being introduced, *L. Calpurnius*, who spoke for the *Romans*, was first heard; after him the deputies from *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians*; and then *Cleomedon*. What the latter said was heard with great attention; but the *Athenians*, who spoke the last, effaced, in a great measure, the prejudices which *Cleomedon* had raised. All these different speeches divided the *Achæans* more than ever; insomuch that they broke up the session, which had lasted the whole day, without coming to any resolution.

THE next day, the assembly met again, the deputies only of the *Achæan* cities being admitted to give their opinions, and come to some final resolution. An herald, as was the custom, invited those to speak, who had a right of voting; but they all continued in a deep silence, gazing at one another, and not daring to pronounce in so perplexed an affair. At last *Aristenes*, president of the assembly, broke silence, and addressed the deputies in this manner: *What is become of that warmth and vigour with which you used to dispute at your banquets, sometimes contending for Philip against the Romans, and sometimes for the Romans against Philip? You were then decisive; and now, in an assembly summoned for no other purpose, after hearing the speeches and reasons on both sides, you are mute. If the love of your country cannot extort a word from you, will not your inclination for one or the other party loosen your tongues? especially as you know, that it will be too late to speak, after the resolution shall be once taken* ².

THESE reproaches, however reasonable and judicious, could not prevail with any of the members to give their opinion. There was an universal silence in the assembly, till *Aristenes* resumed the discourse, and, in a long harangue, represented to them the situation of their affairs, urging the necessity of their joining the *Romans*, who, he said, were in a condition to force them to the compliance, which they had condescended to request. But his discourse did not bring the *Achæans* to an agreement among themselves: the disputes grew warm, some applauding what *Aristenes* had said, and others opposing it with great violence. Even the *demiurgi*, or heads of the deputies, were not unanimous: five of the ten were for decreeing an alliance with the *Romans*; the other five protested against it, declaring, that it was against law to decree any thing in the assembly, with relation to their alliance with *Philip*. And

² LIV. l. xxxii. n. 22.

After long
debates,
the Achæ-
ans con-
clude an
alliance
with the
Romans.

Corinth
besieged by
the Ro-
mans and
Achæans.

The siege
raised.

The Mace-
donians
possess
themselves

of Corinth
Year of
the flood
2151.
Bef. Chr.
197.

indeed that prince had caused a clause to be inserted in his treaty with the *Achæans* to this effect, that the affair of his alliance should no more be canvassed in the general assembly. The assembly was to sit but one day longer; and even this short time was spent in warm disputes, the father disagreeing with the son, and the deputies of one and the same city being ready to fall upon each other. *Memnon* of *Pellene* was steady for *Philip*, and his father, whose name was *Rhiasius*, no less sanguine for *Rome*. The father conjured him a long time not to oppose the welfare of his country; but, finding that his prayers did not avail, he openly protested, that he would treat him as an enemy, and put him to death, in case he did not yield to his opinion. Such menaces, uttered by a father, made so deep an impression in the mind of *Memnon*, that he immediately came over to the party of *Rome*. At last, the majority were for the *Romans*; but, before the decree was passed, the deputies of *Dymæ* and *Megalopolis*, and some of the *Argians*, withdrew from the assembly; which no one took offence at, because they had particular obligations to *Philip*. The deputies of the other cities followed the most prudent advice, and immediately concluded an alliance with *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians*; but deferred the intire conclusion of that with the *Romans*, till the return of the ambassadors they sent to *Rome*, to obtain the ratification from the senate ^a.

BUT, in the mean time, the *Achæans* lent assistance to the *Romans* to reduce *Corinth*. The city was attacked, on the side of *Cenchrea*, by *Quinctius*; at the gate *Sicyon*, by the *Achæans*; and, on the side of the port *Lechæum*, by *Attalus*. They at first carried on the attack but very faintly, hoping that a quarrel would soon arise between the garison and the inhabitants. But *Androsthenes*, who commanded in the place for *Philip*, had gained the affection of the *Corinthians*; and, being supplied with a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men, and a great many *Roman* deserters, who expected no quarter, if the city should be taken, he obliged the besiegers to drop the enterprize ^b.

THEY were no sooner retired, than *Philocles*, one of king *Philip's* generals, marched his troops into the heart of *Achaia*, which had so lately joined the *Romans*, and drew near the city of *Argos*. He was not ignorant, that the citizens still retained an affection for the *Macedonian* party; for they had very lately given a signal proof of it. It had long been a custom among the *Argians* to invoke *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*, on the first day of their assembly, and add to the names of these gods that of the king of *Macedon*; but, after the *Achæans* had

^a LIV. l. xxxii. n. 22.

^b Idem ibid. n. 25.

entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, the herald, who pronounced the form, thought it his duty to omit *Philip's* name. This omission displeased the *Argians*, who loudly demanded, that the king's name should be joined to those of the tutelary gods of their country. *Philocles* therefore, depending on this affection for his master, advanced his troops near *Argos*; and, in the night, posted them on an eminence, which overlooked the city; but the city was defended by a strong garison, which the *Achæans* had placed there, under the command of one *Ænesidemus*, who was greatly attached to the *Roman* interest. To him therefore *Philocles* sent a messenger, summoning him to deliver up the city, which he could not defend against the *Macedonians* without, and the citizens within the walls, who were all of the same mind, and determined to shake off the *Roman* yoke. This summons did not move the brave commander, who thought himself in a condition to withstand the menaces of the *Macedonian*, though his garison consisted only of five hundred men; but he was not a little surprised, when he saw all the citizens take up arms, and, in a tumultuous manner, command him to march out of the city. *Ænesidemus* well knew it was a rash and fruitless attempt to oppose the multitude with such an handful of men; he had also compassion for the brave youth under his command: and therefore, having agreed that they should march out unmolested, continued himself in the city, with a small number of his friends and clients. *Philocles*, surprised to see the commander remain in his post after the soldiers were gone, sent to ask him, *Why he continued in the city, and what he intended to do?* To which the brave *Achæan* answered, *To die in the place committed to my care.* Whereupon *Philocles* ordered his *Thracians* to discharge their arrows at him; which they did accordingly, and he fell dead upon his buckler. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance which the *Achæans* had concluded with the *Romans*, *Philip* still possessed two of their strongest cities, *Corinth* and *Argos*.

It was of the utmost importance for *Philip* to preserve the city of *Argos*; but the difficulty was, how to continue master of a place in the heart of *Achaia*, and at so great a distance from his hereditary dominions. He therefore delivered it up to the famous *Nabis*, who had usurped the sovereignty of *Lacedæmon*, and was in a condition to defend it. The conditions upon which he delivered it were, that he should possess it as his own, if *Philip* lost his life in the war; but restore it, if he were alive at the concluding of a peace. The tyrant willingly complied with these conditions, having nothing in view but to

^c Liv. l. xxxii. c. 25.

Nabis's
tyrannical
govern-
ment.

plunder the place, and to enrich himself with the spoils of the unfortunate *Argians*; who, foreseeing what must befall them, refused to admit the *Lacedæmonians* within their walls. But *Nabis*, by the help of *Philocles*, was brought into the city in the night; and, before the inhabitants were aware, had possessed himself of all the advantageous posts, and caused the gates to be shut. Some of the chief magistrates made their escape in the tumult; and this the tyrant made use of as a pretence to begin his depredations. He confiscated the estates of those that had fled; and then, knowing that nobody was able to oppose him, set no bounds to his oppressions: he commanded the inhabitants to bring him all their gold, silver, and jewels, putting to the rack, and treating like slaves, such as he suspected to conceal any part of their riches: he assembled the magistrates, and, at their first meeting, notified to them two decrees, which he obliged them to pass. By the first, he cancelled all old debts; and, by the second, ordered a new division to be made of the lands, whereof every citizen should have an equal share. Thus he set the rich against the poor, and put the whole city in a flame ^d.

He joins
the Ro-
mans.

NABIS was sensible he could not keep *Argos* without a powerful protection; and therefore, forgetting on what conditions he held it, ambassadors were sent to *Flaminius* and *Attalus*, inviting them to an interview. The proconsul and *Attalus* accepted the invitation, without examining over-nicely into the injustice and treachery of the tyrant; and a place near *Argos* was appointed for their conferences. In the interview, *Flaminius* insisted upon two conditions; first, that *Nabis* should put an end to the war in *Achaia*; and, secondly, that he should furnish the confederates with his contingent of troops to act against *Philip*. The tyrant agreed to the second article; but would allow only a four months truce with the *Achæans*. The treaty however, was concluded; and *Nabis*, who was so infamous for his cruelty and injustice, joined in confederacy with the *Romans*; which reflected no small dishonour on their general ^e.

THE *Achæans* continued steady in the *Roman* interest during the whole course of this war; and their prætor *Nicostratus* signalized himself on the following occasion: *Philip* had left one *Androsthenes*, with a body of six thousand men, in *Corinth*, to protect that city, and its districts, from the insults of the *Achæans*, and other *Greeks* of the *Roman* faction. *Androsthenes*, thinking it beneath him to be thus confined within the narrow bounds of the *Corinthian* territory, marched out at the

^d LIV. l. xxxii. c. 28.
finem. PLUT. in Flamin.

^e Idem ibid. POLYB. l. xiii. sub

head of his little army, and over-ran great part of *Achaia*. *Nicostratus*, the *Achaean* prætor, had but two thousand men under his command; and these were too few to oppose the superior forces of the *Macedonian*, who advanced to the very walls of *Sicyon*, to insult the prætor there in garison. As *Androsthenes* was under no apprehension of being attacked by so contemptible a foe, his troops were often dispersed in small bodies, and his army scarce ever in one place. This gave *Nicostratus* hopes of being able to surprise him; and accordingly he sent orders to the garisons of the neighbouring cities to appear at a general rendezvous, on a day appointed, at a little city called *Apelaurum*, in *Argolis*. His orders were obeyed; and the prætor set out from thence at the head of five thousand seven hundred foot, and three hundred horse. The horse he detached to observe the enemy's motions, and by them received advice, that they were encamped on the river *Nemea* (N), between *Corinth* and *Sicyon*; and that the *Macedonian*, having divided his army into three bodies, had detached one into the territory of *Sicyon*, another into that of *Pellene* (O), and the third towards *Phlius* (P). Upon this advice, *Nicostratus* placed his mercenaries in a forest, through which the *Macedonians* were to pass in their return to *Corinth*, while he led the rest, in two bodies, to attack *Androsthenes* in his camp. The *Macedonians* were greatly surprised, when they saw the *Achaëans* making directly to their camp. *Androsthenes*, ordering the trumpets to give the signal for assembling the troops that were straggling about in the villages, drew up the small body he had with him on the banks of the river; but, the parties that were out not returning soon enough to join him, he was easily defeated. This advantage encouraged *Nicostratus* to fall upon the *Macedonians* that were laying waste the territory of *Sicyon*. There few of them escaped, being surrounded on all sides, before they knew that the enemy had taken the field. As for those who were ravaging the country about *Pellene* and *Phlius*, they were either murdered by the inhabitants, or cut in pieces

(N) The river *Nemea* watered part of *Peloponnesus*, and discharged itself into the gulf of *Corinth*. It is now called the *Largia*.

(O) *Pellene*, called by *Stephanus* *Pellina*, was a city of *Achaia Propria*, and bordered upon the territory of *Sicyon*. *Genistius* calls it *Cercoba*, and *Le Noir* gives it

the name of *Zaracha*. The natives now call it *Diaopton*. It is about sixty furlongs distant from the gulf of *Corinth*.

(P) This city *Livy* calls *Phlaesus* (7). We must take care not to confound it with another bearing the same name in *Argolis*. The *Phlius* here spoken of was in *Achaia*.

(7) *Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 14.*

by the mercenaries, who lay concealed in the forest. This action freed *Achaia* from all fear of the *Macedonians*, and doubled *Philip's* concern, who heard of it a few days after the great overthrow, which he received in the plain of *Cynocéphalæ* ^f.

A peace
concluded
with
Philip.

Year of
the flood
2152.
Bef. Chr.
196.

THESE repeated losses obliged *Philip* at length to accept of a peace on such conditions as *Rome* and her allies were pleased to impose. The main article relating to *Greece* was, that *Philip* should evacuate all the places he possessed in *Greece*, and withdraw his garisons before the celebration of the *Isthmian* games. Pursuant to this article, ten commissioners were sent from *Rome* to settle the affairs of *Greece*, and restore each city to the full enjoyment of its former rights and privileges. All *Greece* received the news of this peace with the greatest transports of joy. The *Ætolians* alone were discontented, and inveighed bitterly against the *Romans*; because, among the cities that were to be set at liberty, no mention was made of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, *Oreos*, *Eretria*, and *Demetrias*, which were all in the hands of the *Romans*. The *Ætolians* suspected, that *Rome* designed to appropriate them to herself; in which case, *Greece*, said they, would indeed change its masters, but not its condition. The suspicion of the *Ætolians* was not ill-grounded; for the ten commissioners, pursuant to the instruction of the senate, had omitted the names of these cities, with a design to keep them, as they were the keys of *Greece*, and thereby prevent *Antiochus* from entering that country. But the proconsul prevailed with them to extend the decree to all the cities in *Greece*, not one excepted. By this means, the *Achæans* were put into possession of *Corinth*. Nevertheless, it was resolved in the council of the ten commissioners, that the citadel of *Corinth*, and the two cities of *Demetrias* and *Chalcis*, should be held by the *Romans* as long as they were under any apprehensions of a war with *Antiochus* ^g.

The
Greeks
declared
free by the
Romans.

AND now the time of the *Isthmian* games drawing near, the expectation of what was to be transacted there, kept every body in suspense. The decree of the *Roman* commissioners was not yet divulged, and the future fate of *Greece* was the topic of all conversations. Some, but very few, hoped well; most of that numerous assembly could not be persuaded, that the *Romans* would part with the cities they had taken. The multitude were in this uncertainty, when the appointed day came for beginning the games. The proconsul *Flaminius*, attended by the ten commissioners, took his place; silence was proclaimed by sound of trumpet; and the herald advanced into

^f Liv. *ibid.* ^g Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 30, 35. POLYB. *excerp.*
legat. p. 795, 800. PLUT. in *Flamin.*

the middle of the arena, as it were to pronounce the usual form of words; but the *Greeks*, to their great surprize, heard him pronounce the following words: *The senate and people of Rome, and Quinctius Flaminius proconsul, after having overcome Philip, and quieted Macedon, declare the Corinthians, the Phocæans, the Locri, all the Eubœans in the island, the Magnesians, the Theſſalians, the Perrœbi, the Achæans, and Phthiotes, free from all kind of servitude. All these nations shall live in an independent state, and be governed only by their own laws.* In this vast assembly, all had not heard equally the voice of the herald, by reason of the noise and confusion which immediately arose. Such as were at a greater distance left their places to ask those who were nearer what they had heard. At last there was an universal outcry from all corners of the stadium, demanding that the herald should repeat the proclamation. Then the trumpet sounded again, and the herald, with a more distinct and loud voice, proclaimed liberty to all the *Greeks* without exception. He was heard with the most profound silence, and not a single word of the decree was lost. And now, being fully assured of their happiness, they expressed their satisfaction with such transports of joy as are not to be conceived or imagined (R). They all crowded round *Flaminius*, calling him the deliverer of *Greece*, and pressing to kiss his hand. The croud was so great, and they threw so many crowns and garlands upon him, that he would have run the hazard of being stifled, had not the vigour of his age, being then in his thirty-third year, and that joy which so glorious a day raised in his breast, enabled him to undergo so great a fatigue. At length the games began; but the spectators could look at nothing but the protector and restorer of their liberties, admiring the disinterestedness of the *Romans* in general, and the conduct of the proconsul in particular ^h. But, after all, *Rome* found her account in these acts of generosity; for they gained her the hearts of the *Greek* nation, and by that means increased her power without enlarging her dominions.

AFTER this, the proconsul, to complete the work, convened a general assembly at *Corinth*, and there declared, that he would evacuate *Demetrius*, *Chalcis*, and *Acro-Corinth*; which

Demetrius,
Chalcis,

^h PLUT. in *Flamin.*

(R) *Plutarch* tells us, that the people, that some crows, which air was put into such a violent agitation by the acclamations and assembly, fell down in the arena shouts of so numerous a body of (8).

(8) *Plut. in Flamin.*

T 2

he

and Acro-he did accordingly, and then began to prepare for his journey Corinth, to *Rome*. The *Greeks*, with tears in their eyes, assured him, evacuated that they should ever retain a grateful remembrance of so gracious a protector; and, to give him, before their departure, by the Romans, some pledge of their affection, they sought for all the *Romans* that were reduced to slavery on the coasts of *Greece*, and delivered them up to him. They amounted to twelve thousand in number, the greatest part of them having been taken by *Hannibal* in *Italy*, and sold to the *Greeks*. The *Achaëans* alone bore the charge of their redemption, which came to an hundred talents. With this attendance the proconsul, after having withdrawn the *Roman* forces from *Acro-Corinth*, *Demetrius*, and *Chalcis*, embarked at *Oricum* on his return to *Italy*, leaving *Greece* to enjoy the happiness which he had procured it ⁱ.

Nabis left THE only thing that reflected some dishonour on *Flaminius*, in possession and stained his reputation, was his leaving the usurper *Nabis* of Sparta. in possession of *Lacedæmon*, without ever once mentioning in the treaty of peace the unhappy *Agessipolis*, who was the lawful heir, and had fought, during the war, under the *Roman* standards (R).

ⁱ Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 4. PLUT. in Flamin.

(R) *Plutarch* accounts for this disposition of his troops to the strange proceeding; and tells us, that *Flaminius* proposed only such ground, order evolutions at a proper time, make an attack seasonably, or judge of the critical conditions as he hoped the tyrant would not reject, being impatient to return to *Rome*, because the reputation of *Philopæmen* began to eclipse his. They were both in the same camp, and in the same confederacy; and the soldiers, in their discourses, often compared them together, always preferring the *Greek* general to the *Roman*. They imputed the proconsul's successes to the bravery and intrepidity of his legions; but unanimously agreed, that *Philopæmen*'s victories were intirely owing to himself. And truly, says our author, no one understood better than *Philopæmen* how to draw up an army, seize advantageous posts, suit the disposition of his troops to the ground, order evolutions at a proper time, make an attack seasonably, or judge of the critical time for a retreat (9). *Flaminius* on the other side, though inferior to the *Achaean* in the art of commanding armies, yet far surpassed him in all other virtues and qualifications. Nevertheless, he was very uneasy to see himself surpassed by a *Greek* in that character, which most dazzles the eyes of the multitude; and this made him so zealous for putting an end to the war, contrary to the opinion of the most judicious among the *Greeks*, who were for pursuing *Nabis* to the last extremity, knowing, that *Greece* would never enjoy a lasting peace so long as *Nabis* wore the crown of *Lacedæmon*.

(9) *Plut. in Flamin. & Philopæm.*

NOT long after the departure of the *Romans*, *Nabis* began to raise insurrections in the maritime cities, which he had been obliged to give up by the treaty of peace. As they were garisoned by the *Achæans*, he attempted to drive them out, and even laid siege to *Gythium*, an important maritime city, which *Flaminius* had taken from him. These hostilities obliged the *Achæans* to have recourse to the *Romans*, who sent the great *Flaminius* again into *Greece*, to inquire into the state of affairs on the spot. At his arrival, he found *Nabis* yet engaged in the siege of *Gythium*, and the *Achæans* assembled at their general diet, which was held at *Sicyon*: they had immediately recourse to him, and desired his advice. The assembly were for taking up arms immediately, and invading the *Lacedæmonian* territories; but *Flaminius* advised them to wait till the *Roman* fleet arrived, which the prætor *Bæbius* was ordered to bring to their assistance. Nevertheless the assembly was still in suspense what part to act, and the leading men divided among themselves; some were for following the advice of *Flaminius*, others for falling on the *Lacedæmonians* without loss of time: they only waited for the decision of *Philopæmen*, who was then prætor, and presided in the assembly. But that prudent general was not in haste to give his opinion: *It is a wise institution of ours*, said he, *that our prætors shall not deliver their opinions when the assemblies are deliberating about war. It is your business to determine what to do, and mine to execute your orders; and I will take all possible care that you shall not repent of your choice, whether it be for war or peace.* These words inclined the assembly more powerfully to a war, than if he had openly declared for it; and a decree was issued, ordering troops to be levied without delay, and leaving the whole management of the war to *Philopæmen*¹.

THE brave *Achæan*, being invested with this power, was at first in doubt what to do; on one hand, he thought it would be of great advantage to wait till the arrival of the *Roman* fleet, according to the advice of *Flaminius*; on the other side, he judged it might be dangerous to suffer *Nabis* to pursue the siege of *Gythium*, and expose the *Achæan* garison to the rage of the tyrant. He therefore took a middle way, which was, to get ready the *Achæan* ships, with a design to give the besieged some relief, and suspend the attacks of the enemy at least towards the sea. But this design required a man of some experience in maritime affairs; whereas *Philopæmen*, though not inferior to any land-officer whatsoever, had never been on board a ship but in order to go over to *Crete* as a passenger: however, he took upon him the command of the *Achæan*

¹ PLUT. in *Philopæm.* LIV. l. xxxv. c. 15.

Philopæ-
men de-
feated by
sea.

fleet, imagining, that he should be as successful by sea as he had been by land. But he found, to his cost, how useful experience is on all occasions; for *Nabis*, who had fitted out a few ships, filled with rowers and soldiers used to sea-fights, fell upon him, and, at the very first onset, dispersed his fleet, took some of his ships, and sunk others. *Philopæmen* himself was very near being taken; but as he had the caution to go on board a light vessel before the engagement, he made his escape; and, though pursued close by the enemy, got safe into the port of *Patræ* ^m.

THE shame of this ill-concerted expedition did not discourage the brave *Philopæmen*, but only made him act with greater caution and prudence for the future. *Nabis*, elated with this advantage, thought that no more attempts would be made to throw any succours into *Gythium*; and therefore turning the siege into a blockade, left only the third part of his forces before the place, and with the rest guarded the passes through which succours might be brought to the besieged city, especially a port called *Pleia*. In this camp *Philopæmen* resolved to attack the *Lacedæmonians*; and accordingly, having gathered together some boats, and manned them with *Achæans*, he ordered them to advance towards *Pleia*, while he himself marched along the shore to the same place. Both the boats and *Philopæmen*, with his army, arrived at *Pleia* in the dead of the night, and found the enemy fast asleep without any watch, as thinking themselves in a secure place. Upon the first signal, firebrands and burning matter were thrown from the boats, and the *Achæan* general at the same time surrounded the camp, to fall on those who made their escape. As the *Lacedæmonians* were not furnished with tents, they had made barracks of branches of trees, which, taking fire, obliged them to fly in great confusion. But such as escaped the flames were cut in pieces by the *Achæans*, who had seized on all the passes; so that very few got safe to the camp before *Gythium*. *Philopæmen*, having thus retrieved his reputation, which had been somewhat lessened by his maritime expedition, assembled the *Achæans*, in order to consult with them about the measures he should take for the relief of *Gythium*. It was resolved in the assembly, that he should advance to *Lacedæmon*, as if he designed to lay siege to that city. This, they thought, would be the only means to make a powerful diversion, and force *Nabis* to raise the siege. But in the mean time the attacks being carried on with great vigour, the place was taken the very day that the *Achæan* army appeared before *Lacedæmon*. *Nabis* therefore, without loss of

He gains
a complete
victory
over Na-
bis by
land.

^m PLUT. & LIV. *ibid*.

time,

time, hastened to *Lacedæmon*, and found the *Achæans* marching through a narrow pass, their several bodies being at a considerable distance from each other. *Philopæmen* was not a little surpris'd at the sudden appearance of the enemy, and the narrowness of the place doubled his concern: however, without shewing any uneasiness, he drew up his men in the most artful manner possible: he posted his *Achæans* in the first line, and behind them the *Cretan* auxiliaries. His cavalry he drew up by the side of a brook, for the convenience of watering their horses. He placed his baggage on the top of a rock, with a detachment to guard it. In this disposition he waited till the enemy came up, without fearing the consequences of an engagement. In the mean time night drew on, and both armies remained in the same posture. *Philopæmen*, in the night-time, posted a strong body of his best troops in a valley, ordering his horse to retire till they drew the enemy into the ambuscade he had laid for them. Early next morning the action began, and the horse engaged first. The *Achæan* cavalry was commanded by *Lycortas*, the father of *Polybius* the historian. At first the dispute was warm, and the advantage equal; but *Lycortas*, according to the orders he had received, in the heat of the engagement, began to give ground, and, retiring in good order, drew the enemy into the ambuscade; and then, facing about, attacked them in front, while the troops that lay concealed, flanked them with incredible fury. The victory was then no more doubtful; the *Lacedæmonian* cavalry betook themselves to a precipitous flight, and most of them would have been cut in pieces, had not the *Achæan* general, who was more afraid of the narrow roads than of the enemy, founded a retreat. *Nabis*, suspecting that *Philopæmen* designed to seize the passes leading to *Lacedæmon*, and thereby cut off his retreat, marched off with part of his troops to prevent him. This report *Philopæmen* had caused to be spread in the *Lacedæmonian* camp by one of his own men, who fled thither as a deserter; and accordingly took his advantage of it: for *Nabis* was no sooner gone, but he attacked his son-in-law *Pythagoras*, who was left to guard the camp; and, forcing the trenches, possessed himself of the baggage, and warlike engines. He left a detachment in the enemy's camp, and, with the rest of the army, pursued the fugitives with great slaughter. The *Lacedæmonians* being now intirely dispersed, he divided his army into a great many small bodies, ordering them to lie concealed on the roads that led to the gates of *Lacedæmon*, being well apprised, that, by the favour of the night, such as were rambling in the woods would attempt to enter the city. His design succeeded, and the *Lacedæmonians* were either cut in pieces, or taken prisoners, as

they were in the dead of the night making towards the city. Thus the tyrant lost the flower of his troops, and *Philopæmen*, after having laid waste great part of *Laconia*, returned home loaded with spoils and glory.

Sparta
joined to
the Achæ-
an league.

Year of
the flood

2157.
Bef. Chr.

191.

A great
instance of
Philopæ-
men's dis-
interested-
ness.

BUT what most of all raised the fame and reputation of *Philopæmen*, was his joining the powerful city of *Lacedæmon* to the *Achæan* commonwealth; by which means the *Achæans* came to eclipse all the other states of *Greece*. This memorable event we have related at length in the foregoing section; and therefore shall only add here one circumstance, which, in our opinion, reflects greater lustre on *Philopæmen* than all his warlike exploits. The *Lacedæmonians*, overjoyed to see themselves delivered from the oppressions they had long groaned under, ordered the palace and furniture of *Nabis* to be sold, and the sum accruing from thence, to the amount of an hundred and twenty talents, to be presented to *Philopæmen* as a token of their gratitude. Deputies therefore were to be appointed, who should carry the money, and desire *Philopæmen*, in the name of the senate, to accept of the present. And on this occasion it was, says *Plutarch*, that the virtue of the generous *Achæan* appeared in its greatest lustre; for so great was the opinion which the *Spartans* had of his probity and disinterestedness, that no one could be found who would take upon him to offer the present. Struck with veneration, and fear of displeasing him, they all begged to be excused. At last they obliged, by a public decree, one *Timolaus*, who had formerly been his guest, to go to *Megalopolis*, where *Philopæmen* lived, and offer him the present. *Timolaus*, with great reluctance, set out for *Megalopolis*, where he was kindly received and entertained by *Philopæmen*. Here he had an opportunity of observing the severity of his whole conduct, the greatness of his mind, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners; which struck him with such awe, that he did not dare once to mention the present he was come to offer him; insomuch that, giving some other pretence to his journey, he returned home with the present. The *Lacedæmonians* sent him again; but he could no more prevail upon himself now than the first time, to mention the true cause of his journey. At last, going a third time, he ventured, with the utmost reluctance, to acquaint *Philopæmen* with the offer he had to make to him in the name of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Philopæmen* heard him with great calmness; but, the instant he had done speaking, he set out with him to *Sparta*, where, after expressing the greatest obligations to the *Spartans*, he advised them to lay out their money in corrupt-

ing and purchasing the wicked, and such as divided the citizens, and set them at variance with their seditious discourses, to the end that, being paid for their silence, they might not occasion so many distractions in the government: for it is much more adviseable, said he, to stop an enemy's mouth than a friend's; as for me, I shall always be your friend, and you shall reap the benefit of my friendship without expence°. Such was the disinterestedness of this noble *Achæan*.

THE *Achæan* republic was now become formidable; the addition of *Lacedæmon* had greatly increased its power; but, at the same time, divisions arising among the confederate cities, the *Romans* began to let them know, that the republic of *Achaia* was in some degree subject to that of *Rome*. *Messene* ^{Messene} and *Elis*, two cities of *Achaia*, had sided with *Antiochus*, and *Elis* refused to come to the *Achæan* diet. Whereupon *Diophanes*, ^{revolt} at that time prætor, raised some troops, and advanced, at the ^{from the} head of them, into the territories of the two rebellious cities, *Achæans*, laying waste the country, in order to bring them to their duty. The inhabitants had recourse to *Flaminius*, who then resided at *Chalcis*, protesting, that they had rather surrender themselves up to the *Romans*, than live subject to the *Achæans*. *Flaminius* immediately left *Chalcis*, and, hastening to *Megalopolis*, sent orders from thence to *Diophanes*, injoining him to desist from hostilities, and meet him at *Megalopolis*. The prætor obeyed, and *Flaminius*, after having gently reproved him for disturbing the peace, advised him to disband his troops, assuring him, at the same time, that he would settle the affair of the *Messenians* and *Eleans* to the satisfaction of the *Achæans*. Accordingly he subjected them to the diet, and obliged them to deliver up the *Achæan* exiles they kept in their cities. This proceeding of *Flaminius* was greatly applauded by the *Achæans*; for the *Messenians* earnestly intreated him to put a *Roman* garison into the city, protesting that they had rather be subject to *Rome* than to *Achaia*. But *Flaminius*, in so doing, had another point in view, which was, to persuade the *Achæans* to deliver up to him the island of *Zacynthos*, which they had lately purchased. *Diophanes* could not by any means be prevailed upon to part with it: whereupon *Flaminius* ordered the assembly to be called, and there gave a signal proof of his abilities, convincing the *Achæans*, that the parting with an island which they had lately purchased, would prove very advantageous to their republic (S).

IT

° PLUT. in Philopœm.

(S) The speech he made on " I look on *Achaia*, said he, as
this occasion is intirely accommo- " a sort of tortoise, which na-
dated to the genius of the *Greeks*. " ture has guarded with its shell.

" If

New disputes among the Achæans.

It was not long ere new disputes arose among the *Achæans*, which gave the *Romans* a fair opportunity of exerting their authority even over their allies, and those very nations which they had declared free. The general assembly of the *Achæans* had been held time out of mind at *Ægium*; but *Philopœmen*, who was then prætor, thought fit to divide the honour and advantages which those assemblies brought to the places where they were held, among all the cities of the *Achæan* league, and had named *Argos* for the place of the next diet. But the inhabitants of *Ægium* opposed this regulation, and had recourse to *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who, after having reduced the *Ætolians*, and made himself master of *Cephalenia*, resided in that island to decide, as he said, such disputes as should arise between any of the *Greek* cities or republics. Thus, under the character of a peace-maker, he was in reality the sovereign of *Greece*, and gave laws to the whole country. The island of *Cephalenia* being now in the hands of the *Romans*, a way was open for the legions into *Peloponnesus*, which was only divided from it by a small arm of the sea about twenty-four miles over. *Fulvius* therefore, upon the first notice of this dispute, crossed over into *Peloponnesus*, and the whole matter was referred to his determination. His inclination led him to favour the inhabitants of *Ægium*; but, seeing that the other party was far more numerous, he withdrew from the assembly without declaring his opinion. It was enough for him, that the dispute had been brought to his tribunal^r.

The Lacedæmonians attempt to withdraw themselves

THE quarrel that arose between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* was of more consequence. *Flaminius* had given all the places on the coast of *Laconia* to the *Achæans*, who kept garisons in them, even after *Lacedæmon* had acceded to the *Achæan* league. This some of the leading men among the *Lacedæmonians* could not brook; and therefore, to deliver

^r Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 28—30.

“ If it thrusts out its head or
 “ feet ever so little beyond its
 “ armour, it is in danger of be-
 “ ing trod upon, and hurt. The
 “ frontier cities which surround
 “ you, *Achæans*, are your shell,
 “ and your natural defence: but
 “ as to any acquisitions beyond
 “ the continent, those are parts
 “ of your state which are ex-
 “ posed to insults, and which
 “ you cannot secure without be-
 “ ing at a greater charge than
 “ they are worth.” This speech,
 which was founded on good
 sense, convinced the *Achæans*,
 that their new purchase would
 prove rather prejudicial than use-
 ful to their republic; and there-
 fore they all unanimously voted,
 that it should be delivered up to
 the *Romans* (1).

(1) Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 32.

them-

themselves from this slavery, they attacked, in the night, a ^{from the} small city on the coast called *Las* (T); but were repulsed by Achæan the inhabitants, and the *Lacedæmonian* exiles, who there en-^{league.} joyed quiet under the protection of *Achaia*. This attempt ^{Year of} alarmed the exiles, who brought their complaints to the coun-^{the flood} cil of the *Achæans*. *Philopæmen*, who was an avowed friend ^{2159.} and protector of the exiles (for they had been driven out for ^{Bef. Chr.} opposing the tyrant), was then prætor. He represented to the ^{189.} assembly the attempt upon *Las* as an insult offered to all *Achaia*; and caused a decree to be enacted, commanding the *Lacedæmonians* to deliver up the authors of that enterprize, on pain of being treated as enemies. Embassadors were sent to *Lacedæmon*, to give them notice of this decree; but this served only to exasperate the minds of a proud people. They immediately put to death thirty of those who were known to be in the *Achæan* interest, dissolved their alliance with *Achaia*, and sent embassadors to *Fulvius* the proconsul, intreating him to come and take possession of their city. But these proceedings, and the powerful protection which they were imploring, did not deter *Philopæmen* from declaring war against *Lacedæmon*. However, as the season was far advanced, the *Achæans* contented themselves with plundering part of the *Lacedæmonian* territory, and harassing the inhabitants with frequent incursions.

AT the return of the spring, both parties made preparations for war; and hostilities were carried so far, that they forced *Fulvius* to leave *Cephalenia*, and come into *Peloponnesus*. On his arrival, he ordered an assembly to be convened at *Elis*, to discuss the pretensions of *Achaia* over *Lacedæmon*; but, after hearing both parties, he was so perplexed, that he could come to no determination. He did all that lay in his power to reconcile the contending parties; but they were too untractable to come to an accommodation. He therefore advised them to send embassadors to *Rome*, and, while the cause was trying, to suspend all hostilities. They followed his advice, and de-^{Both par-} puties were immediately dispatched to *Rome*. The *Achæans* ^{ties send} appointed two great men to plead their cause, who were of a ^{embassa-} different character. These were *Diophanes*, a man of mode-^{dors to} ration, and of a tractable disposition; and *Lycortas*, the father ^{Rome.} of *Polybius*, a man intirely addicted to *Philopæmen*. *Diophanes* referred the decision of the cause to the arbitration of the senate. *Lycortas* maintained the decree of *Philopæmen*, and urged, that it could not be reversed, without making void the

(T) *Las* was situated on the full of rocks, whence it borrow-
Laconic gulf, south of *Sparta*, ed its name, the word *Λᾶς* signi-
on a stony soil, and in a country fying, in *Greek*, a stone.

regu-

regulations of *Flaminius*, who had committed the care of the coast to the *Achæans*. The senate was unwilling to disgust the *Achæans*; but, at the same time, thought the *Lacedæmonians* worthy of compassion. They returned therefore a dark and ambiguous answer, which each party interpreted in their own favour.

Lacedæmon reduced by the Achæans.

Hard conditions imposed upon the city by Philopæmen.

THE *Achæans* pretended, that it gave them full power to inflict on the *Lacedæmonians* the punishment they deserved: whereupon *Philopæmen*, who was continued in his prætorship, taking the field, marched to the very walls of *Lacedæmon*, and there summoned the city to deliver up the authors of the attempt upon *Las*; promising, that they should not be condemned without a fair tryal. Upon this promise, all those, whom *Philopæmen* demanded by name, set out for the *Achæan* camp, attended by the chief citizens of *Lacedæmon*, who looked upon their cause as their own. Being arrived at the camp, their malecontent countrymen crouded round them, and, with an insulting air, began to vent the most injurious expressions against them; nay, from words, they came to blows; and the *Achæan* officers had occasion to exert all their authority to appease the tumult. As the *Lacedæmonian* exiles continued complaining of their hard treatment, they engaged the *Achæan* soldiers in their quarrel, and, all on a sudden, fell upon the *Lacedæmonians* with such fury, that seventeen of them were killed upon the spot; seventy-three were, with the greatest difficulty, rescued out of the hands of the enraged multitude. *Philopæmen* did not intend to pardon them; but was unwilling it should be said, that they had been condemned without a tryal. They were therefore the next morning produced before the multitude, who, without scarce suffering them to answer for themselves, condemned and executed them all. This severe proceeding struck all the *Lacedæmonians* with such terror, that they surrendered at discretion; and *Philopæmen*, whose main point in view was to humble the *Lacedæmonians*, treated them as if their city had been taken by storm: he commanded them to demolish their walls, disband all their mercenaries, drive out of their city all the slaves, whom the tyrants had set at liberty, receive the exiles, and, lastly, renounce the laws of *Lycurgus*, and, for the future, govern themselves only by those of *Achaia* ^s.

THE *Lacedæmonians* readily demolished their walls; for *Lacedæmon* had long subsisted without any other defence, but the bravery of its citizens. The recalling of the exiles was what they were most averse to; but *Philopæmen* and the *Achæans* were inexorable, and would, by all means, have the

^s Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 30—34.

exiles reinstated in their antient honours, from which they had been driven by the tyrants. But the most fatal blow was the abolition of the laws of the wise *Lycurgus*, which, severe as they were, the *Lacedæmonians* had observed for the space of seven hundred years^t. Such was the fate of one of the most illustrious cities of *Greece* (U).

THE *Lacedæmonians* sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to complain of this cruel treatment; and *Lepidus*, who was then consul, wrote a letter to the *Achæan* confederacy, acquainting them, that the senate did not at all approve of such inhuman proceedings. Hereupon the *Achæans* immediately dispatched *Nicomachus* of *Elis* to *Rome*, to justify their conduct. Upon his return, he acquainted his republic, that *Rome* was not pleased with the subversion of the government of *Sparta*, with the demolition of the walls, and the putting to death so many of the inhabitants; but, at the same time, did not annul the decrees which the assembly had enacted. *Rome* had then affairs of greater importance on her hands; and therefore put off the discussion of this point to a more proper season^u.

THE *Achæan* league was, at this time, in great repute all over the east, and the friendship of so powerful a state courted by all the princes of *Asia*. *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* sent ambassadors to renew his antient alliance with the *Achæans*, and to offer the republic six thousand shields, and two hundred talents. His offer was accepted; and *Lycortas*, with two others, deputed to thank him for the present, and renew the alliance. King *Eumenes* also sent an embassy for the same purpose, offering an hundred and twenty talents, the interest of which should be settled on the members of the public council. Embassadors came likewise from *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, offering the republic, in the name of their sovereign, ten ships of war completely equipped, and desiring to have the antient treaty of alliance confirmed by the assembly. All these ambassadors were heard in the diet, and the alliance with *Ptolemy* and *Se-*

The Lacedæmonians carry their complaints to Rome.

The friendship of the Achæans courted by the princes of Asia.

^t Liv. *ibid.*

^u POLYB. in *legat.* c. 41. p. 850, 852.

(U) This cruel treatment of so renowned a city as *Sparta*, reflects no great honour on *Philopæmen*. *Plutarch*, who justly ranks him among the greatest commanders of *Greece*, seems, in a certain manner, to palliate this action, since he could not justify it. His insisting upon the re-establishment of the exiles was no-way blameable; for most of them had been banished by *Machanidas*, *Lycurgus*, and *Nabis*, for attempting to place on the throne *Agessipolis*, to whom the kingdom of *Sparta* of right belonged: but all the other steps *Philopæmen* took, on this occasion, betrayed a great deal of passion, and a revengeful temper, which could not be satisfied but by the utter destruction of his enemies.

leucus

leucus renewed; but it was not judged expedient to accept, at that juncture, of the ships which the latter offered. As for *Eumenes*, *Apollonius* of *Sicyon* exhorted, in a long speech, the *Achæans*, not only to reject the present that was offered by his embassadors, but to look upon him as an enemy, since he attempted to bribe the members of that venerable assembly; which he would not have done, if he had not something in view prejudicial to their true interest. His speech was heard with great applause, and the renewing of the alliance postponed till a farther opportunity w.

The Ro-
mans jea-
lous of
their
power.

Send com-
missioners
into A-
chaia.

THE *Romans*, having now got the better of all their enemies in the east, resumed the cause of the *Lacedæmonians*, with a design to humble the *Achæans*, whose great power began to raise no small jealousy at *Rome*. Three commissioners were therefore named, of which *Q. Cæcilius* was the chief, to go first into *Macedonia*, and from thence into *Achaia*, to examine matters on the spot. These, having settled the affairs of *Macedon*, pursuant to their commission, hastened to *Peloponnesus*. *Aristenes*, who was then prætor, hearing of their arrival, assembled all the chiefs of the republic at *Argos*, and invited *Cæcilius*, with his colleagues, thither. *Cæcilius*, being introduced to the council, began his speech by commending the zeal of the *Achæans* for the welfare of their country, and extolling the wisdom of their governors. He then added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their behaviour towards the *Lacedæmonians* had been very much censured at *Rome*; and therefore he exhorted them to atone, some way or other, for their imprudent conduct on that occasion. *Aristenes*, who acted underhand in concert with *Cæcilius*, did not make any reply. *Diophanes* of *Megalopolis*, who was a professed enemy to *Philopæmen*, made other complaints against him; but took no notice of his proceedings at *Lacedæmon*. Upon this, *Philopæmen*, *Lycortas*, and *Archon*, spoke in their turns; and their speeches, in defence of the late proceedings at *Sparta*, made such an impression on the council, that, when *Cæcilius* withdrew, they came to a resolution, that nothing should be altered in the decrees that had been enacted; and that this answer should be given to the *Roman* commissioners. When *Cæcilius* heard it, he desired, that the general assembly might be convened. But they replied, that he must first produce a letter from the senate of *Rome*, whereby the *Achæans* should be desired to meet. As *Cæcilius* had no such letter, they told him plainly, that they would not assemble. This exasperated the *Roman* to such a decree, that he left *Achaia*, without making any further inquiries x.

w POLYB. in legat. c. 41. p. 850, 852.
p. 853, 854.

x POLYB. ibid.
ON

ON his return to *Rome*, he acquainted the senate with what *The Achæ-* he had transacted in *Peloponnesus*: whereupon *Apollonidas*, *ans and* whom the *Achæans* had sent to plead their cause before the *Lace-* senate, was introduced. He endeavoured to justify the conduct *dæmoni-* of *Philopæmen* and his countrymen with respect to the *Lacedæ-* *ans send* *monians*; and told them for what reason they had refused to *deputies to* call, at the instance of *Cæcilius*, a general assembly. After the *Rome.* *Achæan* ambassador, those from *Sparta* were admitted. *Phi-* *lopæmen*, as we have observed above, restored the *Spartan* ex-
iles; and these very exiles were the men, who, since their re-
turn, had most zealously contended for the recovery of the
antient splendor and liberty of their native country. Two of
these, *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, were, on this occasion, appointed
by the *Lacedæmonians* to implore the justice of the *Roman*
senate. They represented with great eloquence, and in a very
moving manner, the miserable condition to which *Sparta*, once
mistress of *Greece*, was reduced; how its walls were demo-
lished, and the citizens dragged into *Achaia*, and there sold for
slaves (W); how the sacred laws of *Lycurgus*, to which *Sparta*
owed her grandeur and glory, were intirely abolished, &c.

THE senate, after hearing and weighing the reasons on both *Appius*
sides, ordered *Appius Claudius*, and two others, who were soon *Claudius*
to set out for *Macedon*, to put an end to this dispute; and re-*appointed*
ferred the contending parties to the judgment which they *by the se-*
should give on the spot in the assembly of the *Achæans*. In the *nate to*
mean time, they required the *Achæans* to convene their general *settle mat-*
assembly, whenever the *Roman* ambassadors should desire it; *ters in*
since the *Roman* senate admitted them as often as they required *Achaia.*
an audience *v*.

SOME time before the arrival of the *Roman* commissioners
in *Peloponnesus*, *Lycortas*, at that time prætor, summoned the
general assembly to examine the affair of the *Lacedæmonians*,
that he might be ready to answer the questions which the
commissioners should ask him, and, at the same time, know
how his own countrymen stood affected. He represented to
them such things as they might fear from the *Romans*, who
seemed to favour the interest of *Lacedæmon* more than that of
Achaia: he expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of *Areus* and
Alcibiades, who, though they owed their return into their own
country to the *Achæans*, had yet been so base as to speak in

v POLYB. *ibid.* c. 42. LIV. l. xxxix. c. 33.

(W) *Philopæmen* ordered those arising from the sale, he rebuilt
slaves who had been set free by a portico, which the *Lacedæmo-*
the tyrants, to be sought out and *nians* had destroyed at *Megalopolis*,
sold; and, with the money his native city.

The Ro-
mans
espouse the
cause of
the Lace-
dæmoni-
ans.

the senate against them, as if they had driven them from their country. He ended his speech with these words: *But, after all, they are our subjects; and it is rebellion in them to bring a process against their masters: what punishment then have they deserved?* At these words, loud cries were heard from all parts of the assembly, desiring the prætor to put the affair to the vote; and, nothing being listened to, but passion, a decree passed, condemning *Areus*, *Alcibiades*, and all who attended them in their embassy, to be put to death. But, in the mean time, the *Roman* commissioners arrived, and the scene was changed. The assembly of the *Achæans* was then sitting at *Clitor*, a little city of *Arcadia*; and, as soon as *Appius* appeared there, he took the highest place, and acted rather as a judge, than a private deputy. The harangue, with which he began, discovered his intentions, and made the *Achæans* fear the worst. He told them, that the senate had been strongly affected with the complaints of the *Lacedæmonians*, and could not but disapprove of all the steps that had been taken on that occasion: he inveighed against the perfidiousness and cruelty of those who had massacred the envoys from *Lacedæmon*, a city venerable for its antiquity; and exclaimed against the abolition of the laws of *Lycurgus*, which had been so much admired by all the nations of the world. *Lycortas* the prætor, who was a friend to *Philopæmen*, on whom the accusation fell, undertook to defend the common cause of the republic, and the conduct of a great man, whom he loved. His speech, for which we refer our readers to *Livy*², was very apposite, and well becoming the head of a nation. But *Appius* was little affected with it: without descending to particulars, or taking any notice of the arguments *Lycortas* had produced to justify their conduct, he desired them to restore *Lacedæmon* her antient rights and privileges voluntarily, lest *Rome* should force them to it. These words drew sighs from the whole assembly; but fear had got the better of their resentment. They desired the commissioners to do what they thought fit; but not oblige the *Achæans* to break their oath, by annulling themselves the decree which they had sworn to observe. This submission appeased the anger of *Appius*, who contented himself, at present, with only repealing the sentence that was just before pronounced against *Areus* and *Alcibiades*. With this act of power and authority they put an end to the sessions, and, leaving *Greece*, returned to *Italy*².

The de-
cree of the
Achæans
annulled
at Rome.

THE commissioners having made their report in the senate, it was decreed, that those persons, who had been condemned by the *Achæans*, should be recalled and restored; that all sen-

² LIV. l. xxxix. c. 35—37.

² LIV. *ibid.*

tences,

tences, pronounced in the assembly of *Achaia* against *Lacedæmon*, should be repealed; and, lastly, that, for the future, the *Lacedæmonians* should be deemed members of the *Achæan* body, and treated accordingly. *Pausanias* adds an article, that is not mentioned by *Livy*; viz. that the walls, which had been demolished, should be rebuilt ^b. *Q. Marcius* was appointed to go into *Greece*, and see this sentence executed; which he did accordingly, obliging both parties to accept and sign the decree.

BUT this storm was scarce appeased, when a new one arose. The city of *Messene* had been a member of the *Achæan* body ever since the war of the confederates, as we have related above. But one *Democrates*, who had a particular enmity to *Philopæmen*, drew it off from the league, and was arming the *Messenians* his countrymen, in order to defend the city against *Philopæmen*, who was then prætor the eighth time. The brave *Achæan* no sooner heard of the revolt, but he made what haste he could to seize the city of *Corone* (X), before the rebel had made himself master of it; but, as he was sick, and actually kept his bed with a fever when the first news was brought him of the disturbances at *Messene*, *Dinocrates* got to *Corone* before him. Then the *Achæan* general, assembling the *Megalopolitan* youth, who had offered to follow him as volunteers, and making a countermarch, advanced towards *Messene*, with a design to fall upon the revolted, while *Dinocrates* was busy at *Corone*; but, on his march, he met with *Dinocrates*, attacked him, and put him to flight at the first onset. *Philopæmen*, on this occasion, forgot his sickness, and the fatigues of the day before; for he had marched from *Argos* to *Megalopolis*, which was above sixty miles, in twelve hours. While the *Megalopolitans* were pursuing the rebels, a body of above five hundred men, whom *Dinocrates* had had the precaution to leave in the open country about *Messene*, to defend it, came and joined him. The *Messenians*, being encouraged by this reinforcement, faced about, and renewed the action. The *Megalopolitans*, though led on by *Philopæmen* and *Lycortas*, were too weak to make head against such a body of fresh men. *Philopæmen* therefore made it his chief business to retire in good order;

^b PAUS. in Achaic. p. 414.

(X) *Coron*, or *Corone*, was a city of *Messenia*, and is still in being in the province of *Belvedere*, and known by the same name. *Plutarch* (9), instead of *Corone*, puts *Colonis* or *Colone*, which was also a city in the territory of *Messene*, as appears from *Ptolemy*.

(9) *Plut. in Philop.*

order; which branch of the military art he understood better than any general of his age. To this end, he marched into rough and narrow ways, whither the enemy could not, without danger, follow him. He placed *Lycortas*, and the *Megalopolitans*, in the van, and brought up the rear himself, facing about from time to time, and keeping the enemy at some distance. As his troops retreated with too great precipitation, he was left quite alone in a defile, and surrounded by the enemy. However, they durst not even then attack him; but, keeping at a distance, drove him, with showers of arrows, into a narrow place, where he could not turn his horse: yet still he supported himself, though quite worn out with sickness, the fatigues of his march, and old age, being then in his seventieth year. He spurred on his horse cross the rocks, and was very near rejoining the main body of his small army, when his horse stumbled, and threw him. By the fall, he received a deep wound on the head, and lay senseless, till the enemies, thinking him dead, began to strip him. He then opened his eyes, and seemed to revive, when *Dinocrates*, who never before had dared to look him in the face, ordered his hands to be tied behind his back; and, in that condition, carried him to *Messene*.

Philopæ-
men taken
prisoner.

WHEN the *Messenians* received the news of this victory, and heard that *Philopæmen* was taken prisoner, they all ran to the gates of the city, to see what they could no otherwise believe. Great was the joy of the rebel city, when the news was confirmed by the relation of those very *Messenians* who had taken him: but, upon the sight of the hero of *Greece*, reduced to captivity more by an accident than any want of valour, most of the spectators were so much touched with compassion, that they could not refrain from tears: they remembered the exploits of this great man, under whom many of them had fought; they remembered the favours they had received at his hands, and how they had been, by his means, delivered from the oppressions of the tyrant *Nabis*. As many had not been able to see him, by reason of the croud, they desired he might be carried to the theatre, and there shewn to the multitude: but the magistrates, fearing lest the esteem and love which the *Messenians* had formerly shewn him should revive, did not suffer the illustrious prisoner to be long exhibited in this manner. They hurried him away on a sudden to a vault called the *treasury*, without doubt, because the public money had been formerly kept there. This was a subterraneous place, whither neither light nor air entered from without, and was stopped by a large stone, raised up and let down by a crane. In this cavern, *Philopæmen*, wounded, sick, and fatigued, spent a miserable night.

EARLY in the morning, the senate and people met. The latter were for getting favourable terms in exchange for their prisoner, and sending him back to his own country; but the senators, who had been the authors of the revolt, and consequently were afraid they should find in him an implacable enemy, agreed to put him to death; and accordingly, without delay, sent the executioner into the vault, with orders to force the prisoner to drink a dose of poison. The moment the illustrious *Megalopolitan* saw him carrying a cup in his hand, he guessed what he was bringing him; and, raising himself up with great difficulty, for he was very weak, he asked the executioner with great tranquillity, *Whether Lycortas, and the Megalopolitan youth, had got into a place of safety. Not one of them is killed,* answered the executioner; *they have all made their escape. That is enough,* replied *Philopæmen*; *I die content.* He then took the cup of poison with great cheerfulness, and drank the fatal potion with joy. Thus died one of the greatest heroes that *Greece*, or any other country, ever produced. He was no ways inferior in valour, military knowledge, and virtue, to any of the boasted heroes of *Rome*. Had *Achaia* been nearer to an equality with *Rome*, he would have preserved his country from the yoke, which the *Roman* republic forced it to bear. Both the *Greek* and *Roman* writers put him upon the level with *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, who were his contemporaries, and happened to die the same year. They all allow him to have been not only one of the greatest commanders, but one of the greatest statesmen of his age. To his valour and prudence *Achaia* owed all her glory, which, upon his death, began to decline, there being none after him, in that republic, able to oppose her enemies with the like steadiness and prudence; whence *Philopæmen* was called the last of the *Greeks*, as *Brutus* was afterwards styled the last of the *Romans*.

Philopæmen put to death by the Messenians.

Year of the flood
2165.

Bef. Chr.
183.

His character.

WHEN the news of his death was spread among the cities of the *Achaean* league, the rage of the people against his assassins was as great, as their grief for the loss of so great a man. The general assembly was immediately convened at *Megalopolis*; and *Lycortas*, at that time the most famous general in *Achaia*, *Lycortas* put in the room of the deceased. The new general, without loss of time, entered the *Messenian* territory, at the head of an army which was soon raised, all the young men, that were fit to bear arms, shewing great eagerness to revenge the death of a man, to whom their country owed all its splendor. *Lycortas* had been his particular friend, and therefore was deter-

created prætor in his room.

^c LIV. l. xxxix. c. 48. PLUTAR. in *Philopœm.* p. 366, 368.

POLYB. in *legat.* c. 52, 53.

mined, at all events, to bring the authors of his death to condign punishment. Thus, both the general and soldiery breathing nothing but revenge, they advanced to the very walls of *Messene*, after having laid waste the whole territory, and summoned the rebellious city to surrender. The people, in spite of the prætor and senate, opened the gates to the *Achaean* troops, and put them in possession both of the city and castle. This submissive behaviour asswaged the wrath of *Lycortas*, who did not think it adviseable to treat the rebels as their furious revolt seemed to deserve. He only insisted upon their delivering up the ringleaders of the rebellion, and such as were any ways concerned in the death of *Philopœmen*. They readily complied with his request; and the assassins, loaded with irons, were brought before him: but *Dinocrates*, to prevent a more cruel death, laid violent hands on himself. The rest were afterwards carried to *Megalopolis*, in order to be sacrificed at the tomb of the deceased hero^d.

Messene
surrenders
to the
Achæans.

The ring-
leaders of
the rebel-
lion deli-
vered up.

Philopœ-
men's
ashes car-
ried in
great pomp
to Mega-
lopolis.

AND now nothing remained, but to pay the funeral honours to the body of *Philopœmen*, which had been left unburied in the bottom of a dungeon. It was taken from thence with great pomp, burnt, according to custom, on a funeral pile, and his ashes deposited in an urn adorned with festoons and fillets. *Lycortas*, being now to leave the conquered city, did not disband his troops, and send them to their respective homes as usual. They all marched out of the city in good order, as it were in funeral triumph. The infantry marched first, crowned with laurel, to shew their victory, but shedding floods of tears for the deceased hero. Next came the urn, carried by *Polybius* the historian, son of *Lycortas*, surrounded by the prime nobility of *Achaia*, and the *Messenian* prisoners bound in chains. The urn was followed by the cavalry in their richest apparel and caparisons. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the solemn procession; but it was visible in every one's countenance, that their joy for the victory was damped with real grief on this mournful occasion. In this manner they advanced towards *Megalopolis*, *Philopœmen*'s native city; and, arriving there, paid him the last honours with the utmost pomp and magnificence. The *Messenian* captives were stoned at his tomb; and each city of *Achaia* gave some signal proof of the esteem they had for him while alive, and of the real grief they felt for the loss of so great an hero. Statues were erected to his memory in most cities of *Greece*, with noble inscriptions. The magistrates of *Megalopolis* passed a decree, ordering a bull to be yearly sacrificed at his tomb; during which

Honours
paid to the
memory of
Philopœ-
men.

^d LIV. PLUT. POLYB. ubi supra.

sacrifice a panegyric was pronounced, and a company of young children sung hymns in his praise * (Y).

WHEN news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Achæans* had restored the city of *Messene* to the league, their ambassadors there were addressed in quite different terms from those which had been used before. The senate told them, that they had been careful not to suffer either arms or provisions to be carried from *Italy* to *Messene*. This plainly shews the insincerity of the *Romans*, and the little regard they had to truth in their transactions with other nations: for when the *Achæans* demanded the succours which they were obliged to furnish them according to the treaty, and desired, at least, that they would suffer arms or provisions to be transported out of *Italy* to *Messene*, it was answered, that, when any city broke off from the *Achæan* league, the senate did not think themselves obliged to enter into those disputes, nor concern themselves with the claims and pretensions which each city might have. This was giving, as it were, the signal to all the cities engaged in the *Achæan* league to take up arms, and separate, as they pleased, from the alliance. But now they endeavour to persuade the *Achæans*, that they had prohibited the subjects of the republic from lending any kind of assistance to the *Messenian* rebels, and make a merit with them of what they had not done. The *Achæans*, at this time, were masters of all *Peloponnesus*; *Philip* king of *Macedon* was preparing anew for war; the *Ætolians* were disgusted with *Rome*, and *Antiochus* ready to pass over into *Greece*. No wonder then that *Rome* was very cautious of giving any umbrage to the league at so critical a juncture.

WE have observed above, that the *Roman* senate had decreed, among many other articles, that *Sparta* should be admitted into the *Achæan* league, and that *Marcus* had been sent into *Greece*, to see this decree put in execution. However, the *Achæan* ambassadors, on their return from *Rome*, acquainted the assembly, that the *Lacedæmonian* exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude towards them, were not included in that decree, and consequently might be driven

* Idem ibid.

(Y) Several years after, when *Corinth* was taken and destroyed by *Mummius*, a *Roman* brought articles of impeachment against *Philopæmen*, in order to have the statues and monuments erected all over *Greece* to the memory of this great man, thrown down and abolished. He accused him of having been an enemy to the *Romans*, and shewn, on all occasions, his hatred to the republic. The cause was heard in council, before *Mummius*; and the charge confuted, with great eloquence and solidity, by *Polybius*.

anew from the city, without disobliging the senate. Upon their report, the exiles were again ordered to depart the city, notwithstanding the strong opposition made by *Diophanes*, who undertook to defend their cause. Being thus reduced to their former state of misery, they sent ambassadors to *Rome*, imploring the protection of the senate. The senators were touched with their complaints, and wrote letters to the council of *Achaia*, desiring them to give the *Lacedæmonian* exiles leave to settle again in their native country. These letters were delivered to the exiles, and by them, on their return, to the council of *Achaia*; which returned no other answer, than that the matter should be considered after the arrival of the *Achæan* ambassadors from *Rome*. Not long after, the ambassadors returned, and declared before the council, that the senate had written in favour of the exiles, not out of any regard to them, but to redeem themselves from their importunities ^f.

AFTER the ambassadors had been heard, *Lycortas* was of opinion, that no notice should be taken of the letters which the senate had written; but *Hyperbates*, who was then prætor, and *Callicrates*, were of a different opinion. *Lycortas*, however, carried it; and it was resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to acquaint the *Roman* senate with the reasons which had moved them to adhere to their former resolutions, notwithstanding their recommendation. *Callicrates*, *Lyfiades*, and *Aratus*, were appointed ambassadors, and instructions given them agreeable to the deliberations that had been made. When they arrived at *Rome*, *Callicrates* acted in direct opposition to his orders; for, being introduced to the senate, he exhorted them to exert their authority over his stubborn countrymen, telling them, that, if the *Greeks* paid no regard either to their letters or decrees, they ought to blame themselves for it, such a neglect being intirely owing to their lenity and indolence. “In our commonwealth, said he, there are two parties; one of which maintains, that an implicit obedience should be paid to all your orders; the other party pretends, that the laws of the country should prevail over your will: and this suits best with the genius of the *Achæans*, and has a great influence over the populace. Hence such as blindly comply with your ordinances are hated by the people, while those who oppose them are honoured and applauded. We see, at this present time, the first employments of our republic filled by men, whose only merit consists in a pretended zeal for the laws of their country, in contradiction to the express orders of this august

Callicrates betrays his country to ingratiate himself with the Romans.

^f POLYB. in legat. c. 54.

“ assembly.

“ assembly. If you continue to shew such an indifference
 “ on this head, all the chief men will certainly oppose you,
 “ this being a sure way to preferment: but if you shew fa-
 “ vour to those only who espouse your interest, the leading
 “ men in all the republics of *Greece* will declare for you, and
 “ the populace soon follow their example. What I have said
 “ is plainly confirmed by the present conduct of my country-
 “ men. How long is it since you desired them to recal the
 “ *Lacedæmonian* exiles? Nevertheless, they are so far from
 “ complying with your request, that they have bound them-
 “ selves by oath never to restore them &c.” Thus the *Greeks*
 began to forge their own chains, and ambitious men prostitute,
 to their private interest, that liberty which their ancestors had
 purchased and maintained at the expence of their lives. *Callicrates*
 was so transported with ambition, that he chose rather
 to betray and ruin his country, than suffer any other to have
 more authority in it than himself.

A SPEECH, so well calculated to favour the interest of *Rome*,
 could not but be very agreeable to the senate. As *Callicrates*
 had treacherously pointed out the methods by which they
 might easily weaken and crush the *Greek* republics, it was con-
 cluded, that they should exert themselves in heaping favours
 upon such as maintained the authority of *Rome*, and humbling
 those who presumed to oppose it. Our historian observes,
 that this was the first time the fatal resolution was taken of de-
 preciating those, who, in their respective countries, had the
 most noble way of thinking, and raising such as declared, right
 or wrong for the *Romans*: a resolution which, in all coun-
 tries, lessened the number of the true friends of liberty.
 Henceforth it was a constant maxim of the *Roman* policy, to
 increase the power and authority of such as favoured their
 ambitious views, in defiance of the laws and constitutions of
 their respective countries, and oppress, by all possible methods,
 those who were sincere friends to the liberty which they had
 received from their ancestors. This single maxim is sufficient
 to give us a true idea of the pretended equity and modera-
 tion which the *Romans* discovered on some occasions.

FROM this period, *Rome* began to treat the *Achæans* in a *The Achæ-*
 quite different manner from what she had done in former *ans com-*
 times. Peremptory orders were sent them to restore the *La- manded to*
cedæmonian exiles, and pay a blind obedience to the decrees *restore the*
 of the senate. Letters were at the same time directed to the *Lacedæ-*
Ætolians, Bæotians, Acarnanians, and other free states of *monian*
Greece, injoining them to see the orders of the senate put in *exiles.*
 execution, and exhorting them to employ, in their respective

commonwealths, men only of such noble sentiments as *Callicrates*. Thus the *Romans* requited the eminent services which the *Achaians* had done them in their wars with *Philip* and *Antiochus*, and the inviolable fidelity, with which they adhered to them, when they were despised by the other cities of *Greece* (Z). *Callicrates*, on his return to *Peloponnesus*, spread so artfully the terror of the *Roman* name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he was elected prætor; in which employment he restored the *Lacedæmonian* and *Messenian* exiles, and omitted nothing that could any ways oblige his patrons the *Romans*.

Perfes
king of
Macedon
endeavours
to ingra-
tiate him-
self with
the states
of Greece;

By these violent methods *Rome* got numbers of flatterers, but lost many of her best friends; and, on the other side, *Perfes*, who had succeeded *Philip* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, spared no pains to win over to his party such as were dissatisfied with the *Romans*. That prince, being determined to shake off the yoke which the *Romans* had laid on him, made it his whole business to draw off the *Greek* cities and nations from their alliance with *Rome*. To this end, thinking his presence necessary among nations, who would perhaps sooner hearken to a neighbouring king, than a distant republic, he advanced towards *Delphi*, under pretence of discharging a vow, but in reality to make alliances in *Greece*. With this view he crossed mount *Oeta*, and surprised the *Greeks* with his sudden appearance among them. The terror spread into *Asia*, and alarmed *Eumenes* in *Pergamus*: but *Perfes*, after consulting the oracle, returned into his own kingdom, passing through *Phthiotis* and *Thessaly*, without committing any hostilities in his march. His father had formerly been guilty of great cruelties in all those countries, and therefore the son not only took care to commit no violence on his march, but sent deputies to all the free states, or circular letters, remonstrating that they ought not to continue the hatred they might have conceived against the father to the son, who courted their friendship ^a.

^a Liv. l. xli. c. 12.

(Z) *Polybius* ascribes this violent proceeding of the *Romans* to the compassion which the *Spartan* exiles raised in the breasts of the senators. The *Romans*, says he, are easily moved to pity by the complaints of the miserable; and think it their duty to relieve all who fly to them for protection.

And this it was that inclined them to espouse the cause of the *Lacedæmonian* exiles (10). But we must remember, that this, in other respects, impartial historian, wrote this in *Rome*, and under the eyes of the *Romans*, after they were absolute lords of *Greece*.

(10) *Polyb. legat. c. 58.*

THE *Macedonian's* chief attention was to gain over the *Achaean* republic, which had carried its hatred so far against the *Macedonians*, that they were not suffered, upon any pretence, to enter *Achaia*. It was not only hatred, but policy, that had induced them to make such a decree: for though *Philip* had greatly disobliged them, especially by putting the two *Aratus's* to death, yet he had proved, in many other respects, very beneficent to them; whence they were, with much ado, prevailed upon to forsake him; and, even after they had entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, some of their leading men still favoured their antient ally. Wherefore it was thought necessary, for the preservation of concord among themselves, to use great circumspection, lest, by his agents, he should foment divisions in the state. Besides, by hearkening to his messages, they might give jealousy to their new allies. On these considerations, the general assembly of *Achaia* had enacted a decree, forbidding any *Macedonian*, on what pretence soever, to enter into *Achaia*, on pain of being treated as an enemy to the state. This decree cut off all intercourse and means of reconciliation with the *Macedonians*, and thereby quashed at once the *Macedonian* faction; but, at the same time, it proved very prejudicial both to the *Achaëans* and *Macedonians*; for the slaves, on both sides, used to fly to the enemies of their masters, where they found a sure asylum, knowing they should not be followed or claimed after that general prohibition. However, *Perfes* made the first step towards a reconciliation, by sending back to the *Achaëans* such of their slaves as had taken sanctuary in his dominions. With this acceptable present he sent an obliging letter, exhorting them to take effectual methods for preventing their slaves from finding, for the future, refuge in his dominions. This was courting their friendship, and tacitly demanding the re-establishment of their antient commerce. One *Xenarchus*, who was then prætor of *Achaia*, read the king's letter in a full assembly: it was heard with great applause, especially by those who had received their slaves; and most of the leading men were for annulling the decree forbidding all commerce with *Macedon*. But *Callicrates* represented to them the bad consequences of repealing the decree in so critical a juncture: he told them, that the *Romans* designed to make war upon *Perfes*; that *Perfes* had nothing else in view, by sending back their slaves, than to involve them and all *Greece* in this war; and that to enter into the least engagement with *Perfes*, was to renounce their alliance with *Rome*, and draw all the weight upon them. He therefore exhorted them, as they tendered the welfare of their country, to refuse the dangerous presents,

especially
with the
Achaëans.
Year of
the flood
2170.
Bef. Chr.
178.

Some of the
Achaëans
declare
against
him;

to

and others
for him.

to live as utter strangers to *Macedon*, and to confirm the decree forbidding all manner of commerce with her.

ARCHON, *Xenarchus*'s brother, spoke after *Callicrates*; and endeavoured to prove, that the fear of an imminent war was without foundation, since *Perfes* had renewed his alliance with the *Romans*, was honoured by them with the title of friend and ally, and had lately entertained their ambassadors with great demonstrations of kindness: why then might not the *Achæans*, as well as the *Epirots*, *Ætolians*, *Thessalians*, and the other nations of *Greece*, reap the advantages of his neighbourhood? Why might not the *Achæans*, like the other free states, cease to be enemies to *Perfes*, without ceasing to be friends to *Rome*? He concluded, that it would be time enough to declare against the *Macedonians*, when they were come to an open rupture with *Rome*; but, till then, they had no reason to be more zealous for their friends, than their friends were for themselvesⁱ.

ARCHON's discourse would have determined the assembly to comply with the request of *Perfes*, had not *Callicrates* observed, that the king had not vouchsafed to treat with them otherwise than by a short letter. This want of respect, as *Callicrates* styled it, being artfully represented, made the assembly postpone the determination, and refuse, for the present, the king's offer. As soon as *Perfes* was acquainted with had passed at the diet, he sent ambassadors to make the same offers; but the advocates of *Rome* found means to render all their negotiations fruitless^k.

SOME years after, a war breaking out between the *Romans* and *Perfes*, great divisions arose in all the cities and free states of *Greece*, some favouring the *Macedonians*, and others adhering to the *Romans*. The assembly of *Achaia* was not exempt from these disturbances; but *Archon* wisely prevented the ill consequences that might attend them, by engaging all the chiefs of *Achaia* to espouse the cause of the *Romans*. *Archon*

The A-
chæans
declare for
the Ro-
mans.

Year of
the flood
2179.
Bef. Chr.
169.

was not, as we have seen above, greatly inclined to the *Romans*; but rather favoured in his heart the *Macedonian* faction. However, as he foresaw, that *Rome* would at last prevail, he was no sooner chosen prætor, but he got the diet to pass a decree empowering him to raise what forces he pleased, and march with them to join the *Romans*. In the same assembly it was resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to *Marcus* the *Roman* consul, who had already penetrated into *Thessaly*, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republic, and to know when and where the *Achæan* army should join him. Po-

ⁱ Liv. ubi supra, c. 27. ^k Liv. ibid. c. 28.

lybius the historian, being named for this embassy, immediately *Polybius* set out for the *Roman* camp, in order to suppress the reports ^{sent to acquaint the} that were spread, as if *Achaia* intended to assist the *Macedonians*. When he arrived, he was received by the consul with ^{Roman} great demonstrations of kindness. The good-will of so power- ^{general} ful a nation, at a time when so many others were wavering ^{with the} in their fidelity, could not but be acceptable to him. He ^{resolution} therefore thanked them in the kindest terms; and told them, ^{of the} that they might spare themselves the trouble and expence of ^{Achaean} marching their troops to join him, since, in the present posture ^{diet.} of affairs, he did not want any foreign succours. With this answer *Polybius* sent back his colleagues; but remained himself in the *Roman* camp.

In the mean time, the *Achaëans* acquainted *Polybius*, that *Appius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in *Epirus*, had demanded of their republic five thousand men; which body they were ready to send into *Epirus*, if the consul approved of it. But *Marcus* was so far from consenting, that any succours ^{Marcus} should be sent to *Appius*, that he immediately dispatched *Polybius* home, with orders not to suffer any troops to be sent to ^{refuses} *Appius*, nor his republic to be put to such useless expences. It ^{the suc-} is difficult, says our historian, to discover the real motives that ^{cours of-} induced *Marcus* to act in this manner. Was he for saving ^{ferred him.} the *Achaëans* the trouble and charges of so long a march? or, did he intend to put it out of *Appius*'s power to undertake any thing, since he had not been able to undertake any thing himself? Whatever was his motive, *Polybius* readily complied with the inclinations of the consul, and returned home. But, when the matter was debated in the council of *Achaia*, difficulties were started by *Polybius*'s friends, and those of his party; for, as he was sure to incur the displeasure of the consul, if he did not act agreeable to his charge, so, on the other hand, orders given him by word of mouth, and in private, did not seem sufficient to warrant the conduct of the council in refusing succours to *Appius*, who really wanted them. In this case, therefore, they had recourse to a decree which had been lately published, in all the cities of *Greece*, by two commissioners sent for that purpose from *Rome*. The purport of this decree was, to forbid the *Roman* generals to exact any thing of the nations in confederacy with *Rome*, without an express order from the senate; and prohibiting the allies to submit to any exaction, or even demands, of the consuls, prætors, tribunes, &c. without such an order. The tyranny, which the commanders of the *Roman* fleets and armies exercised over their most faithful allies, gave occasion to this decree. For want of an order from the senate, the messenger, sent by *Appius*, was dismissed, without the succours he demanded. Thus *Poly-*

Polybius made his court to the consul, and, at the same time, consulted the interest of his country ¹.

The
haughty
behaviour
of the Ro-
mans af-
ter the de-
feat of
Perfes.

THE ensuing year, *Paulus Æmilius*, who succeeded *Marcus* in the command of the army in *Macedon*, being informed, that *Perfes* was drawing together a mighty army, with a design to come to a decisive battle, sent to solicit succours from the allies, especially the *Achæans*; who, upon the first summons, sent him what troops he wanted, under the conduct of the most experienced commanders they had. These distinguished themselves in a very particular manner at the famous battle of *Pydna*, which put an end to the *Macedonian* war, *Perfes* being intirely defeated, and soon after reduced to such streights, that he was obliged to deliver up himself, and all his children, to the conquerors. And now the *Romans*, having, by this victory, triumphed over their enemies in the east, began to treat their friends in a quite different manner from what they had used while they stood in need of their assistance. Ten commissioners were appointed to settle the affairs of *Macedon*, and inspect those of *Greece*; that is, to prosecute and punish, without any regard to justice and equity, all those, who, during the war, had betrayed any inclination to the *Macedonians*. These haughty judges summoned all the heads of the *Greek* nations to appear before their tribunal at *Amphipolis*, in order to compose their differences, as they gave out, and restore *Greece* to its antient tranquillity. The *Ætolians* appeared first, in mourning habits, and making great lamentations. The subject of their complaints was, that two members of their assembly, *Lyciscus* and *Tisippus*, whom the protection of the *Romans*, to whose interest they were devoted, rendered very powerful in *Ætolia*, had surrounded the senate with soldiers lent them by *Bæbius*, who commanded in the country for the *Romans*, and put to death five hundred and fifty of their senators, for no other crime, but because they were thought to favour *Perfes*. The commissioners, after hearing their complaints, confined their inquiries to this point alone, whether those, who had been thus massacred, were for the *Romans* or *Perfes*; and, having found that they had spoken in the senate for *Perfes*, the council passed a decree, by which the murderers were acquitted, and those, who had been put to death, declared to have suffered justly. *Bæbius* alone was blamed, for employing the *Roman* soldiers in an execution, which had no relation to military affairs ^m.

THIS sentence spread great terror among those who had shewn any affection for *Perfes*, and increased, beyond measure, the pride and insolence of the partisans of *Rome*. In each

¹ Liv. *ibid.* POLYB. *legat.* c. 77.

^m Liv. l. xlv. c. 28, 32.

city the leading men were divided into three factions; the first, Greece and, without doubt, the most numerous, adhered to the *Ma-*^{divided in-}
cedonians; the second was devoted to the *Romans*; and the ^{to three}
 third, in opposition to the other two, were neither for the ^{factions.}
Macedonians nor the *Romans*. The latter, whose party was Year of
 the least numerous, as it only consisted of prudent men, were the flood
 afraid, that, whatever party should prevail, their liberties might 2181.
 be in danger; and their concern was to preserve their country Bef. Chr.
 both from the *Macedonian* and *Roman* tyranny. These were 167.
 in great esteem, and beloved in their respective cities, and had
 acted prudently in all the measures they had taken; but this
 was not sufficient, as we shall see, to screen them from the
 vengeance of the *Romans*. The commissioners first wreaked
 their anger on those who had favoured *Perses*; for the emis-
 saries of *Rome* flocked to *Amphipolis* from all the countries of
Greece, to accuse them before the council. These treacherous
 men informed the commissioners, that, besides those who had
 openly espoused the cause of *Perses*, there were many others,
 who were no less averse from the *Romans* in their hearts; add-
 ing, that they would never have their authority quietly settled
 in *Greece*, till they had utterly destroyed both the favourers of
Perses, and those who had affected to stand neuter, and not
 to fall in with either party. The ten commissioners intirely
 approved what the informers advanced, and made it the rule Unjust pro-
 of their conduct to quash, in all the *Greek* cities, not only the ceedings of
 the *Macedonian*, but the neutral party, and confer honours on the Ro-
 those only, who preferred the interest of *Rome* to all other re-
 gards whatsoever. What justice could be expected from an
 assembly, that was determined to treat all those as criminals,
 who were not of the *Roman* party, and confer employments
 on such only, as declared themselves their accusers and ene-
 mies? We leave the reader to judge from hence of the so
 much boasted equity of the *Romans*. They were just and ho-
 nest, when they found their account in justice and honesty;
 but ever ready to sacrifice both to their boundless ambition.

THE most sanguine of these informers were *Callicrates* and
Andronidas, both *Achaëans*, and greatly attached to the *Roman*
 party. They laid claim to the chief employments of their re-
 public, or were willing to maintain themselves in them, with
 the assistance of the *Romans*. With this view, they informed
 against all those among their countrymen, who were in a con-
 dition to dispute the highest posts with them; and their accu-
 sations turned upon this, that their rivals had been friends and
 partisans of *Perses* before his overthrow. Besides the *Achaëans*,
Callicrates accused a great many others, and gave in a long list
 of such as had either declared for the *Macedonians*, or stood up
 for the defence of their own rights and privileges in *Acarmania*,
Epirus,

Several, Epirus, and Bæotia. All these were ordered by *Paulus Æmilius* to follow him to *Rome*, and there give an account of their conduct. But, as to the *Achæans*, the commissioners thought it adviseable to judge them in their own country, and to send two of the chief members of the council into *Achaia*, to try them there: and accordingly *C. Claudius* and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* were named, and set out for *Achaia*. Three reasons induced them to act in this manner; the first was, because they apprehended that the *Achæans*, who were very powerful, and no less jealous of their liberty, would not obey their orders, should they be commanded to justify themselves at *Rome*; the second, because they had not found any of their letters among *Perfes's* papers; and the third, because it was necessary to protect *Callicrates*, and the other informers, against the insults of their countrymen^a.

ONE of the two commissioners sent into *Achaia*, *Pausanias* does not say which, a man of a most vile character, complained in the assembly of the *Achæans*, that many of the chief men of the league had assisted *Perfes* against the *Romans*; and therefore desired, that all those might be condemned to die, whom he should name, after sentence given. After sentence given! cried out the whole assembly: *What justice is that? Name them first, and let them answer for themselves; which if they cannot do, we engage to condemn them.* Since you promise to condemn them, replied the haughty Roman, with an assuming air, all your prætors, all who have borne any office in your republic, or commanded your armies, are guilty of this crime. At these words, *Xenon*, a person of great credit, and highly respected by the whole league, spoke to this effect: *I have commanded the army, and have had the honour to be the chief magistrate of the league: I protest I have never done any thing contrary to the interest of Rome; and, if any one can charge me with that crime, as it is now stiled, let him appear. I am ready to clear myself, either in the assembly of the Achæans, or before the Roman senate.* The Roman took hold of this expression, and said, *That, since Xenon had named the senate, he, and the rest, could not appeal to a more impartial judge.* Then he began to name all those who had been accused by *Callicrates*, as more in the Macedonian than the Roman interest, ordering them to appear and plead their cause before the senate. They were above a thousand, all men of distinguished merit, and who had nothing so much at heart as the welfare of their country; and this was the only crime that could be laid to their charge. This sentence was a mortal wound to the liberty of *Achaia*: that unhappy republic was deprived at once of all those, who had

A thousand
Achæans
commanded
to appear
before the
Roman
senate.

^a JUSTIN, l. xxxiv. c. 1. PAUSAN, in Achaic. p. 416.

shewn any zeal for the preservation of her liberty. Such tyrannical proceedings had been unknown there, even under *Philip*, and his son *Alexander*; for neither of these princes ever thought of causing those who opposed them to be sent into *Macedon*; but referred their tryals to the council of the *Amphibylions*, their natural judges.

UPON the arrival of these unhappy men at *Rome*, they were *How used* banished into different towns of *Italy*, and kept there close pri- *at Rome.* soners, as if they had been already tried and condemned by the assembly of the *Achæans*. When news of these tyrannical proceedings was brought into *Achaia*, the assembly sent embassy after embassy, to acquaint the senate, that their banished countrymen had not been tried at home, but referred for their tryal to the *Roman* senate: they begged, that they would give them an hearing, condemn such as they should find guilty, and allow the others to return home. But the republic was inexorable; she obstinately insisted upon their having been found guilty in *Achaia*, and sent to *Rome* only to hear what punishment she was pleased to inflict upon them. Hereupon the *Several* *Achæans* sent a solemn embassy to the senate, to protest, that *embassies* the pretended guilty persons had never been tried, or even *sent by the* heard, by their assembly. *Euratas*, who was at the head of *Achæans* this embassy, being introduced to the senate, declared the or- *to Rome.* ders he had received, earnestly intreating the senate, in the name of his republic, that they would but once hear the persons accused, and not suffer them to perish without being condemned. It were to be wished, said he, that the *Roman* senate, that august and venerable assembly, which has never been known to swerve, in its decisions, from the strictest rules of equity, would take the cause of these unhappy men into their own hands; but, if affairs of greater importance do not allow them leisure to examine the matter themselves, let them refer it to the assembly of the *Achæans*, who are ready to punish with the utmost rigour such as they shall find guilty of any crime that may be laid to their charge. As this demand was very equitable, the senate was greatly puzzled what to answer. They did not think it adviseable to try the cause, as knowing that the accusation was groundless: on the other hand, to dismiss the exiles, and suffer them to return to their own country, was to disoblige their partisans in *Greece*, who placed all the hopes of their preferment in the ruin of those who had a better title to favour than themselves.

AFTER several consultations, the senate, for want of a bet- *The an-* ter answer, returned this, That they did not think it expedient *swer of* for the welfare of *Achaia*, that these men should return home. *the senate.* Such tyrannical proceedings caused an universal consternation in *Achaia*: all the inhabitants appeared in mourning habits, and

and lamented the loss of their countrymen no otherwise than if they had been their dearest relations. *Callicrates* and *Andronidas* became more than ever the objects of the public hatred : they were never mentioned in the assemblies, but with horror and detestation : even the children fell upon them in the public streets, calling them traitors, and enemies to their country. Nay, the *Achæans* carried their rage so far, that, when the two informers had one day gone into a public bath at *Sicyon*, nobody would wash with them, or even after them, till the water was let out, and the place purified. This general uneasiness made *Achaia* still the more suspected by the *Roman* senate, who kept the prisoners more closely confined than ever. These were the first seeds of a war which we shall soon see break out between *Rome* and *Achaia* ; the first sparks of that fire which consumed *Corinth* °.

New deputies sent to Rome ;

but to no purpose.

THE *Achæans*, however, did not give over soliciting the senate for the release of the exiles. They sent new deputies, to beg their return as a favour, lest, in taking upon them their defence, they should seem to oppose the will of the senate. The deputies appeared at *Rome* in the attire of suppliants, and took care not to say any thing in the harangue they made before the senate that could give offence. Their speech was modest, and extremely reserved : but the conscript fathers continued inexorable, declaring, that they would not, upon any account whatsoever, alter the measures they had taken. The *Achæans*, on the other hand, would not give over soliciting and importuning the senate in behalf of their countrymen. They sent several embassies, at different times, and made what interest they could among their friends at *Rome*, and elsewhere, to get their petition backed by persons who were better received than themselves. But all was to no effect ; they could not be prevailed upon even to suffer *Polybius*, who was one of the exiles, and kept under close confinement at *Rome*, to appear before the senate, and plead the common cause. This is the so much vaunted equity of the *Romans* ; these the civilizers of barbarous nations, the asserters of the rights and liberties of mankind.

Polybius in great esteem at Rome.

SEVENTEEN years were already past, and the far greater part of the unfortunate exiles dead in their confinement, when the senate at last was prevailed upon to suffer those few who were still alive, to return home. *Polybius*, as we have hinted above, was one of these unhappy *Achæans* ; but had been kept at *Rome*, whither his reputation had reached before him, and procured him that distinction. During his confinement in that city, his merit, wisdom, and learning, gained the love and

° LIV. l. xlv. c. 31. PAUSAN. in Achaic. p. 417. POLYB. legat. 105.

esteem of the greatest men in the senate. He was particularly dear to the two sons of *Paulus Æmilius*; the eldest of these had been adopted into the family of the *Fabii*, and the youngest into that of the *Scipios*. The latter, who afterwards destroyed *Carthage* and *Numantia*, at the request of his friend, solicited *Cato* the censor to speak in the senate in favour of the *Achæans*, knowing that his opinion would be of great weight with the members of that assembly. *Cato*, out of complaisance to young *Scipio*, promised to back the petition of the new deputies that were then come from *Achaia*, to intercede for the exiles. When they were admitted to audience, warm debates arose, as usual, among the senators, some few being for sending them home, and the others opposing it; when *Cato* rose up, and with great gravity said, "That to see the *Roman* senate dispute with great warmth, whether some poor old *Greeks* should be buried in *Italy*, or in their own country, would make one think that they had nothing at all to do." This pleasantry coming from so grave a man as *Cato*, made the senators ashamed of so long a contest, and determined them, at last, to send back the exiles into *Peloponnesus*. *Polybius* was for supplicating the senate, that they might be reinstated in all the honours and dignities they had enjoyed before their banishment; but before he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper to hear *Cato's* opinion, who told him, smiling: "*Polybius*, you do not imitate the wisdom of *Ulysses*. You are for returning into the cave of the *Cyclops* for some poor tatters you have left there." Accordingly the exiles *The A-* returned to their own country, but their number was much *chæans*, diminished; for of the thousand, and upwards, that came from *after Achaia*, no more than three hundred returned thither; the rest *seventeen* had perished in *Italy*, with hunger and grief, and some had *years con-* suffered like criminals, for attempting to make their escape *finement*. Such inhuman proceedings deserve no other name but that of *are sent* the most wanton and oppressive tyranny. The republic of *Achaia* was not subject to, but upon a level with, that of *Rome*. Those brave *Achæans*, who were thus barbarously treated, had most of them served under the *Roman* standards, and greatly contributed to that very victory which rendered the conquerors thus haughty and overbearing.

As for *Polybius*, he made no use of this permission, but re-*Polybius* mained in *Rome*, where that very virtue which had brought *remains at* him into distress was not only the means of his relief, but of his *Rome*. exaltation to greater dignities than those he lost. He attended *Scipio Æmilianus* in all his military expeditions, and signalized himself no less in the service of *Rome* than he had formerly done in that of *Achaia*.

^p PAUS. in Achaic. PLUT. in Cato censor. POLYB. in legat. 129, 130.

The minds
of the
Achæans
estranged
from the
Romans.

THE exiles, on their return, found *Achaia* rent into different factions, and the minds of the common people intirely estranged from the *Romans*. They only wanted an opportunity to make *Rome* repent of the rigorous treatment she had shewn to the *Achæan* prisoners. This aversion was artfully fomented by their chief magistrates, and the leading men in the republic, who were for the most part professed enemies to the *Romans*. Such an universal hatred could not be long kept within the bounds of moderation; it soon broke out into an open war, which ended in the intire reduction of *Achaia*, and the dissolution of the *Achæan* league.

What
gave rise
to the war
with the
Romans.

To trace this war back to its first origin: A certain dispute arising between the *Athenians* and the inhabitants of *Oropus* (A), the latter had recourse to the *Achæans*. *Menalcidas*, by birth a *Lacedæmonian*, was then prætor of *Achaia*: to him the *Oropians* applied, agreeing to give him ten talents, if he prevailed on the diet in which he presided, to espouse their cause, and assist them with troops. The *Lacedæmonian*, who preferred his own private advantage to the good of the public, accepted the proposal; and, in order to gain his point, promised to divide the money with *Callicrates*, if he could, by his interest, extort from the general assembly their consent to send troops to the defence of *Oropus*. *Callicrates*, allured with this bait, prevailed on the assembly to take the city of *Oropus* under their protection; and accordingly *Menalcidas* was immediately dispatched, with a strong body of chosen troops, to make head against the *Athenians*, who had already taken the field. But *Menalcidas* came too late; the *Athenians* had already plundered *Oropus*, and retired, with an immense booty: however, the avaritious prætor demanded the ten talents, as if his assistance had been effectual; but could not prevail on himself to divide them with *Callicrates*: he first put him off with fair promises, and at last told him, in plain words, that he would keep the whole sum to himself. *Callicrates*, who was as revengeful as the other was deceitful, accused him, as soon as he was out of his office, of having used his utmost endeavours with the *Roman* senate to withdraw his country from the *Achæan* league. The process was carried on with such rigour, that *Menalcidas* would have been sentenced to death, if he had not, by a present of three talents, prevailed upon *Diaëus*, who succeeded him in the prætorship, to acquit him, in spite of all the evidences that

(A) The antient geographers mention three cities bearing this name; one, called by *Aristotle*, *Græca*, stood in the island of *Eubæa*; another, the native city of *Seleucus Nicator*, belonged to *Macedon*; the third, which is the city we are now speaking of, stood in *Boeotia*, near the borders of *Attica*, forty-four miles north of *Athens*. It is now a village, called by the natives *Rope*.

were

were produced against him. This drew on *Diæus* the hatred of all the nation, as if he likewise was inclined to the *Lacedæmonians*. This was a great stain on his reputation, which he endeavoured to wipe off, by this bold step: he maintained in the general assembly, that the *Lacedæmonians* were subject to the *Achaean* league, even in criminal cases. *Rome* had decreed the contrary; but this screened him from the hatred he had incurred, by favouring *Menalcidas* the *Lacedæmonian*. When news was brought to *Lacedæmon*, that *Diæus* was endeavouring to get this new law approved by the general assembly, the whole city was in an uproar; for the *Roman* senate had, in *New* express terms, allowed them to judge their criminals in their *troubles in* own private assemblies: they were for sending deputies to *Pelopon- Rome*; but *Diæus* pretended, that only the general assembly *nesus* of the whole nation had a right of sending ambassadors thither ⁹.

THESE arbitrary proceedings greatly exasperated the *Lace- New* *dæmonians*; but, as they were noways in a condition to make *quarrels* head against the whole strength of *Achaia*, they humbled them- *between* selves so far as to send deputies to *Diæus*, who was advancing *the Lace-* at the head of a considerable army, intreating him not to use *dæmoni-* force till other means of a reconciliation proved fruitless. The *ans and* prætor answered the deputies, that he had no quarrel with the *Achæans*, *Lacedæmonians* in general, but only with a few disturbers of the public peace, whom he named, to the number of twenty-four. Upon the return of the deputies the council of *Lacedæmon* assembled, when *Agessithenes*, a man of great authority, moved, that those who had been named by *Diæus*, should, of their own accord, abandon their country, as if they had been banished; and carry their complaints to *Rome*. The motion was applauded by the whole assembly; and the persons that had been named withdrew, without delay, from their native country. When the council of *Lacedæmon* heard that they were got out of *Laconia*, sentence of death was pronounced against them in a full assembly, which assuaged the anger of *Diæus*, and his *Achæans*. But when they heard that the exiles, together with *Menalcidas*, were embarked for *Italy*, to lay their complaints before the senate, *Diæus* and *Callicrates* made what haste they could after them, to plead the cause of the *Achæans* against the *Lacedæmonians*: but they did not both reach *Rome*; *Callicrates*, who had great interest in that city, died at *Rhodes*, whither his affairs had called him. *Diæus* therefore, and *Menalcidas*, only appeared before the senate; and, by their *Greek* eloquence, disguised the truth with such artifice, that the senators could not come to any determination.

⁹ PAUSAN. in Achaic.

Commissioners were therefore appointed to determine the dispute on the spot; but as they were too dilatory in setting out, *Menalcidas* and *Diæus* arriving in *Peloponnesus* long before them, put all the country in a flame, which they, on their arrival, could not extinguish. *Diæus* assured the *Achæan* assembly, that every thing would be determined by the commissioners in their favour. On the other hand, *Menalcidas* brought the *Lacedæmonians* word, that, in a short time, their city and territory would be separated from the *Achæan* league, and declared an independent state. The *Achæans* hearing this resolved to take up arms, and force the *Lacedæmonians* to change their language ^r.

Commissioners from Rome strive to compose them.

The Achæans make war on the Lacedæmonians.

METELLUS, who was then busy in settling the affairs of *Macedon*, being informed of the troubles in *Peloponnesus*, desired the ambassadors which *Rome* was sending into *Asia*, to take *Corinth* and *Lacedæmon* in their way, in order to persuade the *Achæans* to suspend all hostilities till the arrival of the commissioners who had been nominated to compose their differences in an amicable manner. These ambassadors arriving in *Achaia*, found *Democritus*, who had succeeded *Diæus* in the office of prætor, in full march, with a design to fall upon the *Lacedæmonians*. They exhorted him to disband his men, and return home; but the prætor despising their advice, advanced to the very walls of *Lacedæmon*, and there gained a considerable advantage over the *Lacedæmonians*, who, having lost a thousand of their men, retired with such precipitation into the city, that if *Democritus* had warmly pursued them, he might have entered *Lacedæmon* with the fugitives. But he was over-hasty in sounding a retreat, contenting himself with the advantage he had gained; which so displeased the general assembly, that they fined him in fifty talents; a sum which he not being able to raise, was obliged to lay down his office, and save himself by flight out of the *Achæan* territories. Then *Diæus*, who had been the author of all the troubles, and was a declared enemy to *Lacedæmon*, was again elected prætor. *Metellus* no sooner heard of his promotion, but he sent a deputation to him, intreating him to forbear hostilities, till the arrival of the commissioners. *Diæus* complied with his request, but was not in the mean time idle; for he gained over to the *Achæans*, by secret negotiations, all the cities that bordered upon *Laconia*, and, having fortified them, kept that country and its capital in a manner blocked up. In this distress, the *Lacedæmonians*, thinking no man so

^r PAUSAN. ubi supra, p. 421—428. POLYB. legat. 143, 144. Idem in excerpt. de virt. & vit. JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 1. FLOR. l. ii. c. 16.

proper to extricate them out of these difficulties as *Menalcidas*, who had governed the whole *Achæan* republic, appointed him commander in chief of their troops. *Menalcidas* was a man of great valour, but betrayed want of prudence in the very first step he took: for, to give some reputation to his arms, he immediately took the field, and surprising the city *Iafos*, which was within the borders of *Laconia*, but subject to the *Achæans*, plundered it, and divided the booty among his soldiers. This was breaking the truce which had been granted by the *Achæans* at the instance of *Metellus*, and drawing upon himself the resentment of the *Romans*. The *Lacedæmonians* themselves were well apprised, that such unwarrantable proceedings might give a bad turn to their cause, and therefore would have punished their general with the utmost severity, had he not prevented them by laying violent hands on himself^s.

NOT long after the death of *Menalcidas*, the *Roman* commissioners arrived in *Peloponnesus*. As they were sent to put an end to a civil war, which was kindled in the heart of *Achaia*, they landed at *Corinth*, which was looked upon as the capital of the *Achæan* league. There they summoned the assembly, which *Aurelius Orestes*, who was at the head of the commissioners, opened with a speech calculated rather to create than compose divisions. *Polybius* is of opinion, that he exceeded the instructions he had brought from *Rome*, and changed the menaces of the senate into absolute orders^t; for he told them, that *Rome* had been long endeavouring to establish a happy union among the free cities of *Greece*, but was at last convinced, that such an union could never be effected so long as their present form of government subsisted. “*Flaminius* (said he) set your cities at liberty, a blessing which they might have enjoyed separately; but you chose to form a league among yourselves, a league which should depend on a general assembly, and be governed by a prætor chosen by a plurality of voices. In this you endeavoured to secure your common safety; but your precaution has only produced troubles and divisions. Your deputies do not agree among themselves; your assemblies make laws, which every particular city will not observe. This obliges you to have recourse to arms; and hence these eternal divisions, hence these hostilities, which make it necessary for you to be always under arms, and to look upon your confederates as enemies. *Rome* is concerned to see so many intestine wars kindled among you, knows the cause of these evils, and is resolved to put a stop to

^s PAUSAN. POLYB. &c. *ibid.*

^t POLYB. *legat.* 143.

“ them. When you are less united, you will be more happy, and will never be completely so till you make the necessary separations. Attend then to the orders of the senate, which I am going to declare, and put them in execution with readiness. It is the will and pleasure of the Roman senate and people, that all the cities, which were not formerly of the *Achaean* league, that is, *Corinth*, *Lacedæmon*, *Argos*, *Heraclea* (B), and *Orchomenos* (C), be separated from the general alliance, and governed by their own laws independently of the confederacy u.”

The commissioners and Lacedæmonians ill used and insulted.

Year of the flood 2201.
Bef. Chr. 147.

No sooner had *Aurelius* pronounced these words, but the *Achaean* deputies, without giving him time to end his speech, left the assembly, and, calling together the people of *Corinth* in the market-place, acquainted them with the decree which the commissioners had brought from *Rome*. The whole city was in an uproar, and the multitude being enraged to the highest degree, fell upon all the *Lacedæmonians* they could find in the city, and either stript them or put them to death. Even those who fled to the house of the commissioners for refuge, were dragged from thence, and treated like the rest. *Aurelius* and his colleagues in vain cried out, that their republic would revenge the injuries done to the *Lacedæmonians*. The incensed multitude was deaf to their remonstrances; nay, they would have treated the commissioners themselves in the same manner, had they not saved themselves by a timely flight w.

THE commissioners, on their return to *Rome*, not only set the insults they had received at *Corinth* in the strongest light, but are said to have exaggerated them beyond measure; they represented the tumult, not as a sudden commotion, but as a premeditated plot. The senate was highly incensed at such proceedings, but thought it adviseable to use moderation: *Carthage* was not yet taken, nor the two pretended sons of *Perses* entirely subdued; they thought it therefore necessary to be very cautious in treating with so powerful a republic as that of *Achaia* at so critical a juncture. Hence they voted only for sending three new commissioners into *Achaia*, in-

New commissioners sent into Achaia.

u POLYB. legat. 143.

w Idem ibid.

(B) This city of *Heraclea* stood in *Phthiotis*, a province of *Thessaly*, near the pass of *Thermopylae*. It was called *Heraclea Trachinea*, to distinguish it from several other cities bearing the same name.

(C) *Orchomenos* was one of the largest cities of *Boeotia*, and famous for a temple dedicated to the three graces, which was one of the most antient and wealthy of Greece.

structing

structing them to complain in a very gentle manner, and only to exhort the *Achaëans* not to give ear to bad counsel, lest, by their imprudence, they should draw upon themselves a war which it was in their power to avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. The commissioners embarked without delay, and, after their arrival in *Peloponnesus*, met a deputy sent by the *Achaëans*, to acquaint the senate with their proceedings against *Orestes*; but the commissioners carried him back with them to *Ægium*, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. *Sextus Julius*, a man of great prudence and moderation, was at the head of this new deputation. When he was introduced to the assembly, he spoke with that air of mildness which was natural to him, seasoning his reproaches with the most tender expressions: “We can
“excuse, said he, the first commotions of a multitude led
“astray by a mistaken zeal for their country; we are sensible that the magistrates cannot govern them on such occasions. If our ambassadors have suffered any ill treatment
“in those blind transports, the fault may be easily repaired.
“The *Romans* will be appeased with the least signs of repentance. All the satisfaction *Rome* requires of you is,
“that you leave *Lacedæmon* in peace, and restore tranquillity
“to *Peloponnesus* x.”

THESE moderate remonstrances, in which *Julius* designedly omitted saying one word of separating any cities from the *Achaean* league, was received with great applause by the major part of the assembly. But *Critolaus* and *Diaëus* endeavoured to efface the impressions, which *Julius*’s speech had on the minds of the assembly, by insinuating, that it was dangerous to trust the seeming moderation of the *Romans*; that *Rome* only suspended her revenge till *Carthage* was destroyed; that they would soon see her legions laying waste *Peloponnesus*, as they had done *Africa*, and consequently that it was necessary to prevent such hostilities, by raising up enemies against the *Romans*, and utterly destroying their friends. Such were the discourses of *Critolaus* and *Diaëus* in their private conventicles among men of their own stamp, and devoted to their faction. But in public they spoke a very different language, and treated the commissioners with great civility. *Critolaus*, who was then prætor, invited them to *Tegæa*, to meet an extraordinary assembly, in which the affairs of *Lacedæmon* should be amicably adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties. Accordingly *Julius* and his colleagues went with the *Lacedæmonians* to the place appointed, where they waited a long time for the arrival of the deputies; but no *Achaean*

x POLYB. legat. 144.

Affront the Roman ambassadors; appeared. While the *Romans* were thus attending in a corner of the province, *Critolaus* was sending express from city to city, forbidding them to send their deputies to the congress. *Julius* began to be impatient, and express his uneasiness, when *Critolaus* came all alone to *Tegæa*, and, to the great surprize of the *Romans*, told them, that the dispute between the *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians* was of too great importance to be decided in a private assembly; that it was necessary to refer it to the general diet, which could not be assembled according to law in less than six months.

who complain to the senate. JULIUS was highly affronted at such deceitful proceedings. He dismissed the *Lacedæmonians*; and, returning to *Rome*, complained, that the republic had been insulted, and her ambassadors personally ill used and derided. On the other hand, the prætor gloried in having mortified *Rome* in her envoys, and took no one step to appease her wrath. He was, out of hatred to the *Romans*, desirous of war; but would not commit hostilities the first, for fear of being censured by his own nation. He therefore treated the ambassadors in the manner we have related, being well apprised, that contempt would as effectually exasperate that haughty people, as open hostilities.

Metellus endeavours in vain to bring Critolaus to reason. HOWEVER, *Rome* was not in haste to come to an open rupture: notwithstanding the loud complaints of *Julius* and his colleagues, the senate would not resolve on a war; but contented themselves with referring the affair to *Metellus*, who was settling the province of *Macedon*, after having conquered the two false pretenders to that crown. The orders sent him were to treat with *Critolaus*, as of himself, in order to bring him to reason. *Metellus* immediately dispatched four *Romans* of distinguished birth, viz. *Cn. Papirius*, *Ælius Lamia*, *A. Gabinius*, and *Q. Fannius*, into *Peloponnesus*, injoining them to lay before the assembly of *Achaia* the evils which *Critolaus* and his partisans were, by their rash behaviour, drawing upon them.

Critolaus stirs up the multitude against the Romans. IN the mean time *Critolaus* ran from city to city, summoning assemblies, under colour of communicating to them what had passed in the conferences at *Tegæa*; but, in fact, to vent invectives against the *Romans*, and put an odious construction upon all they had done. In order to increase his party, he published an edict, forbidding all judges to prosecute or imprison any *Achaean* for debt, till the dispute between the assembly and *Lacedæmon* was at an end. By this means, he disposed the multitude to receive willingly what orders he thought fit to give them. Incapable of making suitable reflections on the future, they fell in with the passions of a madman, who neither foresaw his own misfortunes, nor those of his nation.

DURING

DURING these transactions, the four deputies, sent by *Metellus*, arrived at *Corinth*, where the general assembly was then sitting. This new embassy ought to have been received with respect, as it came from a victorious general, whose army was encamped in *Macedon*, within reach of *Greece*; but *Critolaus* treated them worse than those who had been sent from *Rome*. He would not suffer them to appear before the assembly; but commanded them to declare their business to the populace, assembled in the market-place. To this factious assembly, consisting of artificers, and the refuse of the people of *Corinth*, *Cn. Papirius* spoke, with, at least, as much moderation as *Julius* had done before the heads of the nation. His discourse tended to shew, that it was the interest of *Achaia* to keep up a good correspondence with *Rome*: he took care not to mention the separation of *Lacedæmon*, and the other cities, from the *Achæan* league. This was interpreted by *Critolaus* as a proof of their fear; and, upon this prejudice, a great croud of artificers fell upon the ambassadors, loaded them with reproaches, and drove them, with all manner of affronts, out of the market-place^y. All the cities of *Achaia* were at that time seized, we may say, with a kind of madness; but *Corinth* was more furious than the rest. They were persuaded, that *Rome* intended to enslave them, and absolutely destroy the *Achæan* league; which persuasion made them deaf to all the remonstrances of those, who disapproved the wild measures of *Critolaus*.

THE turbulent prætor, finding all things succeed to his wish, *Critolaus* harangued the multitude, in order to inflame them against such of the nobility as refused to enter into his views. He even named two men of unblameable character, accusing them of informing the *Roman* ambassadors of all that passed in the national assemblies. One of these, by name *Strategius*, immediately gave the prætor the lye, and steadily insisted on his innocence. But the multitude was for the prætor, and *Strategius* condemned; notwithstanding he called the gods to witness, that he had never discovered any thing transacted in the assemblies. This notorious piece of injustice convinced *Critolaus*, that he had gained an absolute ascendant over the people; whereupon, carrying his fury to the utmost extremity, in the same assembly, he caused war to be declared with *Lacedæmon*, and consequently with the *Romans*^z.

UPON the declaration of war, the ambassadors parted; *Papirius* repaired to *Lacedæmon*, to watch the enemy's motions; *Ælius* set out for *Neupactus*; and the other two for the camp in *Macedon*, to excite *Metellus* not to delay revenging the

^y FLOR. in epit. FLOR. l. ii. c. 16. PAUSAN. ubi supra. OROSIUS, &c. ^z POLYB. legat. 144. PAUSAN. in Achaic.

affronts offered to *Rome* in her ambassadors. Accordingly *Metellus*, without waiting for the orders of the senate, put himself at the head of his army, and began his march towards *Achaia*, with a design to enter it by *Thessaly*.

The cities of Thebes THE cities of *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, and *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, having been disobliged by *Metellus*, since his abode in *Macedon*, and *Chalcis* joined the *Achæans*. The inhabitants of *Thebes* had been condemned, by *Metellus*, to make the *Phocæans* satisfaction for the losses the latter had suffered by their frequent incursions, and moreover to deliver up to the inhabitants of *Amphissa* in *Locris* (D) the third part of their harvest, for having reaped the corn of their neighbours, as if it had been their own. The inhabitants of *Chalcis* had ravaged part of *Eubœa*, and *Metellus* had obliged them to make restitution. Upon these motives, the two cities entered into the rash measures of *Critolaus*, and joined him with their troops. With such feeble aids the *Achæan* prætor believed himself able to cope with the most powerful state in the world; so far had his rage and hatred against the *Romans* got the better of his reason. Both *Critolaus* and *Diæus* had been of the number of those exiles, whom the *Romans* had kept so long in *Italy* in a kind of slavery, and were therefore determined to revenge themselves, even at the expence of their country.

Heraclea besieged by the Achæans. CRITOLAUS, being joined by the troops of *Thebes* and *Chalcis*, took the field, and marched against *Heraclea*, a city of the *Achæan* league, which refused to send its contingent to the prætor. While he was besieging this town, news was brought him, that *Metellus* was drawing near; which struck him with such terror, that he immediately broke up the siege, and withdrew into *Achaia*. He might easily have seized the pass of *Thermopylæ*, and there stopped at least, if not defeated, the *Roman* army; but his courage failed him all at once, and his retreat had all the appearance of a flight. *Metellus* pursued him close, and at last came up with him, and routed him. Historians have not told us the particulars of this battle; but we may well conclude that it cost the *Achæans* dear, for their army was intirely defeated, and above a thousand of them taken prisoners. *Critolaus* himself lost his life on this occasion; for he never appeared afterwards, neither was his body found in the field of battle. Some say he poisoned himself in some remote corner of *Greece*; others that he threw himself down from mount *Oeta* into a marsh, and was drowned^a.

IT

^a POLYB. PAUSAN. *ibid*.

(D) *Amphissa* stood on the banks of a little river, bearing the same name, and was one of the greatest cities in *Locris*. Some think

IT was an established law among the *Achæans*, that, when *Diaëus* their prætor died during his office, his immediate predecessor *succeeds* should succeed him, and govern the republic till the next general assembly, which met at a stated time. By this law, *Critolaus*, *and makes* *Diaëus* took upon him the government of the republic, and the *great pre-* command of the scattered army; but scarce was he invested *parations* with this dignity, when news was brought him, that a body *for war.* of above a thousand *Arcadians*, who had joined the *Achæans*, and, after the battle, retired to *Elatea* in *Phocis*, had been all to a man cut in pieces by *Metellus*. This was melancholy news; however, as he had been the chief author of the war, it behoved him to maintain it: he therefore sent deputies to all the cities of *Achaia*, injoining them to raise new troops with all possible expedition; and caused an edict to be published in all the places that were subject to the *Achæan* league to this purport: that no less than twelve thousand slaves, who had been born in the country, should be enlisted; and that, if it was necessary, some of the slaves, that had been brought from foreign countries, should be taken into the service, to complete that number; that all those who were fit to bear arms, whether in *Achaia* or *Arcadia*, should repair to *Corinth*, and there take the military oaths; that all persons of substance, whether men or women, should bring all their gold and silver into the public treasury. This convinced all *Achaia* of the danger that threatened them; but, as they were embarked in a war with an enemy, whom they had so highly provoked, they blindly pursued the mad scheme. The cities of *Elea*, *Messene*, and *Patraë*, were so terrified, when they heard that a consular army was coming from *Rome*, and that a consul, with new legions, was to take the place of the prætor *Metellus*, that the inhabitants gave themselves up to despair, and either abandoned their country, or laid violent hands on themselves, through fear of falling under the conqueror's power. These cities were exposed to the first attacks of the enemy after their landing, and expected the most severe treatment. Some had recourse to the clemency of *Metellus*, flying to his camp for refuge. There they informed against the most factious among their countrymen, though no inquiry was yet made after them ^b.

IN the mean time, the *Roman* prætor entered *Arcadia*, and *Thebes* drew near *Thebes*, which had openly declared for the *Achæan* taken by league. *Pythias*, the chief magistrate of that city, had stirred *Metellus* up all the inhabitants against the *Romans*, and treated with

^b POLYB. & PAUSAN. *ibid.*

think it stood where *Solona* now stands; but *Niger* thinks its ancient situation agrees better with that of a little village now called *Lambino*.

Megara
submits.

Metellus
sends new
deputies to
treat of a
peace.

They are
treated as
enemies.

great severity such as were unwilling to enter into his measures. It was chiefly with a view to seize him, that *Metellus* turned his arms against *Thebes*; but *Pythias* had retired from his native country, with his wife and children, before the arrival of the army. Most of the citizens had followed his example, and abandoned the city; which *Metellus* entered without opposition. The few citizens that remained he treated with great clemency, and saved the temple and houses from being plundered; but set a price on *Pythias*'s head. This mixture of mildness and severity was very pleasing to the people; but struck the magistrates with new terror. From *Thebes*, the *Roman* general marched to *Megara*, which important post was guarded by one *Alcamenes*, with a detachment of four thousand men; but the cowardly governor, at the approach of the prætorian army, left the place, and retired to *Corinth*, where he joined *Diæus*. The inhabitants of *Megara* opened their gates to the *Romans*, and put them in possession of the most fruitful territory of *Achaia*.

AND now *Metellus*, seeing most of the *Achæans* struck with terror, and inclined to peace, thought, that such a favourable opportunity of gaining *Diæus* and his faction was not to be neglected. He had been informed, that the consul *Mummius* was charged with the war in *Achaia*, and had already set out from *Rome*, with orders from the senate to settle affairs in *Greece*, by the destruction of *Corinth*. To deprive therefore *Mummius* of this glory, and, at the same time, save that noble city, he sent new deputies to treat of a peace. For this embassy he did not chuse *Romans*; but three *Achæans* of great distinction and credit in their own country, who had taken sanctuary in the *Roman* camp. These were *Andronidas*, *Logius*, and *Archippus*, men well affected to the *Romans*; but strongly touched with the misfortunes which threatened their country. Upon their arrival at *Corinth*, they found the people in general inclined to peace; but the prætor, and his faction, more than ever bent upon a war. They were, by his order, thrown into prison, after he had produced them before the assembly of the people, and declared them traitors and enemies to their country: neither could he be prevailed upon to alter his measures, either by the remonstrances of *Philo*, an *Achæan* of great authority, who came on purpose from *Theffaly*, or by the intreaties of *Stratius*, a man of distinguished merit, and his particular friend. In spite of all their efforts, the mad prætor sentenced the three deputies to die, and prevailed upon the chief members of the council who were devoted to his faction, to confirm the unjust sentence; nay, they joined with them in the same condemnation one *Sofiscrates*, a venerable senator, whose only crime was his having voted for treating of a peace with

with the *Romans*. *Sofocrates* was executed a few days after, and no kind of torture spared, to extort from him such a confession as *Diæus* wanted; but he maintained to the last, that peace was preferable to war; and this inflexible constancy made no small impression on the minds of the people. As for *Andronidas* and his colleagues, the avaritious prætor sold them their deliverance at a great price. A few days before *Diæus* had caused one *Phillius* and his children to be put to death, only because they were suspected of corresponding with *Menalcidas* at *Lacedæmon*, and inclining to favour the *Roman* faction. Thus were the unfortunate *Achæans* governed by magistrates who had no other rule of conduct but their passions, and no other talent for war but a savage fierceness, and a blind desire of revenge^c.

AN account of the many advantages gained by *Metellus* being transmitted to *Rome* by one *Posthumius*, without the general's knowledge, the consul *Mummius* hastened his departure for *Achaia*, which had fallen to his lot. Why the senate would not suffer *Metellus* to finish a war which he had prosecuted so far, is what we find no-where recorded. When the consul landed the numerous army he brought with him, *Metellus* was advancing to *Corinth*, with a design to use his utmost efforts, in order to bring *Diæus* to accept of a peace before the arrival of the consular army; and thereby deprive *Mummius* of the glory of finishing the war: but the obstinate prætor would hearken to no conditions, how advantageous soever, which gave *Metellus* great concern, and made him lose all hopes of settling *Achaia* in peace, before the arrival of the consul.

THIS was the posture of affairs in *Achaia* when *Mummius* appeared before *Corinth* with a consular army, consisting of three thousand five hundred horse, and twenty-three thousand foot, besides a body of *Cretan* archers, and the *Pergamean* troops sent by *Attalus* the son of *Eumenes*. His first care was to send back *Metellus*, and his forces, into *Macedon*, lest he should share with him the glory of concluding the war. He then drew near the city, and encamped on the isthmus of *Corinth*, posting advanced guards round the town: but as no enemy appeared, the *Achæan* army being shut up in the city, the *Romans* straggled about the fields, and neglected their posts; which the *Corinthians* observing, made a vigorous sally, fell upon the legionaries, and pursued them with great slaughter to their camp. This small advantage encouraged the *Achæans*, and inspired *Diæus* with hopes of conquering the consul, who, on his side, did all that lay in his power to confirm him in his

Metellus strives in vain to settle the affairs of Achaia.

The consul Mummius arrives in Greece. Year of the flood 2220. Bef. Chr. 146.

^c POLYB. & PAUSAN. *ibid.*

foolish persuasion: he kept his legions close in the camp, and pretended not to be able to bear the sight of the enemy. *Diæus* now becoming audacious, and sure of victory, assembled all those who were able to bear arms, and formed them into a phalanx, which, with the auxiliaries from *Chalcis*, made up an army equal, if not superior in number to that of the *Romans*. They wanted experience and discipline; but *Diæus* thought that despair, and the importance of their cause, would supply that want: he therefore advanced with his troops, and offered the consul battle; which he declined, in order to draw the *Achaëans* into a valley called *Leucopetra*, at the extremity of the isthmus which joined *Attica* to *Peloponnesus*. Accordingly the prætor fell into the snare, and repaired thither long before the consul. *Diæus* was so sure of victory, that he had invited the women and children of *Corinth* to be spectators, from the neighbouring hills, of the slaughter he was going to make of the enemy. He had also ordered a great number of waggons to follow the army, which were to be loaded with the spoils of the *Romans* ^d.

The A-
chæans
defeated by
Mum-
mius.

NEVER was there a more rash and ill-grounded confidence. The faction of *Diæus* had removed from the service, and from the public councils, all those who were capable of commanding the troops, or directing affairs, and had substituted in their room others, who had no experience in civil or military concerns: the soldiers had never before seen the face of an enemy, and were quite unacquainted with military discipline; and nevertheless the rash prætor promised himself victory over a consular army, inured to the greatest dangers. While the *Achæans* were thus triumphing in the plains of *Leucopetra*, and only solicitous lest the consul should find means to make his escape, he unexpectedly appeared, with his army drawn up in battalia. He had the day before placed in an ambuscade a strong body of horse, with orders to sally out in the heat of the action, and attack the *Achæan* phalanx in flank. The *Achæans* advanced furiously, but their cavalry was soon put to the rout. The phalanx made a vigorous resistance; but, at length, being attacked in front by the legionaries, and by the cavalry in flank, it was broken and dispersed. The slaughter then was dreadful: we are told, that the two seas which were divided by the isthmus of *Corinth*, were dyed with blood. If *Diæus* had retired into *Corinth*, he might have held it a long time, notwithstanding the loss of the battle, and obtained an honourable capitulation from *Mummius*; for *Corinth* was at that time one of the strongest places in the world, and the consul's sole aim was to deserve a triumph, by putting a speedy end to the war:

^d PAUSAN. ubi supra. Auct. de vir. illust.

but

but *Diæus*, abandoning himself to despair, rode full speed to *The un-Megalopolis*, his native country, and entering his house set fire *happy end* to it, threw his wife into the flames, lest she should fall into *of Diæus*, the enemy's hands, and put an end to his unhappy life by poison^c.

AFTER this defeat all things were in the utmost confusion at *Corinth*. The inhabitants finding themselves without council, leaders, or courage, fled to other places for safety, leaving the city deserted. The gates were open, and no body appeared on the walls to defend them. The consul hearing this could scarcely believe it, and, fearing some ambuscade, restrained the ardour of his soldiers, who were very eager to enter *Corinth*, and enrich themselves with the plunder of so *Mum-* *wealthy a city*. *Mummius* was thus in suspense for the space of *ters Co-* three days, at the end of which, after having taken all proper *rinth, and* precautions, and narrowly observed all places, both within and *plunders it*, without the city, he entered it at the head of his troops, and gave it up to the rage and avarice of his soldiers. The men, who had not been able to prevail upon themselves to forsake their native country, were all put to the sword, and the women and children sold for slaves to the best bidder. Then the town was ransacked by the greedy soldiers; and who can reckon up the immense treasures they found? There were more *The rich* vessels of all sorts of metals, more fine pictures, and statues of *spoils of* the greatest masters, in *Corinth*, than in any city of the world. *Corinth*. All the princes of *Europe* and *Asia*, who had any taste in painting and sculpture, furnished themselves here with their richest moveables: here were cast the finest statues for temples and palaces, and all the liberal arts brought to their greatest perfection. Many inestimable pieces of the most famous painters and statuaries fell into the hands of soldiers, who, not knowing their value, either destroyed them, or parted with them for a few drachmas. *Polybius* was an eye-witness of the want *Want of* of taste in the *Romans* of those days. *taste in*

THIS brave *Achaean*, upon the first news that his countrymen had taken up arms against *Rome*, left *Africa*, where he *the Ro-* was attending *Scipio* at the siege of *Carthage*, and hastened to *Achaia*, to do his country what service he could. He was in the *Roman* army when *Corinth* was plundered, and had the mortification to see the *Roman* soldiers playing at dice on a picture of *Aristides* (E), which was accounted one of the wonders

^c PAUSAN. in *Achaic*. ZONARAS, l. ix. c. 31.

(E) *Aristides*, who was cotemporary with *Apelles*, flourished at *Thebes* about the one hundred and twenty-second Olympiad. He is said to have been the first that attempted to represent

ders of the world. They set no value on that masterpiece, and therefore willingly parted with it for a more convenient table to play upon: but when the spoils of *Corinth* were put up to sale, *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* offered for it six hundred thousand sesterces; that is, near five thousand pounds of our money. The consul, surprised that the price of a picture should be carried so high, thought there was some magical virtue in it; and therefore interposing his authority, retained it, notwithstanding the complaints of *Attalus*. He was not actuated in so doing by his private interest; for he did not appropriate it to himself, but placed it in the temple of *Ceres*, where *Strabo* had the pleasure of seeing it before it was consumed in the fire which reduced that temple to ashes ^f. *Mummius* was a great warrior, but seems to have had no taste for painting or sculpture; for when he put the pictures and statues he had taken in *Corinth* on board the transports, he told the masters of the vessels very seriously, that if any of them were either lost or spoiled, he would oblige them to find others, at their own cost; as if any other pieces could have supplied the loss of those inestimable originals, done by the most celebrated masters in *Greece* ^g. Were it not to be wished, says the historian who has transmitted this fact to posterity, that this happy ignorance still subsisted? Would it not be far preferable to that delicacy of taste for such rarities which prevails in the present age ^h? He spoke at a time when the governors of the provinces used all manner of frauds and extortions, to enrich themselves and their families with such valuable moveables.

Corinth
reduced to
ashes.

Year of
the flood
2202.
Bef. Chr.
146.

CORINTH being thus pillaged, nothing remained but to reduce it to ashes, pursuant to the decree of the senate; which the consul was obliged to put in execution. Fire was set to all the corners of the city at the same time; and the flames growing more violent as they drew near the centre, at last united there, and made one general conflagration; which is said to have produced that famous mixture which art could never imitate. The gold, silver, and brass, which the *Corinthians* had concealed, were melted, and ran down the streets in streams. Some of the greedy soldiers, in attempting to save part of those metals, perished in the flames. When the fire was extinguish-

^f STRAB. l. viii. p. 381. PLIN. l. xxxv. c. 4. & 10. CIC. de offic. l. i. c. 76, 77. ^g VEL. PAT. l. i. c. 13. ^h Idem ibid.

sent the passions of the soul in colours. The piece here spoke of was a *Bacchus* so exquisitely done, that it was proverbially said of any extraordinary performance, *It is as well done as the Bacchus of Aristides* (11).

(11) Plin. l. xxxv. c. 4, & 10. Strabo, l. viii. p. 381.

ed, a new metal was found, composed of several different ones (F), and greatly esteemed in the following ages. The walls of the city were demolished, and rased to the very foundations. Thus was *Corinth* destroyed the same year that *Carthage* was laid in ashes. By the destruction of two such cities the *Romans* intended to strike terror into the rest of the world, and keep all nations steady in their obedience to *Rome*. *Corinth* was destroyed nine hundred and fifty-two years after its foundation, by *Aletes* the son of *Hippotes*, sixth in descent from *Hercules*. *Cicero*, who approved of the destruction of *Carthage* and *Numantia*, wished that *Corinth*, where the arts of painting and sculpture seemed to have taken up their habitation, had been spared ⁱ.

It does not appear, that the *Achæans* had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of their country, or summoned any assembly to deliberate on the measures it was necessary to take. No one took upon him to propose any remedy for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appease the *Romans*, by sending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought, that the *Achæan* league had been buried under the ruins of *Corinth*; so much had the dreadful destruction of this city alarmed, and universally dismayed, the whole confederacy.

It was now necessary to determine the fate of the *Achæans* ^{The A-} in general. As to the *Corinthians*, and such slaves as had taken ^{chæans} up arms against *Rome*, they were all condemned to slavery, ^{severely} and carefully sought out in all the places whither they had fled. ^{punished} After this the whole nation was ordered to assemble in the open ^{by the} fields, where they were surrounded by the *Roman* legions; and, ^{Romans,} because they were all afraid of being involved in one common misfortune, proclamation was made, that only the natives of *Corinth*, and such slaves as had served in the troops, should be made captives, and be sold. The consul granted the rest of the inhabitants of *Achaia* their liberty, and sold the lands of the citizens of *Corinth*, which were in great part purchased by the *Sicyonians*. *Thebes*, *Chalcis*, and some other cities that had joined the *Achæans*, were by the consul's orders dismantled. *Achaia* was condemned to pay the *Lacedæmonians* two hundred talents for the damages they had suffered during the war. Soon

ⁱ Cic. de offic. l. i. c. 35.

(F) *Pliny* tells us, that there were three sorts of *Corinthian* of money, according to the different proportions of gold, silver, brass, viz. the red, the white, and copper, that were in it (12), and that which was of the colour

(12) *Plin*, l. vii. c. 38.

The Achæan league dissolved, and Achaia reduced to a Roman province.

Philopœmen accused after his death of having been an enemy to the Romans;

but defended by Polybius.

An instance of Polybius's

after, ten commissioners arrived from *Rome*, to regulate the affairs of *Greece* in general, and of *Achaia* in particular, in conjunction with the consul. These abolished popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates, who were to govern each city according to their respective laws, under the superintendency of a *Roman* prætor. Thus the *Achæan* league was dissolved, and *Greece* reduced to a *Roman* province, called the province of *Achaia*, because, at the taking of *Corinth*, the *Achæans* were the most powerful people of *Greece*. The whole nation paid an annual tribute to *Rome*; and the prætor, who was sent thither every year, was charged with the care of collecting it.

WE have observed before, that *Polybius*, on his return into *Peloponnesus*, had the mortification to see the city of *Corinth* reduced to ashes, and his country become a *Roman* province. If any thing was capable of mitigating his affliction on so mournful an occasion, it was the opportunity he had of defending the memory of *Philopœmen*, his master in the science of war. A *Roman*, out of some private grudge to that great hero, accused him before *Mummius*, as if he had been still alive, of having been an enemy to the *Romans*, and always opposing their designs, to the utmost of his power. What the accuser proposed by this new prosecution was, that all the statues and monuments erected to the memory of *Philopœmen* in most cities of the *Achæan* league, should be destroyed, and his glorious feats buried in oblivion. The accusation was not without foundation; for as that brave *Achæan* was a true friend to his country, so he was an enemy in his heart to the *Romans*, being well apprised, that nothing but the absolute subjection of *Greece* could satisfy their pride and ambition. However, *Polybius* boldly took upon him his defence; and represented him as the greatest man *Greece* had produced in latter times: he owned, that he might perhaps have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far, but that he had rendered the people of *Rome* considerable services on various occasions. The ten commissioners, at whose tribunal he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, but more with the gratitude he shewed in defending his master, decreed, that the statues of *Philopœmen* should not be touched; and that his monuments should remain till they were overturned by the destroyer of all things. *Polybius*, taking the advantage of *Mummius*'s good disposition, begged of him the statues of *Aratus*, and *Achæus* the founder of the nation; which were granted him, though they had been already transported out of *Peloponnesus* into *Acarmania*. At the same time he gave a signal proof of his disinterestedness, which gained him as much esteem among his countrymen as his defending the memory of

Philo-

Philopœmen. After the destruction of *Corinth*, the effects of *disinterest-* those who had been the authors of the insults offered to the *edness.* *Roman* ambassadors, were sold by auction. When those of *Diaus* were put up, the commissioners ordered the quæstor who sold them, to let *Polybius* have out of them whatever he pleased, without taking any thing from him on that account: but *Polybius* refused the offer, saying, that he looked upon it as a very dishonourable thing to enrich himself with the spoils of his fellow-citizens^k.

THIS action gave the commissioners such an idea of his *He is ap-* virtue and probity, that, upon their leaving *Peloponnesus*, they *pointed to* appointed him to visit all the cities of *Greece*, and every-where *settle the* settle the new form of government: a very honourable com- *new form* mission, which he discharged both to the satisfaction of the *of govern-* senate of *Rome*, and the people of *Achaia*, who erected many *ment.* statues in honour of their benefactor, and, among others, one with this inscription: *To the memory of Polybius, whose coun-* sels would have saved *Achaia*, if they had been followed; and *who comforted her in her distress*^l.

MUMMIUS, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with a Mum- triumph, which was embellished with all the finest paintings *mius ho-* and sculptures that *Greece* had ever produced; and, as he had *noured* made an absolute conquest of *Achaia*, he ever after bore the *with a* surname of *Achaicus*. Thus the *Romans* destroyed every thing *triumph.* that gave them umbrage, and plundered other nations to enrich themselves; which was making war, notwithstanding their boasted politeness, after the manner of barbarians. From this time *Achaia* was governed, like the other *Roman* provinces, by a prætor sent thither annually from *Rome*, till the reign of *Nero*, who restored all *Greece* to the enjoyment of its antient liberties, reducing, at the same time, *Sardinia* to a *Roman* province, and laying on that wealthy island the tribute which *Achaia* had paid^m. By this means he favoured the *Greeks*, without impairing the revenues of the empire. But they did not long enjoy the effects of his kindness, being soon *Various* after reduced by *Vespasian* to their former state of subjection. *fortune of* This misfortune they brought anew upon themselves by their *Achaia.* domestic broils and discord, which could no otherwise be composed, but by depriving them of that liberty which they no longer knew how to enjoyⁿ. Under *Nerva* some shadow at least of their liberty was restored to them; but they were still governed by a *Roman* prætor, and also in *Trajan's* time, as appears from a letter of *Pliny* the younger to *Maximus*,

^k POLYB. in excerpt. p. 190, 192.

^l PAUSAN. in Achaic.

^m SUET. in Neron. PAUSAN. in Achaic. PLIN. l. iv. c. 6. EUTROP. c. 4.

ⁿ PAUSAN. ibid.

who was sent to govern *Achaia*; wherein, after having exhorted him to use his power with moderation, he concludes, that it would be barbarous and inhuman to deprive the *Achaëans* of that faint image, that shadow, which remained of their antient liberty ^o. In this condition they remained with little alteration till the reign of *Constantine the Great*, who, in his new partition of the *Roman* provinces, subjected *Achaia* to the *præfectus prætorio* of *Illyricum*. Upon the division of the empire, *Achaia*, with the rest of *Greece*, fell to the emperors of the east. Under *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, all those provinces suffered greatly by the incursions of the *Goths*, who, under their king *Alaric*, laid waste the whole country, reducing the stately and magnificent structures, that were then remaining, to heaps of ruins ^p. From that time we find no account of any thing that passed among them till the reign of the emperor *Emanuel* or *Manuel*, who, in the twelfth century parceling *Peloponnesus* out into seven principalities, divided it among his seven sons, stiling them *despotes* or lords of *Morea*. Its resemblance to the leaf of a mulberry-tree, called in *Greek* *morea*, and in *Latin* *morus*, gave occasion to this appellation. In process of time, these dynasties were not only bestowed on the emperor's children, and the princes of the blood, but also on such others as had distinguished themselves in the service of their country. In the thirteenth century, when *Constantinople* was taken by the western princes, the maritime cities of *Peloponnesus*, with most of the islands, were allotted to the *Venetians*. In the fifteenth century, *Constantine Dracoses*, *despote* of *Morea*, being raised to the imperial throne, divided that province between his two brothers, *Demetrius* and *Thomas*, bestowing *Sparta* on the former, and *Corinth* on the latter. These princes falling out, and making war upon each other, *Mohammed II.* took advantage of their divisions, and, under pretence of assisting the one against the other, stripped them both of their dominions. *Thomas* fled to *Rome*; but *Demetrius*, who had implored the assistance of the barbarians against his brother, was carried captive to *Adrianople*. The *Mohammedans*, having thus got footing in *Morea*, soon drove the *Venetians* from the cities they possessed on the coast, and made themselves absolute masters of that fruitful province, holding it till they were, in their turn, driven out by the *Venetians*, under the conduct of general *Morosini*, in 1687. By the treaty of *Carlowitz* in 1699, the barbarians yielded it up to the republic of *Venice*; but retook it in 1715, and in their hands it still continues, being governed by a *sangiac*, under the *beglerbeg* of *Greece*, who resides at *Modon* ^q.

^o PLIN. l. viii. epist. 24. ^p SYNESIUS, epist. 235. ^q Vide P. CORONELLI descrizion di Morea, ALASSANDRO LOCATELLI, racconto della Veneta guerra in Levante. The

The history of Ætolia.

THE republic of Ætolia (G) was, in the times we are now writing of, next in power to that of *Achaia*, and formed much upon the same plan, being governed by a general assembly, a prætor, and other magistrates of an inferior rank and authority. The general assembly, called by the antients *panætolum*, met usually once a year, and that in autumn; but the prætor was empowered to summon it out of the stated time, upon any extraordinary occasion, the whole power of enacting laws, declaring war, making peace, and concluding alliances, being lodged in that court. Besides the *panætolum*, or great council of the nation, which consisted of members chosen by each city of the Ætolian alliance, there was another called the *apocleti*. This was composed of the most eminent men in the nation, their office answering that of the *demiurgi* among the *Achæans*, which we have spoken of above; but, as to their number, we are quite in the dark. Their chief magistrates, after the prætor, were the general of the horse, the public secretary, and the ephori. The two first were held in great esteem; for, in the last alliance they concluded with the *Romans*, they allowed them to choose forty hostages out of the whole nation, without excepting any but the general of the horse, and the secretary, as if the nation could not subsist without them. The ephori were introduced in imitation of the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom they were many ages streightly united, as *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, and *Polybius*, inform us; but, as to their number, the antients are quite silent. Their office was much the same as that of the *Spartan* ephori; but they acted in subordination both to the general diet, and the prætor. The Ætolian confederacy was formed some time after that of the *Achæans*, whose example they followed, uniting several cities, which were before independent of each other, into one republic, and thereby enabling themselves to withstand the attempts of the *Macedonian* princes, who aspired to the sovereignty of all Greece^r.

^r POLYB. I. ii.

(G) Under the name of Ætolia was formerly comprehended that country, which is now called the *Despotat*, or *Little Greece*. It was parted, on the east, by the river *Evenus*, now the *Fidari*, from the *Locrenses Oxolæ*; on the west, from *Acarnania*, by the *Achelous*; on the north, it bordered upon the country of the *Dorians*, and part of *Epirus*; and, on the south, extended to the bay of *Corinth*. See the account we have given of the country, and its inhabitants (12).

(12) Vol. vi. p. 270.

Character
of the Æ-
tolians.

THE Ætolians were a restless and turbulent people; seldom at peace among themselves, and ever at war with their neighbours; utter strangers to all sense of friendship, or principles of honour; ready to betray their friends upon the least prospect of reaping any advantage from their treachery: in short, they were looked upon by the other states of Greece no otherwise, as our author informs us^a, than as outlaws and public robbers. On the other hand, they were bold and enterprising in war; inured to labour and hardships; undaunted in the greatest dangers; jealous defenders of their liberties, for which they were, on all occasions, willing to venture their lives, and sacrifice all that was most dear to them. They distinguished themselves, above all the other nations of Greece, in opposing the ambitious designs of the Macedonian princes; who, after having reduced most of the other states, were forced to grant them a peace upon very honourable terms. But the gallant behaviour of this warlike people, in defending the common liberties of Greece against those powerful invaders, we shall have occasion to relate in the history of Alexander, and his successors, as in a more proper place; our present province being confined to those occurrences only, that happened after they had formed themselves into a republic. The constitution of the Ætolian republic was, as we have hinted above, copied from that of the Achæans, and with a view to form, as it were, a counter-alliance; for the Ætolians bore an irreconcilable hatred to the Achæans, and had conceived no small jealousy at the growing power of that state. The Cleomenic war, and that of the allies, called the social war, which we have described in the history of Achaia, were kindled by the Ætolians in the heart of Peloponnesus, with no other view but to humble their antagonists the Achæans. In the latter, they held out, with the assistance only of the Eleans and Lacedæmonians, for the space of three years, against the united forces of Achaia and Macedon; but were obliged at last to purchase a peace, by yielding up to Philip all Acarnania. As they parted with this province much against their will, they watched all opportunities of wresting it again out of the Macedonian's hands; and one very favourable for their design soon offered.

Lævinus
proposes to
the Æto-
lians an
alliance
with
Rome.

M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS had been appointed, by the Roman senate, to guard the coasts of Italy on the side of Greece, and to watch the motions of Philip, who, after concluding an alliance with Hannibal, was preparing to pass over into Italy. The Roman had under his command a fleet of fifty ships of war, and a legion for land-service; but, as he was no way in a condition, with so small a force, to oppose the designs of

^a POLYB. l. iv.

Philip, he cast his eyes on the *Ætolians*, who were highly dissatisfied with the peace they had lately concluded with the *Macedonians*, and their allies. This general discontent *Lævinus* resolved to improve to the advantage of his republic, and, by stirring up the *Ætolians* against *Philip*, to divert him from any attempts upon *Italy*. As he was therefore then cruising with his squadron on the coasts of *Greece*, he invited some of the *Ætolians* on board; and, entering into a private conference with them, found, that it would be no difficult matter to engage the whole nation in the interests of *Rome*. To this end, he went to their general assembly, where he gave them an account of the victories *Rome* had lately gained over *Hannibal*, and the conquests of *Marcellus* in *Sicily*. He extolled the great generosity, and constant fidelity, of the *Romans* towards their allies; adding, that the *Ætolians* might expect to be ever looked upon with an eye of distinction by *Rome*, if they were the first nation beyond the seas that joined her; that *Philip* was a dangerous neighbour, and his overgrown power would prove fatal to them, unless they were supported by some more potent state; that the *Romans*, in conjunction with the *Ætolians*, would easily oblige him to quit *Acarmania*, which he had usurped, and keep himself upon the defensive in his own dominions. He concluded his speech by assuring them, that, if they entered into engagements with *Rome*, *Philip* should never obtain a peace, without restoring *Acarmania* to its former owners^t.

Scopas, at that time prætor of the *Ætolians*, and *Dorimachus*, a man of great authority, strongly enforced the arguments and promises made by *Lævinus*, expatiating, in commendation of the *Romans*, with all the eloquence which they were masters of; for *Lævinus*, out of modesty, had said but little in praise of his republic. These two chiefs were not only for entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, but for sending deputies to the neighbouring states, inviting them to accede to the same alliance. Accordingly, they sent ambassadors to *Elis* (H), *Lacedæmon*, and *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* (I); to

^t Fast. capit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 24—26.

(H) See an account of this country, vol. vi. p. 26. & seqq. The greatest part of this province bears now the name of *Belvedere*, as does *Elis* its capital. It was antiently dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*: whence, to commit there any acts of hostility was deemed a great profanation.

(I) *Attalus* mentioned here is

Attalus the first, who succeeded his father *Eumenes* the first, brother to *Philetærus*. *Philetærus* was treasurer to *Lyfimachus* king of *Thrace*; but afterwards acquired the dominion of *Pergamus*, which he erected into a little state, as we shall see in the history of the kings of *Pergamus*.

Pleuratus (K), and *Scerdelaidas*, king of the best part of *Illyricum*. In the senate of *Lacedæmon*, two orators, *Chlæneas* and *Lyciscus*, made long harangues; the first in favour of the *Ætolians* and *Romans*; the other in favour of king *Philip*;^u but the *Ætolians* carried their point, and *Lacedæmon*, with *Elis*, declared for *Rome*. The kings *Pleuratus* and *Scerdelaidas* followed the example of *Lacedæmon*; so that the treaty was drawn up in these words: “If the inhabitants of *Elis*, the *Lacedæmonians*, *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdelaidas*, think fit to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*, let them immediately arm, and make war upon *Philip*. The *Romans* shall furnish the confederates with twenty ships at least. All the conquests, that shall be made between the confines of *Ætolia* and the sea of *Corcyra*, shall belong to the confederates; and the captives and booty to the *Romans*. The latter shall do their utmost to put the *Ætolians* in possession of *Acarmania*. The *Ætolians* shall not conclude a peace with *Philip*, but upon condition that he withdraw his troops from the territories of *Rome*, and her allies; nor the *Romans* with *Philip*, but upon the same terms.”

The Æto-
lians con-
clude an
alliance
with the
Romans.

Year of
the flood

2137.

Bef. Chr.

211.

The alli-
ance con-
firmed by
both par-
ties.

THESE articles were not signed till two years after, when they had been confirmed by the *Ætolians* at *Olympia*, and the senate at *Rome*. This delay was occasioned by the dilatoriness of the *Romans* in sending ambassadors into *Ætolia*. When they were ratified and confirmed by both nations, the senate ordered them to be placed in the capitol, as a lasting monument of their first alliance with the *Greek* nation. However, hostilities began as soon as the treaty was concluded: *Lævinus* seized on the island and city of *Zacynthus*, took *Æniada*, and also *Nassus* (L), two cities of *Acarmania*, and restored them to the *Ætolians*. After this, he retired, with his fleet, to *Corcyra*, where he wintered, fully persuaded, that the king would now give over all thoughts of invading *Italy*.^x

^u Vide POLYB. l. ix. c. 22, 23.

^w Liv. l. xxvi. c. 24.

^x Liv. ibid.

(K) Livy (13) makes this *Pleuratus* one of the kings of *Thrace*; but Polybius speaks of him as king of a country in *Illyricum* (14).

(L) *Nassus*, or *Nassus*, was a city of *Acarmania*, not far from the mouth of the *Achelous*. There were two cities that bore the

name of *Æniada*; one in *Acarmania*, on the *Ionian* sea, near the mouth of the *Achelous*. This city, according to our modern travellers, is now called *Dragomesto*; the other was, according to *Stephanus*, in *Thrace*, not far from mount *Oeta*.

(13) Liv. l. xxvi. c. 24.

(14) Polyb. l. ix. c. 23.

THE king was at *Pella*, making preparations for his expedition into *Italy*, when news was brought him of the late treaty concluded by the *Ætolians*: whereupon he altered his measures, and resolved to fall upon his new enemies the next summer. Accordingly, he took the field early in the spring, Philip laid waste the *Ætolian* territories, and then marched back his forces into *Macedon*, in order to oppose the *Mædi* (M), who were ready to fall upon his dominions. During his absence, *Scopas*, then prætor, and general of the *Ætolians*, entered *Acarnania*, in hopes of reducing that country, before Philip could return to their assistance. This conquest had been begun the last campaign by *Lævinus*, who had taken *Æniadæ* and *Nafus*, and was now near enough to assist the *Ætolians* with his fleet and legion. The *Acarnanians* were sensible, that they could not oppose two such powerful nations at the same time; but, nevertheless, resolved to stand to their defence, and sell their lives at the dearest rate. Accordingly, having sent into *Epirus* all their women, children, and such as were not able to bear arms, those who remained, from the age of fifteen to threescore, bound themselves, by oath, not to return home, till they had utterly destroyed the *Ætolians*. They only desired the *Epirots* to place the ashes of those, who should fall in battle, in one tomb, with the following epitaph: *Here lie the Acarnanians, who died fighting for their country, in opposition to the violence and injustice of the Ætolians.* This resolution so terrified the *Ætolians*, that they returned home, without offering to do any thing that might provoke a people resolved to conquer, or die.

THE *Ætolians*, not daring to invade *Acarnania*, turned their arms against *Anticyra*, a city of the *Locri*, and in the neighbourhood of *Ætolia*. This place they invested by land, and *Lævinus* at the same time by sea. As it was battered night and day on all sides, it was soon obliged to surrender at discretion. *Lævinus*, pursuant to the treaty, delivered up the city to the *Ætolians*, reserving for his own troops the captives, and the plunder. The *Ætolians*, flushed with this success, leaving *Lævinus* at *Anticyra*, entered *Achaia*, and there committed such ravages, as obliged *Philip* to quit *Demetrias* (N), where he

✓ LIV. l. xxvi. c. 25.

(M) The *Mædi* possessed a part of *Thrace*, beyond mount *Rhodope*; and therefore *Ptolemy* calls their country *Mædica*; but others give it the name of *Macedonian Greece*, because it bordered on *Macedon*, on the side of the *Ægean* sea.

(N) The city of *Demetrias*, now *Dimitriada*, was built by *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, on the sea-coast of *Thessaly*, near the territory

The Ætolians defeated by Philip of Macedon.

A thirty days truce.

he was encamped, and draw near to Greece. On his march, he met the Ætolian army, commanded by *Pyrrhias*, prætor for that year (O), who had advanced as far as *Thessaly*, to give the *Macedonians* battle. The two armies met near *Lamia*, a city of *Phthiotis*, in the Ætolian interest. *Pyrrhias* had been reinforced with a strong detachment of king *Attalus's* troops, and a thousand legionaries, sent him by *P. Sulpitius*, who had succeeded *Lævinus* as proprætor of Greece. Notwithstanding this reinforcement, the Ætolians were twice defeated, and forced to save themselves under the walls of *Lamia*. After this victory, *Philip* encamped in the neighbourhood of *Phalara*, near the mouth of the *Sperchius*, with a design to surprise a strong detachment of Ætolian cavalry, which was to return from *Thessaly*, and pass that way; but, while he was encamped here, ambassadors arrived from *Ptolemy Philopator* king of *Egypt*, attended with a great number of deputies from the islands of *Chios* and *Rhodes*, and the city of *Athens*. Their errand was to prevail on *Philip* and the Ætolians to put an end to the war. This was not so much out of good-will to the latter, as jealousy of the former, who, by reducing the Ætolians, might easily enslave all Greece, and have a ready access to the cities, which *Ptolemy* possessed out of *Egypt*. *Philip* put off the conferences till the next diet of the *Achæans*; and, in the mean time, granted the Ætolians a truce of thirty days. In this interval, *Philip* was invited by the *Greeks* to preside at the *Heræan* (P) and *Nemæan* games. This was a distinction

tory of the *Magnesiens*. *Pliny* confounds this city with that of *Pagassæ*; but *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* make them two different cities, and place them both at the entrance of the *Pagassæus sinus*, now the gulf of *Armiro*. *Demetrias* was for some time the seat of the kings of *Macedon* (18).

(O) The prætorship of the Ætolians was, according to *Livy* (19), divided between *Pyrrhias* and king *Attalus*, the general assembly of the Ætolians having bestowed that honour upon the king of *Pergamus*, though then absent.

(P) The *Heræan* games, or *Heræan* festivals, were celebrated

by the *Argians* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They were called *Heræan*, from the Greek word *Ἥρα*, signifying *Juno*, whom the inhabitants of *Argolis* worshiped as their tutelary goddess, and in whose honour this festival was first instituted. The ceremony consisted in a pompous procession, made by the *Argian* youth, under arms. The statue of *Juno*, which was of ivory and gold, and thought one of the best performances of the famous *Polycletus*, was carried in a chariot, drawn by two white oxen. In the driver's seat was placed the image of one *Trochilus*, the son of *Callithea*, who

(18) *Strabo*, *ibid.*

(19) *Liv.* l. xxvii. c. 30.

distinction which the *Greeks* had shewn him, and confirmed by their suffrages, pretending, that the first king of *Macedon* was

was the first priestess of *Juno Argiva*. This ministry, which was granted to none but women of great distinction, was held in such esteem among the *Argians*, that they dated their public acts by the priesthoods of the priestesses of *Juno*, as we do by the reigns of our kings. The *Argian* youth marched, in good order, from the city of *Argos* to the temple of *Juno*, which stood at a small distance, and was one of the most stately edifices of *Greece*. Upon their arrival at the temple an hundred oxen were sacrificed, and their flesh distributed among all that were present. When the religious ceremonies were over, the sports began, and the youth entered the lists, disputing the honour of carrying off a buckler, which was fixed to the wall of the city. The conqueror was rewarded with a crown of myrtle, and walked through the city for several days successively, amidst the acclamations of his fellow-citizens, making a shew of the buckler he had gained. Some ascribe the institution of these games to *Archinus* tyrant of *Argos*, and others to *Lynceus*, who is said to have reigned in *Argolis*, in the year of the world two thousand five hundred and fifty-eight. The *Heræan* games were common to some other nations of *Greece*, and also to the islanders, namely, to the inhabitants of *Samos*, *Ægina*, and *Cos*. At *Corinth* this ceremony had the air of a mournful one, it being a received tradition among them, that *Medea*, after having killed

her children, instituted the *Heræan* games, by way of atonement for her crime. The *Corinthians* therefore renewed the memory of her cruelty, by sacrificing a goat to *Juno* (20).

As to the *Nemæan* games, most of the antients agree, that they were instituted in honour of *Archemorus*, the son of *Lycus*, according to some, or of *Lycurgus* king of *Thrace*, as others will have it. We are told, that an army of *Argians*, commanded by *Adrastus* king of *Argos*, being in great distress for want of water, as they were marching towards *Thebes* to assist *Polynices*, addressed the nurse of the young prince *Archemorus*, whom they accidentally met; and that she, laying down the child she had in her arms on a branch of smallage, out of compassion led the thirsty soldiers to a fountain: but, in the mean time, a serpent attacked and killed the child, before *Adrastus*, and his *Argians*, could bring him any relief. However, to allay the grief of *Lycurgus* for the death of his son, they instituted solemn games in honour of the deceased, which were first celebrated near *Nemæa*, a city of *Argolis*. Some say they were renewed annually, others every five years, and others every tenth year. Many are of opinion, that they were instituted before the *Theban* war; but all agree, that they were revived by *Hercules*, and consecrated to *Jupiter* in thanksgiving for his victory over the *Nemæan* lion (21). *Eusebius* is of opinion,

(20) *Pausan.* in *Corinth.* *Suidas*, *Polyæn.* *Athenæus*, &c.
ubi supra,

(21) *Pausan.*

that

Confer-
ences for
concluding
a peace.

was a native of *Greece*. In this station, the king behaved like a voluptuous prince, and pursued debauchery to excess. But at last the diet was held, which drew him from his pleasures to *Rhium*, the place appointed for the assembly. The negotiations began; and most of the nations, engaged in the war, inclined to a reconciliation, fearing *Attalus* and the *Romans* would take advantage of their divisions, and get footing in *Greece*. At the opening of the assembly, one of the orators exhorted the contending parties to mutual concord in a speech, which is preserved to this day, and may be looked upon as a masterpiece of the kind^z. The discourse moved the whole assembly; and it was no sooner ended, but *Philip's* ambassadors were introduced, who declared, that their master was ready to give peace to *Greece*, if the *Ætolians* would consent to it, and charged them with all the evils that would inevitably attend the prosecution of the war. The *Ætolians*, however, came to no resolution; and, in the mean time, news was brought them, that *Attalus* was arrived, with his fleet, at the island of *Ægina*, and *Sulpitius*, with his, at *Naupactus* (T);

^z POLYB. l. xi. c. 4.

that they were instituted in the fifty-first olympiad (22). This festival was celebrated with sports, namely, chariot-races, foot and horse-races, tournaments, boxing, wrestling, &c. The conqueror, in any of these exercises, was rewarded with a crown of olive, and also of smallage, which was made use of in funeral ceremonies, and renewed the memory of the death of *Archemorus*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* informs us, that, on this occasion, an orator used to pronounce a funeral oration in honour of the young prince; and that the judges, appointed by the cities of *Greece* to distribute the rewards, were clad in mourning. These games were common to the *Argians*, *Corinthians*, and the inhabitants of *Cleona*, who had a right to choose the president by turns (23).

(T) *Naupactus*, or *Naupactum*, (24).

was formerly a considerable city in *Ætolia*. The present inhabitants call it *Epactos*, or *Nepactos*, the *Turks* *Eincbaeti*, and the *Italians* *Lepanto*. It stood near *Antirrhium*, within the *Crissæan* bay, and was called *Naupactum*, because the *Heraclidæ* built there the first ship that carried them into *Peloponnesus*. It first belonged to the *Locri Oxolæ*; but they were driven out by the *Athenians*, who gave it to the *Messenians*, whom the *Lacedæmonians* had obliged to abandon *Peloponnesus*. After the battle of *Ægospotamos*, the *Lacedæmonians* took it from the *Messenians*, and reunited it to the *Locri*. Afterwards *Philip*, the father of *Alexander*, having seized it, bestowed it upon the *Ætolians*; and, from that time, it was always deemed a city of *Ætolia* (24).

(22) *Euseb. in chron.* (23) *Pausan. Athenæus, Polyæn. &c. ubi supra*
(24) *Strabo, l. ix. Pausan. in Phocicis.*

which

which made the Ætolians put an end to the conferences: for they declared, that they would consent to no peace, unless *Pylus* (U) was restored to the *Messenians*, *Atintania* (W) to the *Romans*, and the country of the *Ardians* (X) to *Pleuratus* and *Scerdilaidas*. This was giving law to all Greece; which so incensed *Philip*, that he left the assembly, after having made a short speech, wherein he acquainted them, that he was sincerely desirous of peace, and would hearken to any reasonable proposals; but could not by any means brook such insults, meaning the terms proposed by the Ætolians, from those he had conquered^a.

THE assembly being dismissed, the king went to *Argos*, to preside in the *Nemæan* games, as he had lately done in the *Heræan*: but, while he was giving himself up, without restraint, to the enjoyment of such diversions as were no-ways seasonable in times of war and alarms, the proconsul *Sulpitius*, setting out from *Naupactus*, landed between *Sicyon* and *Corinth*; and, being joined by the Ætolians, laid waste all that fertile country. This unexpected invasion obliged the king to interrupt his diversions, and take the field. His arrival struck the enemy with such terror, that, leaving the booty behind, they hastened to their ships, and re-embarked for *Naupactus*. *Philip* returned to the games, where he was received with an universal applause, the circus, the theatre, and all the streets of the city, ringing with his name; but he gained more on

Year of
the flood
2140.
Bef. Chr.
208.

The Ro-
mans in-
vade the
territories
of the con-
federates;
but retreat
at the ap-
proach of
Philip.

^a LIV. l. xxvii. c. 29---33. POLYB. l. x. p. 612.

(U) We find three cities mentioned by the antients, bearing the name of *Pylos*. The first stood on the western coast of *Messenia*, over-against *Sphagia*, or *Spacteria*, now *Sapienza*, a small island in the *Ionian* sea. The second was situate more to the north, in *Triphylia*, a province of *Elis*. The third stood more to the northward of the other two, not far from the mouth of the river *Peneus*. These three cities laid claim to the honour of having been governed by the famous *Nestor*, the son of *Neleus*. It is very plain, that the city of *Pylos*, in *Messenia*,

was the subject of dispute between *Philip* and the Ætolians; for the *Messenians* could have no pretensions to the two latter cities, which belonged to the *Eleans*, in whose territory they stood (26).

(W) The *Atintanes*, according to *Thucydides* (27), inhabited part of the country of the *Molossi*; but *Livy* and *Polybius* place them on the confines of *Macedon*, towards *Illyricum*.

(X) The *Ariæans*, or *Ardians*, inhabited the eastern part of *Illyricum*; they had been conquered by *Philip*, who united their country to *Macedon*.

(26) Vide *Pausan.* in *Messen.* & *Eliac.* secundo. *Thucyd.* l. iv. *ibid.* *Polyb.* l. xi. c. 40. *Liv.* l. xxvii. c. 30.

(27) *Thucyd.*

the affections of the *Greeks*, who were zealous republicans, by his affable behaviour, and the popular airs he affected, than by his victories. He appeared at the shews without his diadem, purple robe, or any other ensigns of royal dignity; a sight very pleasing to the inhabitants of free cities ^b.

SOME days after the games, news was brought him, that the city of *Dyme*, on the confines of *Elis*, had declared for the *Ætolians*, though it stood in *Peloponnesus*, and had received an *Ætolian* garison. Hereupon *Philip*, crossing the *Larissus* (Y), entered the territory of *Elis*, ravaged the country, and encamped under the very walls of the capital. But he was soon obliged, by the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, to retire at a greater distance, as we have related in the history of *Achaia*.

who takes
one of the
enemy's
strong-
holds. However, he took by storm, in sight of the *Romans* and *Ætoli-
ans*, a stronghold of great importance, where he found a con-
siderable booty. While he was dividing the prey among his
soldiers, advice was brought him, that the *Dardanians* had
entered *Macedon*, and possessed themselves of a small district
called *Orestida* (Z); that the *Dassaratae* had revolted; and
that several cities were ready to join the rebels (A). His pre-
sence therefore being necessary in his own dominions, he
hastened home, leaving only a body of three thousand men
to protect his friends in *Greece* ^c.

The Æto- DURING his absence the *Romans*, *Ætolians*, and king *Atta-
lians*, and *lus*, possessed themselves of *Oreum*, *Opus*, *Torone*, *Tribonos*,
their con- and *Drymus*. Whereupon ambassadors being dispatched to
federates, him from all the nations that were in his alliance, he settled

^b POLYB. & LIV. *ibid*.

^c *Idem ibid*.

(Y) The *Larissus*, now the *Riso*, divided *Elis* from *Achaia Propria*; it watered the territory of *Dyme*, and fell into the *Ionian* sea.

(Z) *Orestida* was a country, in the south-west part of *Macedon*. *Orestes*, having fled into this country, after the murder of his mother *Clytemnestra*, built a city there, and gave his own name to the province. It bordered upon *Epirus*, the country of the *Atintanes*, and the *Adriatic* sea (28).

(A) The Barbarians had been encouraged to shake off the yoke,

and invade the kingdom of *Macedon*, by a false report of the king's death. *Philip*, in pursuing the *Roman* and *Ætolian* foragers between *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, had struck his head against a tree with such violence, that he broke his helmet in pieces. These pieces were gathered up by an *Ætolian*, and brought to *Scerdilaidas*, who knew that they belonged to the king's helmet: and hence arose the report, that *Philip* had been killed in a battle in which he had gained the advantage.

(28) *Thucyd. l. ii. Liv. l. xxxi.*

the

the affairs of *Macedon* in the best manner he could, and marched ^{possess} back with incredible expedition into *Greece*. Upon his arrival ^{themselves} *Attalus* reimbarked his forces, and returned to *Pergamus*; *Sulpitius*, having but one legion on board, retired to the island ^{of several cities.} of *Ægina*; and the *Ætolians*, thus abandoned by their allies, were forced to shelter themselves in their strongholds, not being able to make head against the united forces of *Macedon* and *Achaia*, with the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* alone. *Philip*, being thus left master of the field, retook most of the cities which had been reduced in his absence, laid waste great part of *Ætolia*, put the *Lacedæmonians* to flight; and then, as winter was drawing near, marched his forces back into *Macedon*. Early in the spring he returned into *Greece*, and, entering *Ætolia*, at the head of a numerous army, obliged the *Ætolians* to conclude a peace upon very disadvantageous terms. *A general* The *Romans*, employed in a more important war at home, *peace con-* had left their friends in *Greece* to shift for themselves; but *cluded.* nevertheless took it very much amiss, that they had made a *Year of* peace, without their consent and approbation. *Sempronius* the proconsul endeavoured to stir them up anew against *Philip*, but to no purpose; they were quite exhausted with such an expensive war, and noways in a condition to lend the proconsul any assistance. He therefore altered his measures, and, instead of making war, began to treat with the king, and his allies, of a peace, which was soon agreed on by the mediation of the *Epirots* ^{d.}

A general
peace con-
cluded.
Year of
the flood
2144.
Bef. Chr.
204.

THIS peace was not of long continuance; for the *Romans*, *The Ro-* having, a few years after, resolved upon a war with *Philip*, *mans* sent *Furius Purpureo* into *Ætolia*, to engage that nation anew *strive to* in the interests of *Rome*. *Furius* was attended by the envoys *engage the* of *Athens*, a city greatly addicted to the *Romans*; and, at the *Ætolians* same time, ambassadors from *Philip* arrived, with very ad- *in a war* vantageous proposals, in case the *Ætolians* would either join *with* their master, or stand neuter. The *Ætolian* nation was never *Philip.* more honoured than at this time, when they saw their friendship and alliance courted by a great king, and two powerful republics. On the arrival of the ambassadors, an extraordinary diet was convened at *Naupactus*, whither the envoys *An extra-* from *Rome*, from *Athens*, and from *Philip*, immediately re- *ordinary* sorted. *Damocritus* presided in the diet in quality of prætor; *at Nau-* and, as he had been bribed by *Philip*, he directed, that the *Ma-* *pactus.* *cedonians* should be heard before the *Romans*: his pretext for this preference was, that the alliance between *Philip* and *Ætolia* was yet fresh, and had been but lately concluded. The speech made by the *Macedonian* ambassadors was full of in-

^a Liv. l. xxx. c. 7.

Speeches
of the se-
veral em-
bassadors.

vectives against the *Romans*; they enlarged on their proceedings at *Rhegium*, *Capua*, and *Tarentum*, as instances of their treachery and cruelty; and concluded with exhorting the *Ætolians* to observe the conditions of peace, which they had concluded a few years before with *Philip*. The *Athenians*, who spoke next, endeavoured to efface the impressions which this discourse had made: they expatiated, in an affecting manner, on the cruelty and impiety of *Philip*, who, according to his barbarous method of making war, had shewn no regard to the august temples of the gods, or the venerable tombs of the dead; they extolled the courage and piety of the *Romans*; and, lastly, conjured the *Ætolians* to join in the common cause of the two most formidable powers, heaven and *Rome*. Afterwards *Purpureo* was heard; and his speech chiefly turned on justifying the conduct of the *Romans*, with regard to the three cities mentioned by the *Macedonian* orator: he expatiated on the lenity and moderation shewn by his republic to the *Carthaginians*, and returned the reproaches of cruelty upon *Philip*; he did not forget the advantages which the consular army had already gained over the king; and, lastly, advised the *Ætolians* to lay hold of the present opportunity of renewing their confederacy with the *Romans*, unless they chose rather to perish with *Philip* than conquer with *Rome*^e.

Damocri-
tus, the
Ætolian
prætor,
artfully
suspends
the deter-
mination
of the diet.

THE diet was inclined to favour the *Romans*; but *Damocritus* suspended their determination, by declaring, that nothing which related to peace or war could be resolved upon out of a general diet, which this was not. The artful prætor made a merit with his countrymen of his address in this affair, pretending, that his design was only to gain time, till he could judge which of the two contending parties was most likely to prevail, and then join the strongest^f.

IN the mean time, the proconsul *Sulpitius* having penetrated into the king's dominions, and defeated him near *Oëtolophum*, the *Ætolians* at last determined to side with the conqueror; and accordingly, in conjunction with *Amynder* king of the *Athamans* (A), made an irruption into *Macedon*, and laid siege to

^e Liv. l. xxxi. c. 29.

^f Idem, c. 30.

(A) The *Athamans* had then a separate district of their own, surrounded by *Thessaly*, *Epirus*, *Acarnania*, *Ætolia*, and *Doris*; whence some have made it a part of *Thessaly*, others of *Epirus*: *Pliny* places it in *Ætolia*; *Ste-*

phanus makes it a part of *Illyricum*. According to *Ptolemy*, it was divided from *Epirus* by the bay of *Ambracia* (29); and, according to *Strabo* (30), from *Ætolia*, by the river *Achelous*.

(29) *Ptol.* l. iv.

(30) *Strabo*, l. x.

Cercinium, a city of *Magnesia* (B). This sudden invasion with the alarmed all the nations in the neighbourhood of the lake *Bæ-* Romans, *lis* (C), who, abandoning the country, fled to the neighbour- and in- ing mountains; so that the *Ætolians*, finding no more booty vade Ma- there, fell upon the province of *Perrhæbia*, took the city of cedon. *Cyretia* (D) by assault, and obliged *Mallæa* (E) to take up Year of the flood 2147. From *Mallæa* *Amynder* was for marching against *Gomphi* (F), Bef. Chr. 201. which was very near *Athamania*, and might have been easily reduced, as it was defended only by the inhabitants: but the *Ætolians* chose rather to pillage *Theffaly*, than assist *Amynder* in taking a city, which was so conveniently situated to protect his small dominions from the inroads of the *Theffalians*. The *Ætolians*, having entered *Theffaly*, committed there great devastations, dividing themselves into small bodies, and lying down in the open fields, without keeping guard, or securing themselves with trenches. *Amynder*, seeing he had reason to apprehend some sudden attack, being in an enemy's country, advised them to be upon their guard, and encamp in a regular manner; but they despised his advice, and, advancing to the very walls of *Phæcadum*, and there lying down on the grass, gave themselves up to eating and drinking, as if they had been in the heart of *Ætolia*. Hereupon *Amynder* thought it adviseable to withdraw to a rising-ground, about five hun-

(B) *Magnesia* was a small country, lying at the eastern extremity of *Theffaly*, between the gulf of *Armiro* and the *Saronic* gulf. *Cercinium* stood at the foot of mount *Ossa*, near the lake *Bæbis*, between *Sothussa* and the *Macedonian* sea (31).

(C) The lake *Bæbis*, which some place in *Bæotia*, was near the confines of *Magnesia*, not far from mount *Ossa*. It is now called the lake of *Esero*.

(D) *Ptolemy* reckons *Cyretia* among the cities of *Estiotis*, a country of *Theffaly*. *Sanfon* places it between the rivers *Pamifus* and *Curalius*. The *Pamifus*, now called *Pontigna Maranta*, falls into the *Peneus*. The *Curalius*,

now *Onocero*, rises in the province of *Pelasgiotis*, and empties itself into the same *Peneus*.

(E) *Mallæa*, or *Malia*, was a city of *Phthiotis*, not far from mount *Oeta* and *Thermopylae*. Near it were the hot mineral waters mentioned by *Catullus*, in his elegies. Some are of opinion, that the *Maliac* gulf, now the gulf of *Zeiton*, borrowed its name from this city (32).

(F) The city of *Gomphi* was situate in that part of *Theffaly* which the antients call *Estiotis*, near the springs of the *Peneus* (33). According to *Livy*, it was the nearest city of *Theffaly* to the confines of *Epirus* (34).

(31) *Strabo*, l. ix.
Plin. l. iv.

(32) *Strabo*, l. x. c. 13.
(34) *Livy*, l. xxxii.

(33) *Strabo*, l. ix.

Philip
surprises
the Æto-
lians, and
cuts many
of them in
pieces.

dred paces from the Ætolians, and there secure himself with a ditch and rampart. He was scarce gone when *Philip* appeared at the head of a numerous body of horse, fell upon the Ætolians, and cut most of them in pieces; those that escaped fled to *Amynder's* camp, whither they were pursued by the *Macedonians*: but *Philip*, contrary to his expectation, finding the camp well fortified, and the *Athamanes* ready to receive him, put off the attack to the next morning, his infantry being tired with the long march they had taken to surprise the enemy. In the night, the few Ætolians that remained, and the *Athamanes*, decamped together, and, under the conduct of *Amynder*, escaped through by-ways, and arrived in their own countries &c.

The Æto-
lians re-
duce great
part of
Thessaly.

THE next year they entered *Thessaly* again, and took the cities of *Cymines* and *Augea*, at the first onset: from thence they advanced to *Theuma*, *Calathama*, *Achorra*, *Xinia*, and *Cyphara* (G); all which cities they took, and pillaged. Thus great part of *Thessaly* fell a prey to the most cruel and avaritious of all the nations that were in alliance with *Rome*; for the Ætolians, where-ever they came, left nothing in the cities or houses but the bare walls, destroying in the flames what they could not carry away, and either putting to the sword the inhabitants, or selling them for slaves to the best bidder. Such was their inhuman method of making war ⁱ.

The gal-
lant beha-
viour of
the Æto-
lians at
the battle
of Cyno-
cephalæ.

Year of
the flood
2151.

Bef. Chr.
197.

The Æto-
lians
ascribe
all the

THE Ætolians continued steady in the interest of *Rome* during the whole course of the war, and were favoured by the *Roman* commanders above the other nations of *Greece*, as being the first that had joined in alliance with their republic: but after the famous battle of *Cynocephalæ*, in which *Philip* was intirely defeated, the affection between the two nations began to cool; and *Flaminius*, who commanded in that action, to treat the Ætolians in a quite different manner from what he had done formerly. They, without all doubt, gave some occasion, with their boasting speeches, to this change. Their cavalry did wonders in the engagement; and, by covering the *Roman* infantry, which was put in disorder at the first onset, gave them time to rally, and saved them the shame of a dishonourable flight. Hence they ascribed to themselves all the glory of the victory, giving out, that without their timely assistance, the *Romans* had been defeated, and cut in pieces. In the songs which they dispersed all over *Greece*, they named

§ LIV, l. xxxi. c. 40.

i Idem, l. xxxii. c. 13.

(G) All these cities, and *Phæcadum*, belonged to *Thessaly*; but

we cannot give any certain account of their situation.

themselves as the chiefs, and the *Romans* as their auxiliaries ^{glory of} (H). *Flaminius*, who was already disgusted with the *Ætolians* ^{the vic-} for plundering the enemy's camp, while the *Romans* ^{tory to} were busy in making prisoners, was now more fired at these ^{them-} insolent reports, which greatly lessened his reputation among ^{selves,} the *Greeks*. His resentment was still warm, when three envoys came from *Philip*, under pretence of asking a truce to bury the dead, but in reality to solicit a peace: the proconsul received them, and gave them an answer, without consulting the heads of the *Ætolian* nation, who were then in the camp, and had greatly contributed to the victory.

THE *Roman* was glad of this opportunity to mortify their *Flamini-* vanity, whereas he ought to have dissembled, and been more *nus mor-* tender of allies who had proved so useful to him on all occa- ^{tifies their} sions. *Flaminius* agreed with the deputies of *Philip* upon a ^{vanity,} truce of fifteen days, without admitting to the conference any but the officers of the *Roman* army; and even promised to grant their master an interview during that time. This air of ^{The Æto-} absolute authority and independence on the other allies shocked ^{lians jea-} the *Ætolians* to such a degree, that they spread a report in all ^{lous of} the cities of *Greece*, that *Flaminius* was betraying the common ^{Flami-} cause, and that he had been bribed by *Philip*: but, notwith- ^{nus's con-} standing these reports, the proconsul appointed a place for the ^{duct,} conference; and, after having treated the king's ambassadors with uncommon civility, he ordered them, on their departure, to tell their master, that he desired him not to despond. This message highly offended the *Ætolians*, who were utter strangers to all humanity and politeness; and confirmed them in their opinion, that the *Roman* had sold himself to *Philip*. The place appointed for the interview was a narrow pass which led into the vale of *Tempe*: thither *Flaminius* resorted, after having invited all his allies to assist at the conferences, which he would not begin till he had consulted the heads of the confederates upon what terms they thought it proper to grant *Philip* a peace. *Amynder*, and the *Achæans*, spoke with a great deal of moderation; and only begged, that he would conclude such

(H) *Thirty thousand* Thessalians, *lian* by nation. He was far inferior to the famous *Alcæus*, who said one of their poets, *were killed on the spot.* The *Ætolians* was cotemporary with *Sappho*. *subdued so powerful an enemy with* The latter lived about the forty-fourth Olympiad, and is famous *the assistance of the* Latins, *whom* for the *Alcæic* verses, which took *Flaminius had brought to ruin* *Æmatia.* The author of this distich was one *Alcæus*, an *Æto-* their name from him (35).

(35) *Plut. in Vit. Flamin.*

The Æto-
lians
against
concluding
a peace
with
Philip.

Flami-
nius's
speech.

a peace as might enable *Greece* to preserve her liberties in the absence of the *Romans* : as to the particulars of such a treaty, they referred them intirely to his prudence and judgment. But *Alexander*, one of the heads of the *Ætolians*, rising up, haughtily addressed the proconsul, in the following terms: " You have done wisely to call us to the conference ; you have at last thought fit not to treat of a peace without your allies. But pray, what do you propose by granting a peace to *Philip* ? *Greece* will never enjoy its liberties so long as he enjoys the throne of *Macedon* : you are greatly mistaken if you fancy it will. *Philip* must be driven out of his kingdom, before *Greece* can promise herself a lasting tranquillity. You, *Romans*, have flattered us with hopes of liberty ; but there is no liberty for the *Greeks* till *Philip* is dead, and his dominions intirely ruined." When *Alexander* had done speaking, *Flaminius* directing his speech to him, " You are unacquainted, said he, with the character and sentiments of the *Romans*. My republic does not carry her resentments to excess: she knows how to revenge injuries ; but, upon the first appearance of submission, her anger is appeased: *Hannibal* and *Carthage* are convincing proofs of our moderation. As to myself, I never intended to carry on an irreconcilable war with *Philip* ; but was always inclined to grant him a peace, whenever he should yield to the conditions that my republic thought fit to prescribe him. You yourselves, O *Ætolians*, never once mentioned the driving of *Philip* from his throne till our late victory. Shall we then be inexorable because we are conquerors ? When an enemy attacks us, it is our duty to repel him with all possible bravery ; but, if he yields, it is the part of a generous victor to use him with gentleness and humanity ; for animosity dies after victory, and brave men are courageous in action, but mild after it. Nay, it is not your interest to destroy the kingdom of *Macedon*, which serves you as a barrier against the *Thracians* and *Gauls* (I), who, were

(I) It is uncertain whether *Scordisci*, as *Justin* informs us. *Livy* speaks here of those *Gauls* *Strabo* (36) places them about who had settled in that part of *Sirmium*, between the *Danube* and *Asia*, which was from them called *Galatia*, or of another *Galic* nation, which was nearer to *Greece*, and had made a new settlement about the conflux of the *Danube* and the *Save*. These new-comers took the name of temple of *Delphi*.

(36) *Strabo*, l. x.

" they

“ they not checked by it, would certainly over-run all
 “ *Greece*.^k” *Flaminius* concluded with declaring, in the
 name of all the officers of the *Roman* army, “ That a peace
 “ ought to be granted to *Philip*, if he complied with the con-
 “ ditions which the other allies should propose; adding, that
 “ if the *Ætolians* did not like it, they might take what resolu-
 “ tions they pleased on that occasion.” *Phæneas*, the *Æto-*
lian prætor, answered *Flaminius*, and represented to him in
 very strong terms, “ That *Philip*, if he was left in possession
 “ of *Macedon*, would soon kindle a new war in the heart of
 “ *Greece*.” But, before he ended his harangue, the proconsul
 rose from his seat in a passion; and, saying with a loud voice,
 “ That he would put it out of *Philip*’s power to make any
 “ further attempts upon *Greece*,” dismissed the assembly ¹.

BUT, after all, it was not good-nature or compassion that *What*
 prompted *Flaminius* to urge the conclusion of a peace with *prompted*
 the king of *Macedon*, but the advice he received, that *An-* *Flaminius*
tiochus, surnamed *the Great*, was ready to march out of *Sy-* *to conclude*
ria at the head of a powerful army, and make an irruption *a peace*
 into *Europe*. This prince had long kept a correspondence *with*
 with *Philip*; and if these two monarchs should join their *Philip*.
 forces, such an alliance might prove of dangerous conse-
 quence to the *Roman* republic. Besides, *Philip*, though con-
 quered, and driven out of the field, might shut himself up in
 his strongholds, and dispute inch by inch the conquest of his
 kingdom. This *Flaminius* dreaded, being sensible that, in
 the mean time, another might be sent to succeed him, and
 reap all the advantages of his repeated victories ^m.

THE next day *Philip* appeared at the congress with an air *Philip ac-*
 of submission suitable to his present circumstances; and, with- *cepts the*
 out any preamble, declared, that he accepted the articles *terms of-*
 which he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other matters *ferred by*
 to the *Roman* senate. After he had uttered these words, there *the Ro-*
 was a deep silence in the assembly, most of those who were *mans.*
 present being touched with compassion. But *Phæneas*, the
Ætolian prætor, finding that nobody made him any reply,
 took the liberty to ask him, whether he was willing to re-
 store to the *Ætolians* the cities of *Larissa*, *Pharsalos*, *Thebes*
 in *Phthiotis*, and *Echina*? *I do restore them to you*, replied
Philip. *Flaminius* was greatly offended at the pretensions of
 the *Ætolians* to the city of *Thebes*; and replied with some
 warmth, *It belongs to the Romans: I was the man who ap-*
peared before it, and to me it surrendered; it is therefore become
subject to the Romans. *Phæneas* insisted, that, according to

^k LIV. l. xxxiii. c. 14. POLYB. l. xvii. c. 29.

¹ Idem ibid.

^m Idem ibid. c. 15.

the terms of the treaty concluded between *Ætolia* and *Rome*, it belonged to the former: the dispute grew warm, but, at length, the assembly determined in favour of *Flaminius*. By these steps the *Ætolians* began to raise that violent storm, which we shall soon see gather, and discharge itself upon that unhappy nation ⁿ.

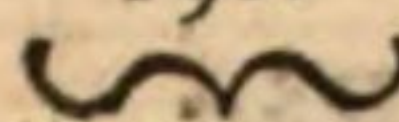
A peace
concluded
with
Philip.

Year of
the flood

2152.

Bef. Chr.

196.



The Æto-
lians dis-
satisfied
with the
peace.

Stir up
other na-
tions a-
gainst the
Romans.

THE king having accepted the conditions, a truce was granted him for four months, to negotiate a peace at *Rome*: but *Flaminius* demanded his son *Demetrius*, with some of the chief lords of his court, for hostages, and moreover two hundred talents; upon condition, nevertheless, that both the money and hostages should be restored, if the peace did not take place ^o. *Philip* complied, and immediately dispatched his ambassadors to *Rome*, as did also the *Ætolians*; the former to solicit a peace, and the latter to obstruct it. When they arrived at *Rome*, the republic had just chosen new consuls, *L. Furius Purpureo*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. The latter, being desirous of having *Macedon* for his province, and there finishing the war, strenuously opposed the peace; and, being seconded by the *Ætolians* in his opposition, had like to have prevailed in the senate: but the tribunes bringing the affair before the people, the tribes unanimously voted for granting *Philip* his request ^p.

THE *Ætolians* were the only people in *Greece* dissatisfied with the peace: they had been refused some cities which they claimed, and thought their services very ill rewarded by the *Romans*, who could not have conquered, said they, without our assistance. They carried their complaints to the general diet of all *Greece*, or the assembly of the *Amphyctions* ^q, by *Livy* called *Pylaicum concilium*; and there endeavoured to stir up new enemies against *Rome*: but, finding that the free states of *Greece* were all well pleased with the late treaty of peace, they determined to have recourse to *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, to *Nabis* tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, and even to their sworn enemy *Philip* king of *Macedon*. It was natural for them to suppose, that *Macedon* and *Lacedæmon* would readily enter into a league against the *Romans*, who had lately imposed very hard conditions upon them; and, as for *Antiochus*, his interest, his honour, the steps he had already taken, and the advice he received from *Hannibal*, all inclined them to believe, that he would not delay passing over into *Europe*, and declaring war with *Rome*: nor did they despair to see *Carthage* also join so many confederate nations, and make some efforts to shake off the yoke, which *Rome* had laid on her. All these considera-

ⁿ Liv. l. xxxii. c. 13.

^o Idem ibid.

^p Idem ibid.

^q See vol. vi. p. 228, 229.

tions encouraged the *Ætolians*, and gave them no small hopes of seeing the imperious republic humbled in her turn. They chose for their prætor one *Thoas*, a man fit for their design, being an inveterate enemy to *Rome*, and a sanguine opposer of the peace lately concluded with the *Macedonians*. *Thoas* immediately assembled a general diet at *Neupaëtus*, and there conveyed into the breasts of all the deputies the irreconcilable aversion which he bore to the *Romans*. A decree passed without opposition, empowering him to send ambassadors to all the princes who were dissatisfied with the *Romans*, and stir them up to war against the common enemy. Pursuant to this decree, *Damocritus* was dispatched to *Lacedæmon*, *Nicander* to *Macedon*, and *Dicæarchus* to *Syria*. The first was ordered to make *Nabis* sensible of the contemptible condition into which he had been brought by the *Romans*: his state was reduced to a small territory, and *Achaia* was sole mistress of *Peloponnesus*: by yielding up his ports, he was deprived of the riches he formerly got by trading with the neighbouring nations; and, being shut up within the walls of *Lacedæmon*, he had only the title of king. The second was instructed to tell *Philip*, that he would never have a fairer opportunity of redeeming himself from the *Roman* tyranny. The conquests of *Alexander the Great*, and his glorious exploits, were also deemed proper topics to take away his jealousy. *Nicander* was likewise ordered to assure him, that the proposals of the *Ætolians* were not chimerical; that *Antiochus* was ready to cross into *Europe* with a mighty fleet, and a numerous army; that the great *Hannibal*, whose very name struck the *Romans* with terror, assisted him with his advice; that the *Ætolians* would join him with all their forces; and that *Rome* could not possibly resist so many enemies at once. The third ambassador was directed to persuade *Antiochus* to pass over into *Greece*, and magnify to him the forces of *Ætolia*: he was to let him know, that the conquests of the *Romans* in *Greece* were chiefly owing to the *Ætolians*; and assure him, that their troops were numerous, and well disciplined; and that their country would furnish his army with provisions, as it afforded safe harbours for his fleets: nay, *Dicæarchus* was charged to deceive the king of *Syria* with a lye, and tell him, that *Philip* and *Nabis* had already signed the confederacy &c.

Send em-
bassadors
to several
princes.

PHILIP and *Antiochus* were not hasty in coming to a determination; but *Nabis* immediately took up arms, and besieged *Gythium*, a maritime city, which the *Romans* had obliged him to give up to the *Achæans*. Upon this beginning of a general commotion, the *Roman* senate thought it adviseable to send

Are joined
by Nabis
tyrant of
Lacedæ-
mon.

Declare
for Antio-
chus.

A general
diet in
Ætolia
convened.

Antio-
chus's em-
bassador
introduced
to the diet.

His speech.

embassadors into Greece, to defeat the measures of the Ætoli-
ans, and maintain those cities steady in their alliance with
Rome. At their arrival, they found that Ætolia had already
declared openly for Antiochus. The ambassador (L), who had
been sent to Antiochus, was returned, and had brought with
him an ambassador from the king of Syria to the Ætolian diet.
Before the general diet was convened, these two endeavoured
to prepossess the minds of the people in favour of Antiochus :
nothing was talked of, but the prodigious army he was to bring
over with him : they exaggerated beyond measure the number
of foot, horse, and elephants, that were to come into Ætolia ;
and, above all, the immense treasures, which the king would
distribute among his friends, sufficient to purchase all the lands
belonging to the Roman republic. The minds of the Ætolians
were blinded with these prejudices, when the diet was assem-
bled, to give audience to the king's ambassador. The Roman
embassadors, among whom was *Flaminius*, highly respected by
all the other states of Greece, had regular notice sent them of
whatever was transacting in Ætolia ; and they suborned some
of their chiefs to thwart, as much as possible, the designs of
the factious *Thoas*. *Flaminius* also engaged the Athenians to
send deputies to the assembly of Ætolia, and there to support
the interests of his republic. *Thoas* opened the diet, by ac-
quainting his countrymen, that an ambassador was come from
the mighty monarch of Syria, to court their friendship, and
propose things greatly to the advantage of both nations. He
was immediately ordered to introduce him, that they might
hear his proposals from his own mouth. Being admitted, he
made an harangue well calculated for the present circumstances:
he told them, that it had been happy for Greece that his master
had concerned himself in their affairs, before *Philip* was re-
duced so low ; that, if he had joined his forces to those of the
Macedonian, Greece would not now groan under the tyrannical
oppressions of Rome. “ But still your case (said he) is not
“ without remedy ; the wound is not incurable. If you put
“ in execution the designs you have formed, I promise you a
“ deliverer in the great Antiochus : he, with your assistance,
“ and that of the gods, will be able to restore Greece to its
“ antient splendor.”

Liv. l. xxxv. c. 31—34.

(L) *Livy* had said a little be- tells us, that *Thoas* was sent;
fore, that *Dicæarchus*, the bro- wherein he agrees with *Appian*.
ther of *Thoas*, then prætor of Perhaps the prætor went with
Ætolia, had been sent embassa- his brother, to give the greater
dor to Antiochus ; and here he weight to the embassy.

THE

THE Ætolians were ready to accept the offer without further deliberation; but the Athenian ambassador prevailed upon the assembly to hear the Romans, before they came to any resolution. Accordingly, *Flaminius*, being sent for, and introduced, put them in mind of their alliance with Rome; and, after exhorting them rather to carry their complaints to the senate, than fill all Greece and Asia with them, he concluded thus: “Æto-Flami-
 “ lians, are you then determined, out of mere wantonness, to nius’s
 “ kindle a fire in Greece, which it will not be in your power to speech.
 “ extinguish? Will you arm the nations of the east for their
 “ mutual destruction? What a dreadful storm are you bring-
 “ ing upon yourselves! you are the first on whom it will fall.”

The Ætolians, who had already laid their complaints before the senate, and had been, by the senate, referred to *Flaminius*, seeing themselves now referred back, by *Flaminius*, to the senate, grew outrageous; and, in the presence of the Roman, passed a decree, conceived in the following terms: Let Antio-The Æto-
 chus be called into Europe, to restore Greece, oppressed by the lians in-
 Romans, to its antient liberty. *Flaminius* demanded a copy of wite An-
 the decree; but the prætor refused it him; answering, with tiochus
 an haughty air, That he had business of much greater conse-into
 quence at that time on his hands; but that he would commu- Greece.
 nicate it to him very soon on the banks of the Tyber, with all Year of
 the forces of Syria. This was an open declaration of war: the flood
 whereupon *Flaminius* returned to Corinth, there to watch the 2156.
 enemy’s motions, and acquaint the senate with the steps they Bef. Chr.
 should take. 192.

In the mean time, the privy council of the Ætolians formed The Æto-
 a design of seizing on three cities, which were reckoned the lians form
 bulwarks of Greece: these were *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, *Demetrias* a design of
 in *Thessaly*, and *Lacedæmon* in the heart of *Peloponnesus*. Three seizing
 men of known valour, and ability in war, were charged with Chalcis,
 the execution of this extraordinary design. *Thoas* was appointed Deme-
 to take *Chalcis*, *Alexamenes* to surprise *Lacedæmon*, and Dio- trias, and
 cles to make the attempt upon *Demetrias*. They all three set Lacedæ-
 out at the same time on their respective expeditions; but were mon.
 not attended with the like success. *Diocles*, approaching the
 city of *Demetrias* with a small body of chosen troops, sent a
 messenger to acquaint the inhabitants, that he was come with
 no other design, but to attend *Eurylochus* to his native coun-
 try, and conduct him with that honour which was due to his
 rank and merit. *Eurylochus* had been chief magistrate of *De-
 metrias*, and, in that post, disobliged the Romans, whose par-
 tizans had forced him to leave his country, and take sanctuary
 among the Ætolians. However, the *Demetrians*, touched with

Deme- the tears of his wife and children, had consented to recal him;
tristaken and his return *Diocles* made use of for the execution of his
by strata- design, *Eurylochus* himself being privy to the whole plot.
gem. Both *Diocles* and *Eurylochus* arrived at the gates of the city
 with a small body of horse, the rest of the cavalry being or-
 dered to follow at a distance. To prevent giving umbrage to
 the inhabitants, *Diocles* ordered his troop to dismount, and
 enter on foot, leading their horses by their bridles. At the
 gate he left a few horsemen to be ready to fall on the citizens,
 if they should offer to shut it when the rest of the cavalry ap-
 peared. Thus *Diocles* was admitted without the least suspi-
 cion; but, while he was leading *Eurylochus* by the hand to his
 house, news was brought him, that the whole body of the
Ætolian cavalry was arrived, and had got possession of the
 gate. Hereupon he ordered the troop that attended him to
 remount; and, in that surprize, making himself master of the
 most important posts in the city, detached several small bodies,
 with orders to put to death all the heads of the *Roman*
 party. Thus the *Ætolians* possessed themselves of one of the
 most important places of *Theffaly* ^t.

OF the success, that attended their attempt upon *Lacedæ-*
mon, we have spoken at length elsewhere ^u.

Ætolians
fail in
their at-
tempt upon
Chalcis.

As for *Thoas*, he failed in his attempt upon *Chalcis*, the
 magistrates of that city, who were strongly attached to the
Romans, having received timely notice of the design, and put
 the city in a condition to sustain a long siege. The inhabitants
 of *Chalcis*, hearing that *Thoas* had hired a great many trans-
 ports, in order to carry over troops to their island, sent a mes-
 senger to him, desiring to know for what reason he was going
 to commit hostilities in their territories. The *Ætolian* an-
 swered, that his only design was to deliver *Eubœa* from the
Romans, who domineered more insolently over it than the
Macedonians had ever done. But the inhabitants replied, that
 they neither found their liberties abridged, nor needed any
 avenger or deliverer from the *Romans*, since they feared no
 danger, nor apprehended any injury, from them. This discon-
 certed the measures of the *Ætolian*, who had placed all hopes
 of success in a sudden attack. Wherefore, finding that proper
 preparations were made for his reception, he retired, much
 dissatisfied at his failing in an attempt upon a city which would
 have made him master of the whole island, and opened a way
 for *Antiochus* into *Attica* ^w.

FLAMINIUS, who then resided at *Corinth*, being informed,
 that the *Ætolians* had made themselves masters of *Demetrias*

^t Liv. *ibid.* c. 35.

^u See above, p. 157.

^w Liv. *ibid.*

in *Theffaly*, took upon him to recover it to the *Roman* party. The Ro-
 He first wrote to *Eunomus*, prætor of *Theffaly*, desiring him mans at-
 to arm all the young men of the country; then he charged *Vil- tempt in*
lius to go to *Demetrias*, and inform himself upon the spot of vain to
 the disposition of the inhabitants. Accordingly *Villius* em- bring the
 barked on a quinquere^m, and came in sight of *Demetrias*. Deme-
 The report of his arrival raised a great commotion among the trians
 inhabitants, who ran in crouds to the port to see him: but the back to
Roman, without any concern at seeing crouds about him, ad- their alli-
 dressed *Eurylochus* the chief magistrate, in this manner: Can ance.
 the *Romans* reckon the people of *Demetrias* among their allies,
 or not? Am I received here as a friend, or not? The magi-
 strate answered, that his fellow-citizens were attached to *Rome*;
 but, at the same time, he let him know, that his presence
 might disturb the repose of a city that was jealous of its li-
 berty; which was in effect telling him, in a gentle manner,
 that he would not admit him into *Demetrias*. And, indeed,
Eurylochus had already declared for *Antiochus*, and the inhabit-
 ants, seduced by his counsels, had just then concluded a league
 with the *Ætolians* against *Rome*. *Villius* understood by *Eury-*
lochus's discourse, that he could not, without danger, appear
 among the people: and the interview ended with severe re-
 proaches on both sides; the *Roman* upbraided the *Demetrians*
 with ingratitude, since they owed their liberty to *Rome*; and
 the *Demetrians* reproached the *Romans* with injustice, haughti-
 ness, and ambition. *Villius* therefore was obliged to put to sea
 again; but, before he reimbarked, turning to the multitude
 that were pursuing him with great noise and menaces, "I
 " plainly see, said he, the storm that will fall upon your
 " heads; your misfortunes will convince you, when it is too
 " late, that none who provoke the *Romans*, escape with im-
 " punity." *Flaminius*, upon the return of *Villius*, and his
 report, laid aside all thoughts of bringing the *Demetrians* back
 to their old alliance*.

On the other hand, *Thoas*, having failed in his attempt upon *Thoas the*
Chalcis, went directly to *Antiochus*, and pressed him to delay Ætolian
 no longer his setting out for *Greece*. At the same time he dis- dissuades
 suaded him from sending *Hannibal* with an army into *Italy*, Antio-
 insinuating, that the *Carthaginian* would assume to himself all chus from
 the glory of such an enterprize. As this fell in with the Sy- sending
rian's suspicious and jealous temper, he intirely dropped the *Hannibal*
 design, to which he was before well inclined. And now it into Italy.
 being resolved, that *Greece* should be the only seat of war, the
 king pitched upon *Demetrias* for the place where he should
 land. Having therefore got every thing ready for his depart-

* Liv. ibid. c. 39.

Antio-
chus ar-
rives in
Greece.

Year of
the flood

2156.

Bef. Chr.

192.

His speech
to the ge-
neral as-
sembly.

Declared
generalis-
simo of all
the Greek
armies.

Strives to
gain over
the city of
Chalcis.

ure, he embarked with an army, consisting only of ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants. Such a small body of men was noways suitable to the majesty of so great a king, nor answered the expectations of his Greek allies; but these were all the troops he had ready: *Polyxenidas*, indeed, one of his generals, was ordered into *Asia*, to draw together the rest of his forces, and lead them into *Europe*. The king landed at *Pteleum* in *Phthiotis*, and from thence marched to *Demetrias*. Here the heads of the *Ætolian* nation waited upon him, and invited him to *Lamia*, one of their cities, where a general assembly was convened to receive him. Being introduced to the diet, he made an harangue, wherein he told them, that his eagerness to comply with their request had induced him to leave *Asia* before he had made the necessary preparations for such an expedition; that his zeal for their deliverance had made him even forgetful of his own dignity; that their expectations should be fully answered next spring; and that, as soon as the seas were passable, they should see all *Greece* covered with armies, and their harbours filled with fleets. He concluded with these words: "I will spare neither fatigues nor expences: I will expose my person to the greatest dangers, to re-establish you in the full enjoyment of your liberties. *Rome* has enslaved you, but *Syria* offers you a deliverer: let us then share the trouble between us; do you furnish provisions, I will find men and arms."

THIS speech was received with great applause; and, when the king was withdrawn, it was debated in the assembly what title they should give him, and in what character he should act in *Ætolia*. The most judicious saw plainly, that *Antiochus*, instead of a real and present assistance, gave them little more than bare hopes and promises; and therefore were for having him act only as a mediator between *Rome* and *Ætolia*. But this being rejected by a great majority, the opinion of *Thoas* prevailed, which was, that the king should be honoured with the title of generalissimo, or commander in chief, of all the Greek armies against *Rome*. Then a council of thirty persons was appointed, to whom the king might have recourse on all occasions. The first step he took, by their advice, was to enter into a negotiation with *Chalcis*, a city which was famous for its affection to the *Romans*. In a conference which was held between the *Ætolians* and *Chalcidians* at *Salganea*, the former used their utmost efforts to draw that important city into an alliance with *Antiochus*, but without renouncing the friendship of the *Romans*: they declared, that the king of *Syria* was come into *Greece*, not to make it the seat of war, but to

deliver it from slavery; that nothing could be more advantageous to the cities of *Greece*, than to live in amity both with *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, since the one would by that means be a check on the other; that, if they withstood the advantageous offers of such a mighty monarch, they might soon repent it, the *Romans*, on whom they depended, being at a great distance, and the king at their gates ^z.

MICTRO, one of the chief men of *Chalcis*, replied, that he *Prudent* could not imagine what people *Antiochus* was come to deliver, *conduct of* and for whose sake he had left his kingdom, and crossed over *the Chal-* into *Greece*: that, as for the inhabitants of *Chalcis*, they had no *cidians*, occasion for a deliverer, since they were free, nor of a defender, since they enjoyed the sweets of peace under the protection of *Rome*; that they did not refuse the friendship of *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*; but if they would shew themselves friends, the best proof they could give at present of their friendship, was to leave the island, since they were fully determined neither to admit them into their city, nor make any alliance with them, but in conjunction with the *Romans* ^a.

THIS answer being brought to the king on board his ship, where he had continued during the conference, he thought it adviseable to return to *Demetrias*, not having a sufficient number of troops with him to make an attempt upon the city. He was not at all pleased with his *Ætolian* counsellors, seeing the first step they had made him take proved so inglorious. But *Thoas* appeased him with the hopes of gaining over *Amynder* king of the *Athamanes*, with the *Bæotians* and *Achæans*, who, said he, are all dissatisfied with the proceedings of the *Romans*.

Accordingly negotiations were set on foot, and ambassadors *The Æto-* dispatched to these three powers. The *Achæan* diet, which *lians in-* was held at *Ægium*, gave audience to the ambassadors of the *vite seve-* *Ætolians* and *Antiochus*, in the presence of *Flaminius*. The *ral states* *Syrian* ambassador, who spoke first, expatiated on the irre- *to join* sistible power of his master; he declared, with an emphatical *them.* tone of voice, that a numberless multitude of horsemen were *Great* crossing the *Hellespont*, consisting partly of cuirassiers in im- *promises* penetrable armour, and partly of bow-men, who discharged *made by* their darts with as much skill and dexterity when they turned *the Syrian* their backs, as when they faced their enemy: to the cavalry, *ambassa-* which alone was sufficient to overpower all the forces of *dor.* *Europe*, he added more numerous bodies of infantry, the *Dahæ*, the *Medes*, the *Elymæans*, the *Cadusii*, &c. names never before heard in *Greece*, and therefore, as he thought, more terrible: with regard to the fleet, he assured them, that it would overspread all the coasts, and fill all the ports of

^z LIV. *ibid.* c. 46.

^a Idem *ibid.* c. 47.

Greece: concerning money, it was, he said, needless to mention the immense sums which *Antiochus* possessed, since they knew that the kingdom of *Asia* had always abounded with gold. In the close of this speech he addressed the *Achæans*, telling them, that though his master was come from the most remote parts of the east, purely to restore *Greece* to its freedom; yet he did not require, that the *Achæans* should take up arms against *Rome*, but only desired them to stand neuter, and treat both parties as friends; assuring them, that their neutrality should screen them, and their country, from the many calamities that threatened *Greece* ^b.

*Insolent
speech of
Archida-
mus the
Ætolian,
before the
Achæan
diet.*

*Speech of
Flami-
nius.*

ARCHIDAMUS the *Ætolian* ambassador spoke to the same effect, advising the *Achæans* to sit only as spectators of a war, which must bring utter destruction upon *Rome*. Then, growing insensibly warmer, he launched out into invectives and reproaches against the *Romans* in general, and *Flaminius* in particular. He called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot, that they owed to the valour of the *Ætolians* not only the victory they had gained over *Philip*, but their general's life, and the safety of the army: "For what great exploits (continued he) has *Flaminius* performed during this war? His whole time has been spent in consulting the auspices, in sacrificing victims, and offering vows, as though he had been an augur, or a priest, while I exposed myself to the enemy's darts for his sake." *Flaminius* heard all these reproaches with patience; and then replied with pleasantry thus: "Attempts have now been made, *Achæans*, to terrify you with an enumeration of those nations of *Asia*, which are to pour in, like a torrent, upon *Greece*. This puts me in mind of an entertainment, which was made me by a friend of mine in *Chalcis*, who is a man of humour, and treats his guests very elegantly. He invited me to a banquet at a time of year when venison was very scarce; and yet there seemed to be great plenty of it served up at his table. I was surprised; but my friend, smiling, told me, that what I took for venison, was nothing but hogs flesh, disguised several ways, and seasoned with different sauces. The same may be said of this mighty king's troops, which have been so pompously extolled and magnified. The *Dabæ*, the *Medes*, the *Cadusii*, the *Elymæans*, names indeed that are not heard every day in *Greece*, are all but one nation, and a nation of slaves. Whatever disguises may be used, they are all but one sort of men: let the sauce be what it will, the meat is the same. And, as for the *Ætolians*, they are brave only in words: they may amuse the king of *Syria*

^b Liv. *ibid.* c. 48.

“ with

“ with bragging discourses ; but both you, *Achæans*, and I,
 “ are better acquainted with their character, than to be im-
 “ posed upon. As for their mighty monarch, what a poor
 “ figure is he come to make in these parts ! his whole army
 “ is not equal to two of our smallest legions. And where are
 “ the riches which he promises you ? He has been obliged, at
 “ his first arrival, to beg of the *Ætolian* diet provisions and
 “ money. From thence he rambled to *Chalcis* ; which he was
 “ obliged to leave with ignominy. The *Ætoli*ans have very
 “ injudiciously given credit to *Antiochus* ; and *Antiochus* shewed
 “ as little judgment in believing the *Ætoli*ans. This ought
 “ to teach you not to be imposed upon, but to put all your
 “ confidence in the *Romans*, the effects of whose friendship
 “ you have so often experienced. When they demand of you
 “ a neutrality, they invite you to become a prey to both par-
 “ ties, and to suffer all the evils of war, without sharing the
 “ advantages of victory .”

THE *Achæans*, without hesitation, declared for the *Romans*, The *A-*
 and resolved to make war upon *Antiochus*, and the *Ætoli*ans. *chæans*
 They immediately sent five hundred men to reinforce the gari- *declare*
 son of *Chalcis*, and the like number to *Athens*, which began *for the*
 to waver. *Antiochus*, and the *Ætoli*ans, received no greater sa- *Romans.*
 tisfaction from the *Bœotians*, who told their embassadors, that *The Bœo-*
 they would come to no resolution, till *Antiochus*’s army was *tians re-*
 on the frontiers of *Bœotia* ^d. *main neu-*
ter.

THE king of *Syria*, having thus solicited in vain, either by
 his embassadors, or in person, most of the *Greek* states to join
 in alliance with him, retired at last to *Demetrias*, where he
 held a council of war on the operations of the ensuing cam-
 paign. *Hannibal*, who was invited to it, with all the chief
 commanders of the army, being asked his opinion first, advised *Hanni-*
 the king, before he undertook any thing else, to use his utmost *bal’s ad-*
 endeavours to gain over *Philip* of *Macedon* ; which, he said, *vice to*
 was so important a step, that, could they but succeed in it, *Antio-*
 they might, without much ado, become masters of all *Greece.* *chus.*
 But, if *Philip* should refuse to take up arms against *Rome*, in
 that case he was of opinion, that the king should send his son
Seleucus, at the head of an army, into *Macedon*, and by that
 means prevent him from lending any assistance to the *Romans*.
 He insisted on a still more important point, and maintained,
 as he had always done, that the only way to defeat the *Ro-*
mans, was to send an army into *Italy* ^e.

THE council could not but approve of what *Hannibal* said ;
 but, at the same time, the *Ætoli*ans diverted the king from

^c Liv. *ibid.* c. 49.

^d Idem, l. xxxvi. c. 2.

^e Idem *ibid.*

c. 4. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 5, 6. APPIAN. in *Syriac.* p. 93, 94.

Antiochus diverted by the Ætoli-
ans from following
the advice of Han-
nibal.

The Syri-
ans fall
upon a
party of
the Ro-
mans, in
the temple
and grove
of Apollo.

Antiochus ad-
mitted in-
to Chal-
cis.

Several
states join
him.

following his opinion, pretending, that if he pursued the *Carthaginian's* plan, all the glory would be ascribed to him; and that since *Antiochus* had already taken another course, and was in *Greece*, it would be highly disreputable in him to alter his measures. In the council it was resolved, that the king should again attempt the winning over of *Chalcis*; and accordingly he set out for that place. On his march he detached *Menippus*, one of his generals, with three thousand men, to intercept a body of five hundred *Romans*, which *Flaminius* had sent under the command of *Mictio*, the *Chalcidian*, to reinforce the garison of *Chalcis*. *Menippus* came upon them unexpectedly, while they were amusing themselves in viewing the rarities of a temple dedicated to *Apollo*, in the neighbourhood of *Tanagra* (M). Neither the sanctity of the palace, which enjoyed the privileges of an asylum, nor the friendship that still subsisted between *Antiochus* and the republic, war not being yet declared, protected them from the fury of the *Syrians*: they were attacked in the very temple and grove of *Apollo*, most of them put to the sword, and fifty taken prisoners; a few of them escaped with their leader *Mictio*, who, in a small boat, got safe to *Chalcis*. This was the first time *Antiochus* drew his sword in these parts; but, by shedding *Roman* blood, he made himself the aggressor, and gave *Rome* a new right to declare him an enemy. The *Syrian*, flushed with this small advantage, became more bold and enterprising; he advanced, at the head of six thousand men, to the *Euripus*, where he had ordered his fleet to attend him, and appeared the second time before *Chalcis*. This city was rent into factions; and now the *Ætolian* party prevailing, *Mictio* and *Xenolcides*, with such other citizens as persisted in their attachment to the *Romans*, were commanded to depart; and the city opened her gates to *Antiochus*. The example of the capital was followed by the whole island, and all *Eubœa* submitted to the *Syrian*, who, from that time, made *Chalcis* the place of his residence. He spent the winter there, sending deputies to all the free states of *Greece*, to court their friendship. His power began now to be formidable; wherefore the *Eleans*, the *Epirots*, the *Bœotians*, and the *Athamanes*, readily joined him, renouncing their alliance with *Rome*. The *Athamanes* were prevailed upon to join him by *Philip*, the

(M) *Tanagra*, a city of *Bœotia*, on the banks of the *Asopus*, five miles distant from the *Euripus*, is now called *Anatoria*. The temple dedicated to *Apollo*, and called *Delium*, was built on the coast of *Bœotia*, between the city of *Aulis*, and the mouth of the *Asopus*, about five miles from *Tanagra* (4).

(4) *Strabo*, l. ix.

regent

regent of *Athamania*, who was a pretender to the crown of *Macedon*^f (N).

AND now the time drawing near to take the field, *Antiochus* advanced to *Larissa*, and from thence summoned his allies to send their troops to the neighbourhood of *Pheræ*, where they were to rendezvous. While he was waiting here for the arrival of the confederate troops, he made a very impolitic step, which was the taking the regent of *Athamania* with him to the plains of *Cynocephalæ*, where the *Macedonians*, who had been killed when *Philip* was overcome, lay still unburied. He thought that the pretended king of *Macedon*, by procuring their obsequies to be performed, might gain the affections of the *Macedonians*. But this served only to exasperate the true king of *Macedon*, who immediately gave the *Romans* notice of the progress *Antiochus* was making in *Greece*^g.

THE king of *Syria*, being reinforced with the troops of his allies, and having no enemies to resist him, laid siege to *Pheræ*, which, after a vigorous resistance, was forced to surrender. From *Pheræ* he advanced to *Larissa*; and, while he was deliberating whether he should lay siege to it, or not, news was brought him, that a body of *Romans* was arrived at *Gonni*, a city about twenty miles from *Larissa*. *Claudius*, who commanded this small detachment, in order to deceive *Antiochus*, encamped in a much larger camp than was necessary for so small a number of troops, and kindled so many fires, that *Antiochus*, believing a numerous army of *Romans* was ready to fall upon him, decamped with great precipitation, and returned to *Chalcis*, which city proved as fatal to him as *Capua* had been to *Hannibal*; for there, though he was advanced in years, being above fifty, he suffered himself to be shamefully captivated by the charms of a fair *Chalcidian*. She was the daughter of one of the chief citizens of *Chalcis*, named *Cleoptolemus*, in whose house the king lodged, and a young woman of great virtue. The king therefore was obliged to disclose his passion, not to her only, but likewise to her father, and desire his consent to marry her. The disproportion of her age

^f LIV. *ibid.* c. 5. POLYB. *legat.* 12.

^g LIV. & POLYB. *ibid.*

(N) *Amynder*, king of the *Athamanes*, had married at *Megalopolis*, a woman named *Apamia*, a native of *Macedon*, who was said to be descended from *Alexander the Great*. The father of *Apamia*, who also bore the name of *Alexander*, gave out among the *Megalopolitans*, that he was the true heir of the kingdom of *Macedon*. The brother of *Apamia*, whose name was *Philip*, governed the kingdom of *Athamania* under *Amynder*, who was a weak prince; and *Antiochus* gained over *Philip*, by promising to restore him to the throne of his ancestors.

and his
army.

War de-
clared at
Rome
against
Antio-
chus.

Year of
the flood

2157.

Bef. Chr.

191.

and condition to those of the king's, made *Cleoptolemus* fear, that his daughter would soon repent her advancement to so high a station; and therefore was very unwilling to grant the king his request. But *Antiochus* to the passion of a lover joined the authority of a sovereign; and then the father was obliged to acquiesce: and the nuptials were celebrated with regal magnificence, and all the security of the most peaceable times. The king was now so taken up with his young queen, that he seemed to forget *Rome*, *Greece*, and *Syria*. Neither the important war he was engaged in, nor the defence of his allies, nor the preservation of the glory he had already acquired, affected him in the least. His unseasonable love was become a standing topic of raillery in all conversations; his allies made loud complaints; the soldiery, being kept in a state of inaction, began to mutiny, and the *Ætolians* themselves to express great uneasiness. But the king, insensible to every thing but his passion, which ingrossed the whole man, spent the rest of the winter in feasting and rejoicings; and the ill example of the court infected the officers, and even the common soldiers of the *Syrian* army: discipline was neglected, their bodies were weakened; and the whole army abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery^b.

WHILE *Antiochus* was thus lost in pleasures at *Chalcis*, *Rome* kept a watchful eye over him. One hundred quinqueremes were fitted out to scour the eastern seas; and, after the elections were over, and a regulation made of the troops that were to serve this year, war was formally declared against *Antiochus*. Then the new consuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and *A. Acilius Glabrio*, drew lots for their provinces; and *Greece* fell to the latter, who set out in the beginning of *May* for *Brundisium*, whence he set sail for *Greece*, and, crossing the *Ionian* sea, landed his forces, without the least opposition, to the number of twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants. He immediately sent his infantry to *Bæbius*, who was encamped near *Pellinæa* in *Thessaly*, and with his cavalry he marched to *Limnæa*, another city of *Thessaly*, which the king of *Macedon* was besieging. Both these places surrendered to the consul at discretion, and in *Pellinæa* was taken *Philip*, the pretender to the crown of *Macedon*. The king in derision called him brother, ordered him to be saluted king, and conducted him to the consul, who put him in irons, and sent him to *Rome*. Then the *Romans* and *Macedonians* parted, to spread the terror of their arms in different places. The king made

^b LIV. *ibid.* APPIAN. c. 96–98. POLYB. l. x. apud Athenæum, l. x. c. 12. DIOD. SIC. & DIO. in excerpt. Valefii, p. 296, & 609.

himself master of all *Athamania*, *Amynder* having retired, with his wife and children, into *Epirus*; and the consul soon reduced all *Thessaly*. This surprising progress of the Romans roused at last *Antiochus* out of his lethargy. He loved his new wife *Eubia* to adoration; but his reason pointing out to him the shameful figure a man of his years and character must make, in being thus taken up with youthful pleasures, at last got the better of his passion; and he determined to leave *Chalcis*, and draw nearer to *Ætolia*. This obliged him to assemble all the troops he had dispersed over *Greece*, and join them in one army. All the *Syrian* troops amounted to no more than ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. With these he advanced to the confines of *Ætolia*, in hopes of powerful succours from thence: but he was disappointed; for the *Ætolian* chiefs could not raise above four thousand men, who were for the most part their own clients and vassals. *Antiochus* was then sensible, that he had been imposed upon by *Thoas*; but, notwithstanding this disappointment, he pursued his measures. He knew that the *Roman* army had passed the *Sperchius*, and was ravaging *Phthiotis*. To prevent therefore their entering *Achaia* by way of *Locris*, and, at the same time, to secure himself against the attacks of the enemy, he seized a pass already famous in history, called *Thermopylæ*¹. The king strengthened the natural fortifications of the place with trenches and ramparts. And as he was not ignorant, that *Xerxes* would not have been able to force the *Lacedæmonians*, if he had not ordered some of his troops to climb up the mountains, and from thence rush down upon the enemy, he detached two thousand *Ætolians* to seize the summits of mount *Oeta*, which were nearest his camp^k.

THE *Roman* general was informed of the prudent precautions which *Antiochus* had taken, and was under no small concern. To endeavour to drive the enemy from passes where scarce ten armed men could march abreast, was a dangerous attempt: to follow the example of *Xerxes*, and climb over the mountains, was impracticable, the tops of the mountain being guarded by two thousand *Ætolians*. In this perplexity he had recourse to the famous *Cato*, who, being tired with the wranglings of the bar, had roused up his martial spirit, and now served in the troops in no higher a station than that of a legionary tribune. This brave and prudent warrior extricated the consul out of his difficulties, by offering to dislodge the *Ætolians* from their advantageous post. As this enterprize was of no less difficulty than importance, the consul thought proper

¹ See vol. vi. p. 191. ^k Liv. ibid. c. 15. PLUT. in Cat. maj. FRONTIN. stratag. l. ii. c. 4. APPIAN. in Syriacis, c. 96.

to join *L. Valerius*, one of his lieutenants, with *Cato*, in the execution of it. The former was ordered to march against that body of Ætolians which was encamped on the summit called *Tichius*, and the latter against those who were on the other, named *Callidromus*. *Valerius* was repulsed by the Ætolians, and forced to retire; but *Cato*, after undergoing inexpressible fatigues and dangers, got at last to the top of the mountain, and charged the Ætolians with such resolution, that he obliged them to abandon their post, and fly for refuge to the valley. In the mean time the main body of the army was warmly engaged with *Antiochus*; but could not, with all their valour, force the Syrian's intrenchment. *Acilius* did wonders; but, great numbers of his men being either killed or wounded, the rest began to be disheartened, when the consul, all on a sudden, spied *Cato* half way down the hill, and the Ætolians flying before him. This sight inspired the Romans with new vigour, and struck no small terror into the Syrians, who had behaved, during the action, with incredible valour, and still maintained their ground, till *Cato*, attacking the camp in its weakest part, put an end to the dispute. The king, having received a blow on the mouth with a stone, turned his horse about, and fled. His example was followed by the whole army, every one shifting for himself, and leaving the passes open for the Romans, who did not pursue them, being taken up with plundering the camp, where they found a rich booty ^k.

Antiochus flies to Chalcis. THE next day, early in the morning, the consul marched to *Elatia*, whither *Antiochus* had first retired. But before the arrival of the Romans, the king was fled from thence, and had got safe to *Chalcis*, with five hundred horse. All the infantry, being too much tired to follow the king in his flight, were surprised by the Roman horse, and cut in pieces; so that *Antiochus* may be said to have lost his whole army in the action of *Thermopylae*, and in the pursuit (O). The consul continued his march through *Bœotia* to the *Euripus*, with a design to drive *Antiochus* from *Chalcis*, and recover the island of *Eubœa*. The *Bœotians* had declared for *Antiochus*; and therefore, being seized with terror at the sight of the consular army, they appeared before *Acilius* in the attire of suppliants; and the consul spared both their lives and lands, not

^k Liv. *ibid.* c. 19.

(O) *Valerius* of *Antium*, according to *Livy*, greatly magnified the king's loss; for he wrote, that forty thousand Syrians were killed upon the spot, and five thousand taken prisoners (5).

(5) Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 19.

suffering his soldiers to commit any hostilities, except at *Coromæa*, where, by a public edict of the *Bæotian* diet, a statue had been erected to *Antiochus*. At this sight the legionaries *Antiochus* were so provoked, that *Acilius* could not refrain them; the city was plundered, and the territory laid waste. When the consular army appeared before *Chalcis*, *Antiochus* embarked with his new queen, set sail for *Asia*, and retired to *Ephesus*. Upon his departure, *Chalcis* opened her gates to the *Romans*, and all *Eubœa* followed the example of the capital. *Acilius* then returned to *Thermopylæ*, and from thence continued his march to *Heraclea* (P), which two thousand Ætolians still kept for *Antiochus*¹.

BEFORE the consul besieged the city in form, he summoned the garison, and the inhabitants, to surrender; representing, that they could expect no relief from a fugitive king; that all *Greece* had anew declared for *Rome*; that it was too late to have recourse to the clemency of the *Romans*; and that he would look upon their delivering up of the city as an unquestionable proof of a sincere repentance. *Damocritus*, who had told *Flaminius*, that he would give him on the banks of the *Tyber* a copy of the decree inviting *Antiochus* into *Greece*, was governor of the place; and, by his means, the Ætolians, as well as the inhabitants, resolved to hold out to the last. The consul therefore was obliged to have recourse to force, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that he made himself master of it. *Heraclea* was fortified by nature and art, and in a condition to make a long and vigorous defence. The consul, having invested the city on all sides, began to batter it night and day with a great number of warlike machines, which discharged showers of darts and stones on the besieged. The Ætolians, on the other hand, maintained their posts with inexpressible courage, harassed the *Romans* with frequent sallies, set fire to their engines, and, by letting down iron hooks from the wall, rendered their battering-rams quite useless. The aggressors no sooner opened a breach, by undermining the wall, but the besieged made vigorous sallies, keeping the *Romans* employed till their companions within repaired the breach. Thus they held out forty days against the incessant attacks of the whole consular army. The great number of the besiegers lessened their fatigues; but the besieged

¹ LIV. *ibid.* c. 20.

(P) This city, called *Heraclea*, stood between the *gulf of Zeiton*, and about forty furlongs distance from *Thermopylæ* (6). *Trachynia*, and the *Asopus*, near the

(6) *Strabo*, l. ix. *Thucyd.* l. iii.

were employed night and day, the whole garison being scarce sufficient for the constant defence of the place.

THE consul, being sensible that the *Ætolians* could hardly be overcome with fatigues and watchings, resolved to give some relaxation, but with a view the more effectually to deceive them. He commanded a stop to be put to the attacks at twelve every night, and did not renew them till nine in the morning. The *Ætolians*, being persuaded that the *Romans* were as much exhausted as themselves, retired at the same time, and did not return to the walls till they had refreshed themselves with some hours rest. They continued this practice for some time; but the consul, all on a sudden, ordered *Sempronius* to attack the citadel at three in the morning, not doubting but the noise would draw all the garison thither. Accordingly, the *Ætolians*, being waked, hastened to the castle; and the *Romans*, at the same time, assaulted, with great vigour, the town; but were repulsed by the *Ætolians* in three successive attacks. *Acilius* had ordered his legionaries to attack the town on all sides, except that which joined the suburbs. There he had placed a strong detachment among the ruins of the demolished houses, with orders not to stir till they heard the signal. He imagined, that the besieged would draw off their men from that place, which was not attacked, to defend the others. And so it happened: the besiegers left this place quite undefended; which the consul perceiving, gave the signal agreed on, and the legionaries mounted the wall without any opposition. The besieged, hearing a shout on the rampart, believed the city was taken, and fled with great precipitation to the citadel. *Acilius* suffered the city to be plundered, not so much out of a spirit of revenge, as to reward the soldiers, who had not as yet been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. The pillaging of the city took them up from break of day till noon, when the consul marched against the citadel, which, as it was not sufficiently stocked with provisions to maintain such a number of men, women, and children, as had fled thither for refuge, soon surrendered at discretion. The *Ætolians* threw themselves upon the clemency of the *Romans*; and, by way of preliminary, delivered up, into the consul's hands, their leader *Damocritus*, who probably was sent to *Rome*, with the other captives of the conquered nations ^m.

Lamia be- FROM *Heraclea* the consul marched to *Lamia*, a strong
sieged by place situated on a rock about seven miles distant. The
the Mace- troops of king *Philip* had begun the siege at the same time
donians. that the *Romans* set down before *Heraclea*. As the two ci-

^m LIV. *ibid.* c. 25.

ties were near each other, and *Lamia* stood on an eminence, the *Macedonians* and *Romans* could discover each from their own camp, what progress was made in the other. Hence arose an emulation between the two armies, which should reduce the city first. The works were carried on by both with the utmost vigour; but as the *Macedonians* could not, according to their custom, undermine the walls, the city being placed on a rock, the *Romans* took *Heraclea* before the *Macedonians* had made any considerable progress in the siege of *Lamia*. *Philip* indeed did not at first assist in person, being prevented by an indisposition; but he no sooner recovered, than he went to pay a visit to *Acilius*, who was then encamped at *Thermopylæ*, and congratulated him on his victory. From the consul's camp *Philip* hastened to *Lamia*, to pursue the siege; but he had not the satisfaction of taking the place, the *Lamians* chusing rather to submit to the *Romans*, in hopes of recovering their liberty, than to receive the *Macedonian* yokeⁿ.

BEFORE *Heraclea* and *Lamia* were besieged, the *Ætolians* had sent an embassy to *Antiochus*, then at *Ephesus*. *Thoas*, who was at the head of it, endeavoured, pursuant to his instructions, to engage the king to draw together his troops, and return into *Europe*. He represented, that, if the war was not carried on with vigour in *Greece*, he would soon see the *Romans* in the heart of his dominions. What he said was not improbable; and therefore determined *Antiochus* to send immediately into *Ætolia* considerable sums, and give orders for the assembling of his forces. *Thoas* he kept with him, who was very glad to continue at court, and there have an opportunity of pressing the king to fulfil his promises. Thus the *Ætolians* were wholly bent upon renewing the war, before the taking of the two above-mentioned cities; but the reduction of these abated their ardour; and now nothing was talked of in their assemblies, but of concluding a peace. They sent ambassadors to the consul, to make proposals; but he received them with the air of a conqueror: "I have other business on my hands for a" (said he) than to hear you. Go back to your diet at *Hy-pata*, whither I will send *Valerius Flaccus* to treat with you: "make your proposals to him; and, in the mean time, I grant you a ten days truce^o."

VALERIUS, and the ambassadors, set out together for *Hy-pata*, where the general assembly was held. The diet shewed him extraordinary honour; held their sessions at his house; and, to manifest that they reposed an intire confidence in him, desired him to instruct them in what manner they should treat

ⁿ Liv. ibid. c. 26.^o Idem ibid. c. 27.

Are treat-
ed with
great
haughti-
ness by the
Roman
consul:

who ne-
vertheless
grants
them a ten
days truce.

with the senate. "Our alliance (said they) with the republic
" is very antient. By how many good offices have we shewn
" our attachment to *Rome*?" Here *Valerius* stopped them;
and desired they would not mention an alliance, which they
had so often broken: "An humble submission (said he) will
" have more effect on the consul and senate, than a vain osten-
" tation of your services." The diet seemed to pay a great
regard to the wholesome advice of *Valerius*; and their deputies,
putting on an air of humiliation, presented themselves before
the consul. *Phæneas*, who was their speaker, addressing the
consul in a mournful tone, began his speech, by telling him,
that all *Ætolia*, repenting her late conduct, threw herself on
the honour and clemency of the *Romans*. The consul, with-
out suffering him to pursue his harangue, immediately replied,
"You say, *Ætolia* surrenders herself to the *Romans*: if so,
" deliver up the head of your nation, who was the author of
" your revolt: put into my hands *Menetas* the *Epirot*, *Amy-*
" *nander* king of *Athamania*, and such of the *Athamanians* as
" have revolted from us, and taken sanctuary in *Ætolia*."
While he was yet speaking, *Phæneas*, interrupting him, an-
swered with a quite different air and tone of voice, "You de-
" mand more than we promised: we threw ourselves upon
" your honour; but we did not deliver ourselves up to slavery.
" What you require is neither consistent with the honour of
" the *Ætolian* nation, nor with the laws and customs of
" *Greece*." "What is that to me (replied *Acilius* haughtily)
" whether my demands are agreeable to your customs and
" laws, or not? They are agreeable to the will of the *Ro-*
" *mans*, and that is enough." *Phæneas* was offering to speak,
when the consul rising up, "What! (said he) do you refuse
" to obey my orders, and plead your customs and laws with
" me?" Then, turning to the lictors, he ordered them to
bring in iron chains and collars; and threatened to put the em-
bassadors in irons that instant, and treat them like rebels and
traitors, unless they promised to perform what he required.
The sight of the chains, and the threats of the angry consul,
so terrified them, that neither *Phæneas* nor his colleagues durst
utter one word. *Valerius*, taking their part, desired the con-
sul to remember, that they were ambassadors; and consequently
ought not to be treated with all the severity which their insin-
cerity might perhaps deserve. This encouraged *Phæneas* to
represent to the consul, in terms of great submission, that nei-
ther he, nor the council of the *Apocleti*, who had sent him,
could obey his orders, without the consent and approbation of
the general assembly of the whole nation: he therefore entreated
him to grant them a further truce for ten days, during which
time he promised to bring him a positive answer. *Acilius*
heard

heard him now with patience, and granted the suspension of arms he required P.

UPON the return of the ambassadors, and the report which they made of the severe treatment they had met with, a general assembly was convened, to which all the cities of Ætolia sent their deputies. These were fired with indignation at the bare recital of the preliminaries proposed by the Romans, and all cried out, *We are then reduced to slavery. Is the king of Athamania our subject? Can we dispose of him as we please, and deliver him up to the Romans?* Warm debates arose, and the members of the council could neither agree with the prætor, nor among themselves. On one side, the Romans were a formidable enemy; but they had yet taken only two cities. On the other, *Antiochus* was a wealthy prince, powerful by sea and land, and a declared enemy to the Romans. While they were in this uncertainty, a thing happened, which determined them to chuse the worst part.

ONE *Nicander*, an active and bustling man, had gone from Ætolia to *Ephesus*, where *Antiochus* resided, and returned home in twelve days. He brought large sums of money with him from the king of *Syria*; and assured the diet, that, early in the spring, all the forces of *Syria* would be sent to their assistance. He added, that the king of *Macedon* was highly dissatisfied with the Romans, and would not fail to join them, when a fair opportunity offered of revolting from his new allies. What he said, with regard to *Philip*, had great appearance of truth; and therefore was of great weight with the assembly. *Nicander*, on his return to *Greece*, had been obliged to pass between the Roman and *Macedonian* camps; and, keeping as far as he could from the Romans, fell upon an advanced guard of the *Macedonians*, by whom he was taken, and carried to the king. The prisoner expected no good treatment from *Philip*, and was under no small apprehension of being delivered up to the Romans; but, contrary to his expectation, he was received by the *Macedonian* in a very friendly manner, and even invited to sup with him. After the repast, the king ordered the rest of the company to withdraw; and then addressed *Nicander* thus: “You are not in the power of an enemy, but of a friend; and therefore divest yourself of all fear. Are you not at last sensible, that the Ætolians, your countrymen, are the authors of all our misfortunes? They first brought the Romans into *Greece*, and assisted them in the reduction of my dominions: then they grew weary of their new masters, and drew *Antiochus* into these parts. However, I forget all that is past, and will not insult you in your misery. Only

“ let the diet at *Hypata* know, that it is high time for them to
 “ lay aside their hatred to me. As for you, *Nicander*, re-
 “ member that I now give you your life, and be grateful q.”
 Accordingly, *Nicander* acquainted the diet with the kind re-
 ception he had met with in *Philip*’s camp; and the *Ætolians*
 inferred from thence, that the king might be easily drawn off
 from the *Romans*. This persuasion, with the money which
Nicander brought from *Asia*, and the reports which he spread,
 that *Antiochus* was ready to pass into *Europe*, at the head of a
 powerful army, made such impressions on the assembly, that
 all thoughts of peace vanished; and nothing was now talked
 of but war. They resolved to draw all their forces to *Nau-*
pactus, and preserve, at all events, that important city against
 the return of *Antiochus* r.

Acilius
 resolves to
 make him-
 self master
 of Nau-
 pactus.

Passes the
 streights
 without
 opposition,
 and in-
 vests it.

Philip re-
 covers the

ACILIUS, on the other hand, looked on the taking of *Nau-*
pactus as the most fatal blow he could give the *Ætolian* nation,
 and therefore resolved to attempt it. In the first place, he sent
 four thousand men, under the command of *Appius Claudius*,
 to guard the roads through which the army was to pass. The
 consul did not begin his march, till he had implored the assistance
 of the gods, by offering a solemn sacrifice to *Hercules*, on the
 top of mount *Oeta*, where *Hercules* is said to have ended his
 life, and his labours s. Having thus consecrated his departure
 by an act of religion, he set out at the head of his army, and
 met with no difficulties in his march, till he came to *Corax* (R),
 the highest mountain of *Ætolia*; which he was obliged to
 climb over, with all the warlike machines and baggage of a
 numerous army. There great numbers of beasts of burden,
 and many of the soldiers, were lost in the precipices. Not one
 single *Ætolian* appeared to dispute this dangerous passage with
 the consul, which might have been defended by an handful of
 men against an army how numerous soever. At length the
Romans got over it, and arrived, greatly fatigued, before *Nau-*
pactus; which the consul immediately invested: but, as the
Ætolians defended themselves with incredible vigour and cou-
 rage, the whole consular army was employed here most part
 of the summer; while *Philip* and the *Achæans* reduced intire
 provinces. The former not only made himself master of *De-*
metrias, but extended his conquests to *Dolopia*, *Aperantia*,

q Liv. ibid. c. 28. POLYB. legat. 13.

s Idem ibid. APPIAN. in Syriac. 99.

r Liv. ibid. c. 30.

(R) According to *Ptolemy*, this
 mountain lay between mount
Callidromus and mount *Parnassus*.

Livy places it between *Naupactus*
 and *Callipolis*.

and *Perrhæbia* (S); and thus, by degrees, recovered all the places that had been taken from him.[†] *which the*

BUT *Flaminius*, who resided at *Chalcis* (T), not being at all pleased with the progress which the consul suffered *Philip* to make, contrary to the interest of *Rome*, hastened to *Naupactus*, which had already held out two months, but was reduced to great straits. On his arrival in the camp, he was received by the consul, whom he abruptly addressed thus: *Are you aware what prodigious pains you take to ruin the affairs of the republic?* *Acilius*, surprised at these words, desired him to explain his meaning: and then *Flaminius* told him, That, ever since his victory at *Themopylæ*, he had spent his whole time in taking two cities; while *Philip* had not contented himself with the taking of cities, but had reduced whole nations. "You are endeavouring (continued *Flaminius*) to lessen the power of *Ætolia*; and, at the same time, suffer a far more dangerous enemy to increase his beyond measure. Consider better the true interest of *Rome*; raise this troublesome siege, leave *Naupactus*, and deliver *Greece* from impending ruin."[‡] *Ætolians had taken.*
Flaminius's advice to the consul.

As the authority of *Flaminius* was great at *Rome*, and his reasonings very just, *Acilius* was unwilling to disoblige him; but, on the other hand, he considered, that the raising the siege of a town, which had already held out two months, might reflect no small dishonour on his conduct; and therefore was

[†] Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 32.

[‡] Liv. ibid. & PLUT. in Flamin.

(S) *Dolopia* was part of *Epirus*, and bordered upon *Thessaly*, near mount *Pindus*. *Aperantia* was another province of *Epirus*, lying near the springs of the *Achelous*. *Perrhæbia* was properly the mountainous country about *Olympus* and *Thessaly*, extending from the city *Atrax* as far as *Tempe* (7).

(T) *Flaminius*, after having conquered *Philip*, and settled the affairs of *Greece*, was long kept in that country by his republic, on account of his great skill and address in negotiations. He had no title, but nevertheless was more respected than the consuls themselves. When any differences arose, the contending par-

ties generally had recourse to *Flaminius*, referring the whole to his arbitration. He had chosen *Chalcis* for the usual place of his residence. That city owed its safety to him; for *Acilius*, when it surrendered to him after the departure of *Antiochus*, was resolved to give it up to be plundered; but *Flaminius* had interest enough with the consul to appease his wrath, and save both the lives and estates of the inhabitants. From that time the *Chalcidians* carried their gratitude to excess; they built a temple, and instituted a festival in his honour, putting him upon the same level with *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules* (8).

(7) Strabo, l. ix. Herodot. l. vii. c. 185.

(8) Plut. in Flamin.

some time in suspense, whether he should follow the advice of *Flaminius*, or, contrary to his opinion, pursue the siege: but at length he yielded, *Flaminius* taking upon himself to justify his behaviour to the senate, and to persuade the *Ætoli-ans* to make some kind of submission. Accordingly, he immediately shewed himself to the besieged; who, running in crowds to the ramparts, implored his assistance with mournful cries. *Flaminius*, at first, seemed not to give ear to their entreaties; but, as they redoubled their cries, beseeching him, with tears in their eyes, to have compassion upon an unfortunate people, who fled to him for protection, he gave them to understand, that they might send deputies to confer with him. Hereupon *Phæneas*, and the chief men of the nation, came out, and threw themselves prostrate at his feet. *Flaminius* seeing them in this humble posture, “ I will not insult you “ (said he) in this condition, nor aggravate your sorrow with “ unseasonable reproaches. Your misfortunes are indeed af- “ fecting; but I forewarned you of them; and you have the “ further mortification to know, that you have, by your im- “ prudent conduct, brought them upon yourselves: but, as I “ am appointed by the gods to preserve *Greece*, your ingrati- “ tude shall not get the better of my propensity to mercy. Go, “ throw yourselves at the consul’s feet, and beg a suspension “ of arms, in order to send ambassadors to *Rome*, to negoti- “ ate peace: I will intercede with the consul in your behalf.” They followed the advice of *Flaminius*: ambassadors were sent to the *Roman* senate; and *Acilius*, breaking up the siege, marched his army back into *Phocis* ^w. The city of *Naupactus* must have been reduced to great streights, since the besieged sued so earnestly for the protection of *Flaminius*; but, on the other hand, if *Acilius* had believed he should carry it in a short time, he would not have let it slip out of his hands. The whole flower of the *Ætolian* nation was shut up in the city, and the reducing of it would have made their submission more hearty and sincere.

Acilius
prevailed
upon by
Flaminius
to raise the
siege of
Naupac-
tus.

ACILIUS, being disengaged from this troublesome siege, made the best use he could of the short time he was to stay in *Greece*: he gave audience to the ambassadors of the *Epirots*, who came to excuse the steps they had taken with regard to *Antiochus*. They had not indeed sent any troops to his assistance; but were suspected to have supplied him with money and provisions. The consul told them, That he was in doubt whether he should call them friends or enemies; but that the senate of *Rome* knew how to explain their mysterious and artful

^w Liv. *ibid.* c. 35.

conduct. However, he granted them a truce for three months, *The Epi-* injoining them to clear themselves before the senate. At *Rome* ^{rots obtain} they were received very coldly; but, as it did not appear that ^{a three} they had committed any hostilities, the senators chose rather ^{months} to shew them mercy, than to draw new enemies upon the ^{truce.} republic ^x.

As for the *Ætolian* ambassadors, the truce, which had been *Ætolian* granted them, was near expiring, before they could obtain an *embassa-* audience of the senate. They were, however, admitted at ^{dors at} last, and endeavoured to raise the compassion of the senate: *Rome*, they gave a long, but modest, account of the services they had rendered the republic during their alliance with her; and begged, that, in consideration of them, the conscript fathers would forgive them their late conduct. Many questions were put to them; but the senators observed, that, instead of giving any positive and direct answer, they had recourse to supplications and entreaties. This made them suspect their sincerity: wherefore they were ordered to withdraw; and warm debates arose among the fathers, some being for granting them a peace, and others for pursuing the war. Some days were spent in these disputes; and, as the ambassadors artfully declined giving satisfactory answers, the senate long continued in suspense between peace and war. At last the ambassadors were told, that *Hard con-* they must chuse one of these two conditions; *viz.* either to *ditions of-* submit to the will of the senate, or to pay the republic a *ferred by* thousand talents, and neither make war, nor peace, with any *the senate* other power, without the consent and approbation of *Rome*. *to the Æ-* The *Ætolians* had not so much money; and, on the other *tolians.* hand, if they implicitly submitted to the will of the senate, they were persuaded, that *Rome* would not be contented with that, which they were willing to grant: wherefore they desired to know, in what points, and how far, they were to submit to the will of the senate. But they could have no certain answer; and therefore openly declared, that they would not consent to either of the conditions: so that the project of a peace was dropped; and the ambassadors ordered to leave *Rome* that very day, and *Italy* in a fortnight ^y.

THE *Ætolians*, upon the return of their ambassadors, finding that there was no hope left of concluding a peace, thought it necessary to guard *Naupactus* against a new attack. They were afraid, that *Acilius*, who continued in *Greece*, would again sit down before the place, and carry it. To prevent this, they posted themselves in the narrow passes of mount *Corax*, in order to stop his march: but this precaution only served to

^x Liv. *ibid.* c. 36.

^y Idem, l. xxxvii. c. 1. POLYB. *le-* gat. 16.

Lamia
taken by
the Ro-
mans.

make the consul turn his arms against another city of no less importance than *Naupactus*. *Lamia*, after having been the last year very near reduced by *Philip*, had submitted to *Acilius*, upon very honourable terms, and was allowed its liberty: but, while the consul was employed in the siege of *Naupactus*, that city declared anew against the *Romans*. *Acilius*, finding it impracticable to make any new attempts upon *Naupactus*, set out for *Lamia*; and, appearing unexpectedly before the place, at break of day, ordered the walls to be scaled on all sides: but the inhabitants made a more vigorous defence than had been expected; all ranks of people, even women and children, ran to the walls, and joined in defence of their country. Whereupon *Acilius*, despairing to take the city by assault, founded a retreat. The *Romans* returned to their camp; but the general told them, that he designed to renew the assault the next morning. Accordingly, they renewed the attack with such vigour, that the besieged, being tired out with the fatigues of the preceding day, were in a few hours overpowered, and the place taken.

Amphissa
besieged.
L. Corne-
lius Scipio
arrives in
Greece.

AFTER the reduction of *Lamia* the consul was for returning to *Naupactus*; but, in a council of war, which was held on that occasion, not one of the officers approved of so hazardous an attempt. A steep mountain covered the place, and the passes were all guarded by numerous bodies of *Ætolians*. The consul therefore marched his troops with all possible expedition, his consulate being ready to expire, to *Amphissa*, a city of *Locris*, which had joined the *Ætolians* (U). He did not attempt to take it by storm, but besieged it in form: the besieged made a vigorous resistance, and held out till news was brought to *Acilius*, that *L. Cornelius Scipio*, the brother of *Scipio Africanus*, was landed at *Apollonia*, and marching through *Epirus* and *Thessaly*, to take upon him the command of the army.

THE new consul brought with him an army of thirteen thousand men, and the great *Africanus* served under him, in quality of his lieutenant (W). *Cornelius* visited all the coasts of

(U) *Amphissa* was a city of the *Locrians*, called *Ozolæ*, situated near the territories of *Crissa*, distant one hundred and twenty furlongs from *Delphi* (9). It was so called, according to *Pausanias*, because it was surrounded by mountains on all sides (10). Some modern geographers tell us, that it still retains the same name; but *Le Noir* calls it *Lambina*.

(W) The consuls chosen for this year were *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Lælius*, the first the brother, the second the friend, of the great *Scipio Africanus*. *Lælius*,

(9) *Herodot.* l. viii. c. 32. *Strabo*, l. ix. (10) *Pausan.* in *Pheciis*.

being

of *Epirus*, quite to the *Malaic* gulf: from thence he sent to summon *Hypata*, which was one of the most considerable cities of *Thessaly*; but the inhabitants answering, that they were not their own masters, and that they could not surrender without the consent of the *Ætolian* diet, he turned towards *Amphissa*, the citadel of which *Acilius* was besieging, having already taken the town. The consul encamped eight miles from the town, and was soon visited by deputies from *Athens*, who came to pay their respects to him, and intercede for the *Ætolians*. They first imparted the chief business which they were come upon to *Scipio Africanus*, remembering, that none of the nations conquered by him had ever repented putting their interests into his hands. *Scipio* told them, that he would intercede for the *Ætolians* with a great deal of pleasure, and procure them the best terms he could. This raised the expectations of that unhappy nation: they immediately assembled a diet at *Hypata*, and sent deputies to the consul, not doubting but *Africanus* would obtain favourable terms for them; but *Cornelius*, having conceived some sort of jealousy, in seeing that they all paid a greater deference to his brother than to himself, though vested with the consular dignity, gave the ambassadors the same answer which the senate had given before. He again insisted, that the *Ætolians* should either pay a thousand talents, or implicitly submit to the will of the *Romans*. This unexpected answer threw the whole nation into the utmost consternation: however, they sent new deputies to the two brothers jointly, begging, that they would either abate of the sum demanded; or, at least, if they submitted to the will of the consul, their lives in general should be saved: but *Cornelius* was inexorable, and would grant neither. Hereupon *Echedemus*, the chief of the *Athenian* embassy, advised them to demand a six months truce, and once more apply to the senate. They followed his advice; and, being backed in their request, both by *Echedemus* and *Scipio Africanus*, they obtained, at length, the truce they desired. The same ambassadors who had been driven from *Rome* were sent back thither, and the siege of the

Year of
the flood
2158.
Bef. Chr.
190.

The Æto-
lians send
deputies to
the new
consul;

who
grants
them a six
months
truce.

being reckoned the best general, artfully proposed to his colleague, that, instead of drawing lots, as was usual, they should leave the matter to the determination of the conscript fathers. *L. Scipio* knew not how to decline this offer; but he desired time to consider of it, and then consulted his brother. *Scipio Africanus* desired him, without any hesita-

tion, to accept the proposal; and, when the senate seemed unwilling to determine the affair, he, to the great surprize of all, offered to serve under his brother, in quality of his lieutenant. There needed no other argument; the senate immediately assigned *Asia* to the two *Scipios*, as their common province.

citadel

citadel of *Amphissa* was raised. Then *Acilius*, resigning up the command of the army to the new consul, left *Greece*, and returned to *Rome*. The *Ætolians* themselves were not more overjoyed at this truce than *Scipio Africanus*, who was impatient to pass over into *Asia*, and once more enter the lists with *Hannibal* ².

The Ætolians invade the territories of Philip, though in alliance with Rome.

THE consular army was scarce withdrawn from *Greece*, when the *Ætolians*, forgetting the danger they had been in, took the field, with a design to restore king *Amynder*, their friend and ally, to his kingdom. This prince had sided with the *Ætolians*; and, on that account, had been driven out of his kingdom by *Philip*, whom the *Romans* had put in possession of all the banished king's dominions. They soon drove all the *Macedonian* garison out of *Athamania*, and placed *Amynder* again on the throne of his ancestors: but this did not content the restless *Ætolians*; instead of humbling themselves to *Rome*, as *Amynder* did, for dispossessing *Philip* of the dominions which had been allotted to him by the republic, they pursued their conquests; and, entering *Amphilochia*, a province of *Epirus*, formerly subject to them, but now under the protection of *Rome*, reconquered almost the whole country. From thence they advanced to *Aperantia*, which had likewise belonged to them, and recovered it. Having now retaken what they had lost during the war, they fell upon *Dolopia*, a country which had always belonged to the kings of *Macedon*, and to which they could lay no claim. The *Dolopians* were easily prevailed upon to shake off the *Macedonian* yoke, and submit to the *Ætolians*. All these conquests were so many insults offered to the republic, in the person of a king who was joined in alliance with *Rome*, and had rendered her eminent services during the late war. Thus the *Ætolians* employed the time which they had been allowed to negotiate a peace, and to appease, by their submission, the wrath of the sovereign republic.

Their insincere proceedings with the senate.

HOWEVER, when they heard that the senate, upon an embassy from *Amynder*, had confirmed him in the possession of his dominions, they resolved, at last, to apply to the senate not only for a peace, but for their consent to hold the provinces which they had lately reduced, hoping the republic would be no less favourable to them than she had been to their ally *Amynder*. Their ambassadors arrived at *Rome* soon after the election of the new consuls, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *Cn. Manlius Vulso*, and before the news of the famous victory at *Magnesia* had reached *Italy*. Wherefore, the better to succeed in their negotiations, they spread a report, that the two *Scipios* had been made prisoners by *Antiochus*, at a conference;

² LIV. *ibid.* POLYB. *legat.* 17.

and that the *Roman* army was intirely defeated. Being questioned about their intelligence, they pretended to have received the account from some persons of their nation, in the consul's camp; and, putting on an air of confidence, they seemed rather to demand than beg a peace. But these bad appearances did not abate the pride of the senate, or bring them to shew any indulgence to *Ætolia*: the embassadors were dismissed, and ordered not to return without the express consent of the generals whom the republic should send to carry on the war in their country ^a.

THE consuls having drawn lots for their provinces, *Greece* fell to *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who immediately set out; and, landing at *Apollonia*, a city of *Macedon*, near the borders of *Epirus*, assembled there a council of the *Epirots*, to deliberate on the operations of the campaign. These advised him to begin with the siege of *Ambracia* (X), which would open him a way into the very heart of *Ætolia*. Herein they consulted their own interest; for *Ambracia* belonged formerly to the *Epirots*, and was now to be restored to them. However, *Fulvius* followed their advice; and, crossing *Epirus*, sat down before *Ambracia*. He no sooner saw the town, and observed its situation, but he concluded, that it would be no easy matter to reduce it. It was defended on one side by a great river (Y), and on the other by steep and craggy hills, and surrounded with a high and thick wall, above three miles in compass. The consul began the siege by forming two camps, separated by the river, but with a communication between them; the *Epirots* were posted in one, and the *Romans* in the other. Then he threw up two lines, one of circumvallation, and the other of contravallation; and built over-against the citadel, which stood on the hill, a wooden tower, in the form of a castle. When the *Ætolians* understood, that *Fulvius* had begun the siege of *Ambracia*, they assembled all their troops, and marched to the relief of a place which was a key to their dominions. They appointed *Stratos*, a city of *Acarmania*, on the banks of the *Achelous*, for the place of the general rendezvous. In a coun-

Ambracia
besieged by
the Ro-
mans.
Year of
the flood
2159.
Bef. Chr.
1891

^a VAL. ANTIAS apud LIV. xxxvii.

(X) *Ambracia* was formerly one of the most considerable cities of *Epirus*. It stood at the bottom of the *Ambracian* bay, upon the river *Araethus*, at a small distance from the sea (10). The situation of *Arba* in Upper *Albania* agrees with that of this antient city.

(Y) The *Araethus*, on which *Ambracia* stood, is here called, by *Livy*, *Aretbon*. *Le Noir* tells us, that the natives call this river *Spagmagmuri*.

(10) *Strabo*, l. vii. *Polyb.* l. viii.

The Ætoli-
lians
throw suc-
cours into
the place.

The city
attacked
in three
places.

Makes a
vigorous
defence.

cil of war which was held there, *Nicander* the prætor, and most of the officers, were at first for attacking the *Romans*: but, being afterwards informed, that, though the camp was fortified, the works round the place were not finished, it was thought more adviseable to throw troops into the city, and strengthen the garison. *Eupolemus*, a man of great resolution, took upon him to perform this; and succeeded in the attempt, entering *Ambracia* at the head of a thousand Ætoliens, where the lines were not finished.

As for *Nicander*, he marched against the *Epirots*, with a design to attack them in their camp; but, finding them strongly entrenched, he thought the attack would prove too dangerous; and therefore led his army into *Acarnania*, and laid waste the whole country. In the mean time the *Romans* and *Epirots* began to batter the place: the consul ordered five attacks to be made at the same time, three on the side of *Pyrrheum*, a small fortress without the city, one over-against the temple of *Æsculapius*, and another on the side of the citadel. The rams shook the walls on all sides; and the *Romans*, from their moveable towers, pulled down the battlements with a kind of sithes, which they fastened to long beams. This did not at all dishearten the Ætoliens, who were night and day on the walls, and indefatigable in preventing the ill effects of the rams and sithes. As to the former, they invented a kind of pullies, by which they let down beams, large stones, and lumps of lead, upon the rams, as they were in motion, and thereby deadened their strokes: they guarded themselves against the sithes, by pulling the beams to which they were fastened into the city, with large hooks contrived for that purpose ^b.

WHILE *Fulvius* was thus carrying on the siege, *Nicander*, after having pillaged *Acarnania*, returned to *Stratos*, and from thence detached five hundred men to reinforce the garison of the besieged city: these got safe in, under the conduct of one *Nicodamus*, with whom *Nicander* agreed to attack the *Roman* camp at a time appointed, not doubting, but if the garison within, and the army without, fell upon them at the same time, and in the night, the *Romans* might be obliged to abandon their camp, and retire from before the city. *Nicodamus* narrowly watched the time in which he was ordered to sally; and, at the hour appointed, though *Nicander* did not appear, marched out, at the head of the garison, armed with firebrands and torches. The *Roman* centries were not a little surpris'd at this sight; and running to wake their companions, spread the alarm over the whole camp. The legionaries marched in small bodies, as they happened to meet, to repulse the enemy,

^b Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 4.

whom they engaged in the three different places, where the attacks were made on the side of *Pyrrheum*. Two of the enemy's bodies were driven back; but the third, commanded by two Ætolian generals, maintained their ground, made a great slaughter of the *Romans*, set fire to their tents, and then, not finding themselves seconded by *Nicanor*, retired in good order into the city. If *Nicanor* had, at the same time, attacked the *Romans*, as he agreed to do, the siege would have been probably raised; but he did not lend the besieged the least assistance, which some ascribe to timorousness, while others tell us, that he was obliged to march his army that very night against *Perfes*, who had invaded *Dolopia* c.

NICANDER had so much to do elsewhere, that he could not bring any relief to the besieged. On one hand, *Perfes* was to be driven out of *Dolopia*; and, on the other, the coasts of Ætolia were to be defended from the ravages of *Pleuratus* king of *Illyricum*, who assisted the *Romans* with a numerous fleet, and committed great devastations in the Ætolian territories. The besieged, being thus abandoned, and without any hopes of succours, did not however despond, but defended themselves with incredible vigour and resolution. The *Romans* had no sooner made a breach in the wall but it was repaired, and a new wall built up behind it. The consul therefore altered his measures; and, instead of making breaches with the ram, began to undermine the wall, in hopes of throwing down great part of it at once, and entering the city before the besieged could have time to build a new wall. The miners began the work, and, being covered, were not observed by the garison, till the heaps of earth that were brought out of the mine gave them the alarm: they began then to countermine; and, having dug a trench of the depth they supposed the mine to be, they carried it along the wall, where they heard the strokes of the pickaxes of the *Romans*: in a few hours they came to that part of the wall which the *Romans* had sapped, and supported with wooden props. When the two mines met, a battle ensued under-ground, first with pickaxes and spades, and then with swords and spears: but this attack did not last long, each party making themselves a kind of rampart with the loose earth. The Ætolians, in order to drive the enemy quite out of the mine, invented a machine, which they brought to the place where the two mines met: this was an hollow vessel, with an iron bottom, bored through in many places, and armed with spikes at proper distances, to prevent the enemy from approaching it: this vessel they filled with feathers, which they set on fire, and, with bellows driving the smoke on the

c Liv. ibid. c. 5.

besiegers, obliged them to leave the mine, through fear of being suffocated, and interrupt the work: which interruption they made use of to repair the foundations of the walls^d.

THIS vigorous resistance did not raise the courage of the Ætolians in general: they knew, that by the gallant behaviour of their countrymen the taking of *Ambracia* was only delayed; on the other hand, their dominions were attacked by the *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, and *Achæans*; and to resist so many enemies at once seemed impossible. The prætor therefore thought it necessary to assemble the diet, that the heads of the nation might consult together about the measures that were most proper, in the present posture of affairs. The members of the assembly were all unanimous, that a peace ought to be procured, upon any tolerable terms. Accordingly, a resolution was taken to send *Phæneas* and *Damoteles* to the consul, with full power to conclude a peace. *Fulvius* received them with haughtiness, but did not reject their request. The preliminaries he insisted upon were, first, that they should lay down their arms; secondly, that they should deliver up to him all the horses of their army; thirdly, that they should pay to the republic a thousand talents, one half upon the spot, and the other at different payments. These conditions seemed so hard, that the ambassadors begged leave to return, and consult the diet before they accepted them. Upon their return, they were checked by the assembly for leaving the consul without signing the articles. *We must have a peace*, they all cried out, *good or bad; conclude it therefore without giving Fulvius time to reflect*. They therefore immediately set out again for the *Roman* camp; but, on the road, were surrounded and taken prisoners by a party of *Acaruanians*, who carried them to *Tyrrheum*, a city of *Acaruania*. *Fulvius*, being informed of what had happened, ordered the *Acaruanians* to set them at liberty; and, in the mean time, as he was desirous to settle Ætolia in peace before his authority was expired, he gave ear to the intercessions of the *Athenians*, *Rhodians*, and of king *Amynder*, in behalf of the *Ambracians*.

Ambracia capitulates.

As *Amynder* had great interest in *Ambracia*, having long resided there, the consul made use of him to persuade the inhabitants to capitulate; which he did very dextrously, prevailing upon them to surrender on the following terms: that the Ætolian garison should have leave to march out of the city; that the inhabitants should pay five hundred talents, two hundred down, and the rest at six equal payments; that they should deliver up to the consul all the prisoners and deserters that were in the city. These articles were agreed to by the

^d Liv. *ibid.* c. 8. POLYB. *legat.* 28.

Ambracians, and approved of by the *Ætolian* diet. *Ambracia* opened her gates to the consul, and presented him with a crown of gold, and many fine statues and pictures, whereof there were great numbers in that city, which *Pyrrhus* made his capital, and enriched with many valuable monuments ^e.

AFTER the surrender of *Ambracia*, *Fulvius*, entering *Æto-*^{The Æto-}
lia, encamped at *Argi*, the capital of *Amphilochia*, then sub-^{lians send}
ject to the *Ætolians*, who had reduced all that province. ^{embassa-}
There *Phæneas* and *Damoteles*, being set at liberty, acquainted ^{dors to}
him, that the *Ætolian* diet accepted the conditions which he ^{Rome.}
had offered them. Nothing now remained but to get them
ratified by the senate; and, for this purpose, *Phæneas* and *Ni-*
cander set out, attended by the ambassadors of *Athens* and
Rhodes, who went to intercede for them with the senate. In
the mean time, the consul granted the *Ætolians* a truce, and
retired to the island of *Cephalenia*. When the ambassadors ^{How re-}
arrived at *Rome*, they found both the senate and the people ^{ceived}
highly exasperated against the *Ætolian* nation. *Philip* of *Ma-*^{there.}
cedon had represented to the senate, and magnified, the ravages
they had committed in his territories while he was in alliance
with *Rome*; and bitterly complained of them for unjustly de-
taining from him *Dolopia*, *Athamania*, and *Amphilochia*. His
complaints were of such weight with the senate, that the
ambassadors were even refused an audience. But the *Athenian*
deputies were received very favourably; and the speech which
Damis, who was at the head of them, made in favour of
that unhappy nation, greatly abated the anger of the con-
script fathers. The good offices of *Valerius* likewise, who ac-
companied the *Ætolian* ambassadors, did not a little contri-
bute towards appeasing the clamours which were every-where
heard against this restless people, and artfully fomented by
the *Macedonian* deputies. *Caius Valerius* was brother to the
consul *Fulvius*, and the son of *Lævinus*, who concluded the
first treaty of alliance between *Rome* and *Ætolia*. This *Va-*
lerius remembred, and used his utmost endeavours to pro-^{A peace}
cure them a favourable reception. But nevertheless *Phæneas* ^{concluded}
and *Nicander* were kept a long time in a painful uncertainty, ^{between}
whether they should obtain a peace or not. At length, by ^{the Æto-}
the assiduous and joint application of the *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, ^{lians and}
and *Valerius*, a peace was concluded. ^{Romans.}

THE only terms they could obtain were the following: ^{Terms of}
first, The majesty of the *Roman* people shall be revered in all ^{the peace,}
Ætolia. Secondly, *Ætolia* shall not suffer the armies of such
as are at war with *Rome* to pass through her territories, and
the enemies of *Rome* shall be likewise enemies of *Ætolia*.

* LIV. & POLYB. *ibid.*

B b 3

Thirdly,

Thirdly, She shall, in the space of an hundred days, put into the hands of the magistrates of *Corcyra* all the prisoners and deserters she has, whether of the *Romans* or their allies, except such as have been taken twice, or during her alliance with *Rome*. Fourthly, The *Ætolians* shall pay down in ready money, to the *Roman* general in *Ætolia*, two hundred *Euboic* talents, of the same value as the *Athenian* talents, and engage to pay fifty talents more within the six years following. Fifthly, They shall put into the hands of the consul forty such hostages as he shall chuse, none of which shall be under twelve, or above forty years of age: the prætor, the general of the horse, and such as have been already hostages at *Rome*, are excepted out of this number. Sixthly, *Ætolia* shall renounce all pretensions to the cities and territories which the *Romans* have conquered since the consulate of *Flaminius*, though those cities and territories had formerly belonged to the *Ætolians*. Seventhly, The city of *Oenias*, and its district, shall continue subject to the *Acarnantians*. Eighthly, *Cephalenia* shall not be included in this treaty.

How ill-
used by the
Romans
after the
conquest of
Macedon.

FROM these articles we may judge how far the *Ætolian* republic was abridged of her antient liberties by this peace; however, after the conquest of *Macedon* by *Paulus Æmilius*, they were reduced to a much worse condition; for not only those among them, who had openly declared for *Perseus*, but such as were only suspected to have favoured him in their hearts, were sent to *Rome*, in order to clear themselves before the senate. There they were detained, and never afterwards suffered to return into their native country. Five hundred and fifty of the chief men of the nation were barbarously assassinated by the partisans of *Rome*, for no other crime but that of being suspected to wish well to *Perseus*. The *Ætolians* appeared before *Paulus Æmilius* in mourning habits, and made loud complaints of such inhuman treatment; but could obtain no redress: nay, the ten commissioners, who had been sent by the senate to settle the affairs of *Greece*, enacted a decree, declaring, that those who were killed, had suffered justly, since it appeared to them, that they had favoured the *Macedonian* party. From this time those only were raised to the chief honours and employments in the *Ætolian* republic, who were known to prefer the interest of *Rome* to that of their country; and as these alone were countenanced at *Rome*, all the magistrates of *Ætolia* were her creatures, and mere tools of the *Roman* senate. In this state of servile subjection they continued till the destruction of *Corinth*, and the dissolution of the *Achaean* league, when *Ætolia*,

with the other free states of Greece, was reduced to a Roman province, commonly called the province of *Achaia*. Nevertheless each state and city was governed by its own laws, under the superintendency of the prætor, whom Rome sent annually into *Achaia*. The whole nation paid a certain tribute, and the rich were forbidden to possess lands any-where but in their own country §.

In this state, with little alteration, *Ætolia* continued under the state the emperors, till the reign of *Constantine the Great*, who, in of Ætolia his new partition of the provinces of the empire, divided the to the pre- western parts of Greece from the rest, calling them *New Epi-* sent time. *rus*, and subjecting the whole country to the *præfectus prætorio* for *Illyricum*. Under the successors of *Constantine*, Greece was parcelled out into several principalities, especially after the taking of *Constantinople* by the western princes. At that time, *Theodorus Angelus*, a noble Grecian, of the imperial family, seized on *Ætolia* and *Epirus*. The former he left to *Michael* his son, who maintained it against *Michael Palæologus*, the first emperor of the *Greeks*, after the expulsion of the *Latins*. *Charles*, the last prince of this family, dying in 1430. without lawful issue, bequeathed *Ætolia* to his brother's son, named also *Charles*, and *Acarnania* to his natural sons, *Memnon*, *Turnus*, and *Hercules*. But, great disputes arising about this division, *Amurath II.* after the reduction of *Theffalonica*, laid hold of so favourable an opportunity, and drove them all out in 1432. The *Mohammedans* were afterwards dispossessed of this country by the famous prince of *Epirus*, *George Castriot*, commonly called *Scanderbeg*, who, with a small army, opposed the whole power of the *Ottoman* empire, having defeated those Barbarians in twenty-two pitched battles, as we shall relate at length in a more proper place. This hero, at his death, left great part of *Ætolia* to the *Venetians*; but, they not being able to make head against such a mighty power, the whole country was soon reduced by *Mohammed II.* whose successors hold it to this day.

§ Liv. l. xxxix. c. 6. PAUSAN. in Achaic.

The history of Athens, from the Achæan league to the present time.

*What
gave rise
to the war
between
Philip of
Macedon
and the
Atheni-
ans.*

THE *Athenians*, having recovered their antient liberty by means of the brave *Aratus*, in the manner we have related elsewhere ^h, were soon obliged to implore the assistance of a more powerful protector, to maintain their freedom against *Philip* of *Macedon*, a prince who seemed to inherit the ambition of the first *Philip*, and the bravery of *Alexander*. This warlike monarch had formed a design of subjecting all *Greece*, and afterwards extending his conquests into *Italy*. In prosecution of this scheme, he made use of the following pretence to carry the war into *Attica*: two young *Acarnanians*, who happened to be at *Athens* while the inhabitants were celebrating the mysteries of *Ceres* (Z), had entered the temple of the goddess with

^h See vol. vi. p. 532.

(Z) The festival of *Ceres* was the most celebrated and mysterious solemnity of any in *Greece*; whence it is often called, by way of eminence, *the mysteries*. The *Sicilians* claimed the glory of having first instituted this solemn worship, pretending, that they had been instructed by *Ceres* herself, in the secret ceremonies which were performed on this occasion. This goddess, according to the tradition of the country, taught them the art of cultivating the earth, and united them in societies, to live under the influence of the wise laws which she had given them. Whence, twice a year, they renewed the remembrance of these signal benefits, worshiping alternately the mother, and her daughter *Proserpine*; the former in the first seed-time, and the latter in the harvest. After the example of the *Sicilians*, the inhabitants of *Attica*, who had been like-

wise enriched with the gifts of *Ceres*, signalized their gratitude to this goddess, by instituting three festivals in her honour.

Of these the first was called *Proerosia*, because it preceded the ploughing-time, and the seed-time. On this occasion the *Athenians*, who celebrated this festival in the name of all the *Greeks*, offered a great many victims, in hopes of obtaining a plentiful harvest.

The second festival was called *Theismophoria*, this word alluding to the worship which was paid *Ceres*, as a lawgiver. *Plutarch*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and, after them, *Theodoret*, tell us, that the same ceremonies were performed, on this occasion, in honour of *Ceres*, as were practised by the *Egyptians* in the mysteries of *Isis*. The celebration of this festival lasted five days; and each day the women of the ten tribes, of which the republic of *Athens* consisted,

with the croud. As it was not lawful for any person to assist at those mysteries without being initiated, the *Acarnanians*, who

list, chose one from among themselves, to preside over the ceremonies that were practised at this solemnity. The victims were offered by a priest, who officiated with a crown on his head; whence he was called *stephanophorus*. Such women as had three talents to their portion, were intitled to demand of their husbands the necessary sums for the expences of the sacrifices, every one being obliged to contribute to them, according to their ability.

All the women that were to assist at the ceremonies being assembled in one place, they went in procession from *Athens* to *Eleusis*, a small city in that neighbourhood, singing hymns in honour of the goddess, and carrying the books which contained the secret mysteries of the solemnity, and the laws, for which *Attica* was indebted to *Ceres*: but this depositum was intrusted with such only as were of an unblemished character, and famous for their virtue. A certain number of young women were brought up at the expence of the public, and with all imaginable care, in order to be employed in this office, and in the other ceremonies performed at *Eleusis*. These were always kept confined in the *Theismophorion*, a public building in *Athens* appropriated for that use, and narrowly watched by persons set over them, to guard their virtue: however, when they arrived at *Eleusis*, they prepared themselves for the offices of their priesthood, by passing a whole day at the feet of

the statue of *Ceres*, in fasting and prayer. This severity ended in a kind of comedy; for, as *Ceres* had laughed at the sight of an old woman who insulted her, so the young virgins endeavoured, by innocent jokes, to stir up one another to laughter. The following days were spent in lustrations and sacrifices, from which the men were not excluded; even the prisoners who were initiated in the mysteries of *Ceres*, and not yet convicted of any crime, were indulged their liberty during the five days of the solemnity, that they might join in those religious practices.

The third festival, instituted in honour of *Ceres*, was deemed the most holy and solemn, being called *the mysteries*. It is said by some to have been instituted by *Ceres* herself, after having supplied the *Athenians* with corn, in a time of famine; others ascribe the institution of it to king *Eretheus*, and some to *Musæus*, the father of *Eumolpus*, or to *Eumolpus* himself. The temple of *Eleusis* was the place where all those met who were admitted to these mysterious ceremonies; and thither the *Greeks* flocked from all parts, about the month of *August*, the temple, as *Strabo* informs us, being capable of holding an immense multitude. None were admitted to celebrate the great mysteries till they had been purified at the lesser, which was used as a preparative for the greater. The manner of the purification was as follows: After having kept themselves chaste and

who had not been admitted with the usual ceremonies, being discovered, by their language, to be strangers, were carried before

and unpolluted nine days, they offered sacrifices and prayers, with crowns and garlands on their heads, and the skin of a victim, sacrificed to *Jupiter*, under their feet. About a year after, having sacrificed a sow to *Ceres*, they were admitted to the greater mysteries, but not suffered to enter the sanctuary till five years after, assisting, in the mean time, at the sacred ceremonies, only in the porch of the temple. When the years of probation were expired, the secret rites, some few excepted, which were reserved for the priests alone, were frankly revealed to them; whence they changed the name of *mystai*, that is, persons initiated, for that of *epoptai*, or eye-witnesses. The manner of the initiation was thus: The candidates were admitted by night into the temple, wearing crowns of myrtle on their heads. At their entering the sacred place, they purified themselves, by washing their hands in holy water; and, at the same time, were told, that the external cleanness of the body would not be accepted by the deity of the place, unless attended by the internal cleanness of an undefiled mind. After this the holy mysteries were read to them, the priest who initiated them having first asked them, whether they had performed all the conditions religion required. To these questions they returned answers in a set form, and then were led by the priest into the most holy part of the temple; a place of darkness and horror. Then all on a sudden, a strong

light darted in upon them, and discovered a statue of *Ceres* richly adorned, and a very indecent figure, called *Myllos*. The light soon disappeared, and then a terrible noise was heard like thunder, fire fell down like lightning, and dreadful monsters appeared, which, by the glimmering light of continual flashes of fire, struck the trembling spectators with great terror: neither could they recover themselves from their fright, till they were shewn an agreeable meadow, which was walled in behind the temple. Lastly, The priest, who attended at the initiation, and was therefore called *hierophantes*, or revealer of holy things, took his leave of the initiated, with exhorting them to the practice of virtue. The *hierophantes* was by birth an *Athenian*, and of the family of the *Eumolpidae*. As he was the chief priest, and held his office for life, he was obliged to perpetual chastity, and forbidden even lustful desires. His name was so venerable, that it was not even mentioned in the presence of the profane, that is, of such as were not initiated. He had three assistants; the first of which was called, from his office, *dadouchos*, or torch-bearer; the second was stiled, the sacred herald; and it was his province to forbid, on pain of death, such as were not initiated, or were conscious of any crime, to enter the temple; the third ministered at the altar, imploring the protection of the gods. The superintendent over these mysteries was stiled king; and it was his duty

before the chief priest, and by him sentenced to die, though it was well known, that they had offended purely out of ignorance.

to offer prayers and sacrifices; to see that no indecency, or irregularity, was committed; and, after the celebration of the mysteries, to assemble the senate, he being one of the archons, and to take cognisance of all offenders in this kind. The king had four assistants under him, called *epimeletai*, who were elected by the people, one out of the family of the *Eumolpidae*, another out of the *Cryces*, and the remaining two out of the families of other citizens.

This festival began on the fifteenth, and ended on the twenty-third day of the month *Boedromion*; during which time it was unlawful to arrest any person, or present any petition; and those who were found guilty of such practices were, according to some, fined a thousand drachmas, and, according to others, put to death. If any woman rode to *Eleusis* in a chariot, she was obliged to pay six thousand drachmas. The end of this law, which was enacted by *Lycurgus*, was to prevent all odious distinctions between the rich and the poor.

The different shews with which the spectators were entertained each day of the feast, were symbolical representations of the travels of *Ceres*, and the chief incidents of her life. In this consisted the external pomp of the festival. The rest was an impenetrable mystery, which the *hierophantes* discovered only to the initiated, after having bound them to inviolable secrecy by the

most dreadful oaths. Whoever was convicted of divulging these mysteries, or any part of them, became the public curse of the people, was excluded all civil society, and avoided even by his nearest relations, who were afraid to live with him under the same roof: but the ordinary punishment for such a crime was immediate death. If any person, not lawfully initiated, did but, through ignorance or mistake, chance to be present at the mysterious rites, he was put to death. Persons of both sexes, and all ages, were initiated, the neglect of this ceremony being looked upon as a crime of a very heinous nature, insomuch that it was one of the chief articles of impeachment against *Socrates*. However, such as were convicted of any crime, or had even involuntarily committed murder, were debarred from these mysteries.

If the testimony of profane authors may be admitted, these assemblies were schools of virtue and purity. *Tully* gives a very favourable account of them, saying, that men were there taught the art of living well, and confirmed in the hopes of a better life (11). Other writers call those initiations a more strict engagement than ordinary to live according to the laws of equity, as they were dictated by the goddesses. On the other hand, the fathers of the church tell us, that the pagans, under the venerable names of mysteries, consecrated prostitutions, and other

(11) *Cic. de leg. l. ii.*

The Athenians
implore
the protection of
Rome.

rance. The *Acarnian* nation resented this inhuman sentence, and made bitter complaints of it to the king of *Macedon*, with whom they were then joined in alliance. *Philip*, without demanding any satisfaction, proclaimed war against *Athens*, and sent a body of troops to join the *Acarnians*, and lay waste *Attica*. *Achaia*, *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth*, had entered into an alliance with *Philip*; and *Athens* was no-way in a condition to make head against so many enemies at once. She resolved therefore to have recourse to *Rome*, and, by a solemn embassy, implore the protection of that powerful republic. The *Romans* were already well known at *Athens*, and had been honoured there, many years before, with particular marks of distinction. In the consulship of *Sp. Carvilius* and *Q. Fabius Verrucosus*, thirty-two years before the æra we are now speaking of, *Rome* had sent ambassadors to *Athens*, and several other free states of *Greece*, to make them sensible of the happiness which she had procured them, by humbling the *Illyrians*, who, with frequent piracies, infested their coasts. The year before, *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus* had forced the *Illyrians* to submit to a peace upon very hard conditions; one of which was, that they should not suffer above three of their ships of war at a time to sail beyond the city of *Lyffus*, which stood on the confines of *Illyricum* and *Macedon*, near the mouth of the river *Drilon*. This article was so agreeable to the *Athenians*, that they not only received the ambassadors with great demonstrations of kindness, but, from that time, admitted the *Romans* in general to partake of

more heinous crimes; and call the assemblies of *Ceres* schools of abominations and debaucheries. Perhaps these ceremonies were, at first, such as the profane writers represent them to have been; but afterwards came, by degrees, to degenerate into libertinism and licentiousness; which gave the fathers occasion to exclaim against them. They were celebrated by the *Athenians* every fifth year at *Eleusis*, and from thence translated to *Rome* by the emperor *Adrian*, and never totally abolished till the reign of *Theodosius* the elder.

This is the general account which the antients have given us of the mysteries of *Ceres*. The

respect with which they were prepossessed in favour of these mysteries, did not permit them to be more particular.

The *Ceres* of the *Greeks* was, according to *Sir Isaac Newton* (12), a woman of *Sicily*, who came into *Attica*, and taught *Triptolemus*, the son of *Celeus*, king of *Eleusis*, to sow corn, about the thirtieth year of king *David's* reign, or the year before Christ 1030. She died, and was deified for this benefaction about the year before Christ 1007, by *Celeus* and *Eumolpus*, who instituted the *Eleusina sacra* with *Egyptian* ceremonies, and erected a sepulchre or temple to her, in *Eleusis*.

(12) *Chronol.* p. 15, 17, 18, 134—136.

the mysteries of *Eleusis* (A), and of all the privileges which the citizens of *Athens* enjoyed. They did not therefore doubt in the least but their ambassadors would meet with a favourable reception, and obtain speedy succours against an enemy, whose views could not be unknown at *Rome*: neither were they disappointed in their expectation; their ambassadors were treated with great distinction, and assured, that a consular army should be sent without delay to their assistanceⁱ.

In the mean time, the *Macedonians* and *Acarnanians*, after having ravaged great part of *Attica*, were drawing near to the capital. Their approach struck the citizens with no small terror; but their fears were soon dispelled, by the unexpected arrival of the fleets of king *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians*. These two powers were already at war with the king of *Macedon*; and therefore they no sooner heard, that hostilities were begun between the *Macedonians* and *Athenians*, but they hastened to *Athens*, with a design to engage that republic in their alliance, and protect their territories from the insults of *Philip*. All the city went out to meet them, and, among the rest, the priests, in their religious habits, as if the gods themselves had come to the relief of the city. The people assembled in the market-place, to conclude the alliance; and expected, that *Attalus* would come thither in person; but the king thought it more suitable to his dignity to treat with them by messengers, than by word of mouth; and was also willing to decline the acclamations and flatteries of a people, who were too lavish of their praises. In a letter which he wrote to the magistrates, he gave them a particular account of his exploits against *Philip*, and the good offices he had done the republic, expressly mentioning four ships, which he had very lately taken from the *Macedonians*, and restored to *Athens*. He concluded with exhorting them to take advantage of the succours which both he, and the *Rhodians*, now offered them. The league was concluded; and the *Athenians*, in their transports of joy, paid extravagant compliments to the king, and the *Rhodians*. To their ten

The *Athenians*
enter into
an alli-
ance with
Attalus
and the
Rhodians
against
Philip.
Year of
the flood
2147.
Bef. Chr.
201.

Great ho-
nours paid
to *Attalus*
at *Athens*.

ⁱ LIV. l. xxxi. c. 4. POLYB. legat. iii. p. 786, 787.

(A) In the primitive times, the *Athenians* excluded from the mysteries of *Ceres* all strangers; that is, all who were not members of their own commonwealth. Hence, when *Hercules*, *Castor*, and *Pollux*, desired to be initiated, they were first made citizens of *Athens* (13). In process of time they admitted all persons, Barbarians excepted, and, at length, these also, the *Romans* having been the first among the Barbarians, as the *Greeks* called all other nations, who enjoyed this honour.

(13) *Plut. in These.*

tribes,

tribes, each of which bore the name of one of their heroes, they added an eleventh, calling it *Attalis*, in honour of king *Attalus*. As to the *Rhodians*, they presented them with a crown of gold, and made all the inhabitants of *Rhodes* free of *Athens* ^k. The king of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians*, better pleased with the treaty, than the shouts of the people, returned on board their ships, and set sail, the king for *Ægina*, where his fleet waited for him, and the *Rhodians* for their own island.

Philip ravages the Athenian territories, and takes Abydos by storm.

PHILIP no sooner heard, that *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians*, were retired, but he sent *Philocles*, one of his generals, at the head of a strong detachment, to ravage the territory of *Athens*; while he himself, with the rest of his army, over-ran all the southern parts of *Thrace*, and the *Thracian Chersonesus*. From thence he passed over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, and laid siege to *Abydos*; which city he took by storm, but reaped no advantage by his conquest. The *Abydenians*, having massacred their wives and children, set fire to the town, burn their effects, and killed one another; so that the conqueror made not one slave ^l.

Sulpitius lands in Greece.

THE news of the reduction of *Abydos*, and the repeated complaints of the *Athenians*, made the consul *Sulpitius* at last leave *Rome*. He embarked, with his army, at *Brundisium*, and landed at the mouth of the *Apfus*, between *Dyrrhachium* and *Apollonia*. As he came too late in the year to attempt any thing on that side, he immediately detached *Claudius Centho* to *Athens*, with twenty gallies, and some legionaries, to cover the *Athenian* territory from the ravages of *Philocles*. As soon as he appeared at *Piræus*, *Athens* got some respite: a stop was put to the devastations in the inland countries, and the coasts were delivered from the depredations of the *Chalcidian* pirates. But this was not enough for *Centho*: he resolved to punish the *Chalcidians* for their piracies; and accordingly set sail with the best part of his squadron, surprised *Chalcis*, pillaged it, massacred all the *Macedonians* and inhabitants that fell into his hands, broke all the statues of king *Philip*, burnt his magazines, arsenals, and engines of war, and then returned, with the spoil, to *Athens* ^m.

Chalcis taken and plundered by Centho

As for *Philip*, early in the spring he assembled his sea and land-forces at *Demetrias*, a maritime city of *Thessaly*, which he had made the capital of his dominions. He had attempted, in the close of the late campaign, to revenge himself on the *Romans* for the surprize of *Chalcis*, and to surprise them in their turn. But he came too late: the *Romans* had retired from *Chalcis*, and left nothing there, but dead bodies, ashes, and ruins. Now therefore he turned all his rage against *Athens*, and, having crossed the *Euripus* over a bridge, marched thro'

^k Liv. *ibid.* c. 14. 738, 739. ^m Liv. *ibid.*

^l Idem *ibid.* c. 17. POLYB. l. xvi. p. *Bæstia*

Bœotia towards *Attica*, hoping to find *Athens* as ill-guarded, Philip attempted as the *Romans* had found *Chalcis*. But the *Athenians* had received notice of his approach, and were prepared (B). Philip, surprise finding he could not surprise the city, resolved to attack it: he Athens. therefore ordered his troops to advance to the largest gate, called *Dipylon*. The street, which led to it from the market- Attacks it; place, and continued through the suburbs, was of an extraordinary breadth; so that the besieged, and the besiegers, had room enough to draw up their troops in battalia. The *Athenians* did not wait till the king came to the gate: the best part of the garison, consisting of auxiliaries sent by king *Attalus*, and a body of *Athenians*, commanded by one *Dioxippus*, marched out to meet the enemy. Philip, overjoyed at an opportunity of joining battle, encouraged his men with this short exhortation; *Fix your eyes on me, and do as I do*. He then fell upon the *Athenians* with incredible fury, forced them to retire, and pursued them to the very gate: but he soon found, that but is obliged to retire. he ventured too far; such showers of darts were discharged upon him from the ramparts, that he was obliged to sound a retreat. If the *Athenians* had not been afraid of wounding their own men, who were mixed with the *Macedonians*, few of the latter would have escaped unhurt.

THE next day the besieged, being reinforced with some *Roman* companies, and the troops of *Attalus* which guarded *Piræus*, made another sally, with much greater advantage; so that *Philip* was obliged to decamp, and post himself about three miles from *Athens*. But, before he retired, he vented his Dreadful rage, in a most barbarous manner, in that neighbourhood: he ravages spared neither temples nor tombs, nor the *Lyceum*, nor sacred committed groves, nor houses of pleasure; all were, without distinction, by him. pillaged, and reduced to heaps of rubbish: nay, he commanded his *Macedonians* to break in pieces the very stones, that they might not be serviceable in the reparation of the demolished edifices. All these devastations, with a great many aggravations, were afterwards set forth before the *Ætolian* diet, by the *Athenian* ambassadors, in order to draw that nation into an al-

(B) They kept constantly a certain number of men in pay, whose whole business was to fly continually from place to place, in the neighbourhood of their dominions, and make what discoveries they could. One of these couriers, having discovered the *Macedonian* army, returned in haste to *Athens*, and, reaching the city at midnight, brought thither the news of the approach of the enemy. The negligence of the *Athenians* was not less than that of the *Chalcidians*; they were all fast asleep, and both the gates and walls unguarded. But the trumpets soon roused them; both citizens and soldiers ran to arms, took their posts, and put themselves in a posture of defence.

liance with *Rome*. And, indeed, the king's behaviour on this occasion prejudiced many of the *Greeks* so strongly against him, that they were afterwards easily gained over to the *Roman* interest, not knowing that they were bringing into their country more haughty lords than *Macedon* had ever produced, or *Greece* ever seenⁿ.

How the
Atheni-
ans ex-
pressed
their re-
sentment
against
Philip.

THE irruption of the *Romans* into *Macedon*, which soon after happened, obliged *Philip* to leave *Attica*, and all *Greece*, and hasten to the defence of his own country. About the same time *Apustius*, to whom the proconsul *Sulpitius* had given the command of the *Roman* fleet, having joined the naval forces of king *Attalus* off the coast of *Argolis*, sailed from thence to the port of *Athens*. These succours so elevated the *Athenians*, that they expressed their resentment in a most unworthy manner. They had formerly erected statues to *Philip*, and his ancestors of both sexes, and even instituted sacrifices and festivals, and appointed priests, in their honour: but now, out of a childish revenge, they destroyed the idols which they had worshiped, and passed a decree in their assembly, which lessened their esteem, even in the opinion of their friends. The purport of this decree was, that all the statues of *Philip*, and his ancestors, should be broken in pieces; that the inscriptions in their commendation should be every-where erased; that their altars should be overturned, their festivals abolished, and their priests degraded; that even the places, where any monuments had been erected to them, should be deemed accursed, and no monuments ever after raised there; that the priests, for the future, should, in their religious assemblies, pronounce curses against *Philip*, and the *Macedonian* armies; that, if any citizen should have the impudence to excuse *Philip*, or speak in his favour, he should instantly be put to death; and, lastly, that *Philip*, and his posterity, should be treated in the same manner as *Pisistratus*, and his family, had formerly been^o. The officers of the *Roman* fleet, and king *Attalus*, who had put in at *Pyræus*, were witnesses of these shameful proceedings, and, at the same time, surfeited with the fulsome praises, of which the *Athenians* were no less lavish on them, than of their curses on the king of *Macedon* P. *Athens*, heretofore so renowned in arms, was now become one of the most insignificant cities of *Greece*; for, during the whole course of this war with *Philip*, and of that which was afterwards carried on by the *Romans*, and their allies, against his son *Perseus*, to the utter destruction of the kingdom of *Macedon*; the *Athenians* performed nothing, which the antient writers have thought worth transmitting to posterity. They continued indeed inviolably attached

ⁿ Liv. *ibid.* c. 25. ^o Idem *ibid.* c. 24. P Idem *ibid.* c. 44.

to the *Roman* interest, not having been suspected to favour the *Macedonian* party; while, in the other states of *Greece*, the friends of *Macedon* were far more numerous than those of *Rome*. This steadiness gained them the affection of the *Romans*, who left them in the full possession of their antient liberties, even after the destruction of *Corinth*, and the dissolution of the *Achæan* league.

IN this state *Athens* continued, without any remarkable alteration, till the *Mithridatic* war, when that city openly declared against the *Romans*, her patrons and allies, being induced thereunto by one *Aristo*, an *Athenian* philosopher, of the sect of *Epicurus*. *Aristo* was a man of mean extraction; but greatly esteemed, among the followers of *Epicurus*, for his pretended contempt of power and riches: but these the hypocrite had only affected to despise, as afterwards appeared, in hopes of obtaining them more easily that way; for *Archelaus*, whom *Mithridates* had sent, with a numerous army, into *Greece*, to stir up the inhabitants against the *Romans*, found it no difficult task to gain over this despiser of riches and honours, by promising to raise him to the chief employments of his republic. *Archelaus*, having thus engaged him in the interests of his master, sent him over to *Asia*, to confer there with the king himself, and concert measures about drawing *Athens* off from the *Roman* party, to which many of the citizens were greatly addicted. The scheme, which they formed, succeeded to their wish; but proved fatal to that unhappy city. *Archelaus* had, some time before, reduced the island of *Delos*, and plundered the rich temple of *Apollo Delius*. As this island had been formerly subject to the *Athenians*, *Aristo* advised the king to send the spoils to *Athens*, and, with the present, a strong body of men, under pretence of guarding it. The *Athenians* were taken with this bait, and admitted the troops, to the number of two thousand, into the city. By the help of these, *Aristo*, who accompanied them, took upon him to dispose of all the employments at *Athens*, and reigned there with great authority. All those who favoured the *Romans*, were either cruelly murdered, or sent prisoners to *Mithridates*. Nor did the friends of *Rome* fare better in the other countries of *Greece*: the *Achæans*, *Lacedæmonians*, *Bæotians*, &c. openly declared for *Mithridates*, and drove out such of their countrymen as refused to come into their measures. *Thespia* was the only city of *Greece* that continued faithful to the *Romans* (C).

Athens
sides with
Mithrida-
tes against
the Ro-
mans.

Year of
the flood
2260.
Bef. Chr.
88.

Aristo
makes
himself
master of
Athens.

Thespia
the only

UPON city in
Greece
faithful
to *Rome*.

9 APPIAN. in *Mithridat*. POSIDONIUS APAMÆUS apud ATHE-
NÆUM, l. v. c. 11. PLUT. in *Lucull*. & PAUSAN. in *Atticis*.

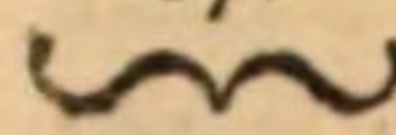
(C) *Thespia* stood at the foot whence the poets give the sur-
of mount *Helicon*, in *Bæotia*; name of *Thespiades* to the nine

Brutius
blocks up
the port of
Athens.

Sylla ar-
rives in
Greece.

Year of
the flood
2261.

Bef. Chr.
87.



UPON the news of this general revolt, *C. Sextius*, prætor of *Macedon*, detached *Brutius Sura*, his lieutenant-general, at the head of a thousand men, to put a stop to the progress of *Archelaus*. The prætor could spare him no more, being in apprehension that *Macedon* might follow the example of *Greece*. With this small body, *Brutius* penetrated into *Bæotia*, fought several battles with the joint forces of *Aristo* and *Archelaus*, and continued to harass them, till the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans*, taking the field, joined the *Asiatics*. Then *Brutius*, not being able, with an handful of men, to make head against so many enemies at once, reembarked his troops, and, with his small squadron, blocked up the port of *Athens* ⁹.

SUCH was the state of affairs in *Greece*, when *Sylla*, who had been appointed to carry on the war against *Mithridates*, landed in *Thessaly*, with five legions, some *Italian* cohorts, and a small body of cavalry. With these he was to make head against the joint forces of *Archelaus*, and the states of *Greece*, amounting in all to an hundred and fifty thousand men. Upon *Sylla's* arrival, the *Greek* cities returned to their duty, and opened their gates to the *Roman* general. *Athens* alone, which was held by the tyrant *Aristo*, persisted in the revolt, and would not hearken to any terms: whereupon *Sylla* resolved to reduce it by force, thinking it necessary to settle the affairs of the republic in *Greece*, before he passed over into *Asia* against *Mithridates*. This capital of *Attica*, or rather of all *Greece*, consisted at that time of two cities, the upper called *Cecropia*, from *Cecrops* its first founder, and the lower named *Athens*, from *Athene* or *Minerva*, its tutelary goddess^r. Both these cities were surrounded by one common wall; but parted by another, which lay across between them, both walls being defended by strong towers, raised at small distances from each other. The two ports of *Pyræus* and *Munychia* were no less fortified than the city itself, being encompassed with walls of an uncommon thickness, and forty cubits high. Both these ports were joined to the city, though forty furlongs distant from it, by a wall which *Themistocles* had caused to be built, in order to secure the

⁹ APPIAN. *ibid.*

^r See vol. vi. p. 171. in the notes.

muses, who were supposed by the poets to have lived on this mountain. When *Thespia* was sacked by the *Thebans*, under the command of *Epaminondas*, many of the inhabitants fled to *Athens*, where they were kindly enter-
tained. Whence the *Thespians* had ever after such a regard for the *Athenians*, that they never failed to come into their measures, till *Athens* declared against *Rome* (14).

(14) *Paus. in Bæot. Strabo, l. ix.*

removal of such effects, as were brought by sea from the port to the city. Besides these two ports or citadels, *Athens* was defended, on the east, by the *Cephissus*, and by the *Ilissus* on the west; which two rivers, winding about the plain, rendered the access to the city very difficult^s.

HOWEVER, *Sylla* undertook to reduce it with a far smaller army than that which had been brought from *Asia* to defend it. Upon his entering *Attica*, he was met by *Aristo* and *Archelaus*; but he obliged them both to retire, with a considerable loss, and to shut themselves up in the two cities and citadels of *Athens*. *Archelaus* took upon him to defend *Piræus*, and *Lays* *siege* *Aristo* to maintain *Athens* and *Cecropia*. On the other hand, *to Athens*. the Roman general divided his troops into two bodies: one he sent to invest the city; with the other he marched in person to attack *Piræus*, hoping to take it by storm. But the besieged *Attacks* made such a vigorous defence, that he was obliged, after many *Piræus*, unsuccessful attacks, to retire, and take up his winter-quar- *but is re-* *ters* at *Eleusis* and *Megara*. However, he did not drop the *pulsed*, enterprize, having left a sufficient number of troops to keep the city and castle blocked up against his return in the beginning of the spring. The whole winter he spent in making preparations for besieging the place in form, as soon as the season of the year would allow him to take the field. Intire woods were cut down, and the timber employed in making the warlike engines, which were then used in sieges; nay, he did not spare the sacred groves, nor the trees in the walks of the academy and *lyceum*, which were the finest in *Attica*. He caused the high walls, that joined the port to the city, to be demolished, making use of the ruins to raise the works, and carry on the approaches; and, as the enemy had laid waste the whole country, which was barren of its own nature, twenty *Great pre-* thousand mules were continually employed in bringing provi- *parations* sions from *Bæotia*, and other countries of *Greece*^t. These ex- *for carry-* traordinary expences soon drained his military chest, which *ing on the* was but very indifferently furnished at his first setting out from *siege*. *Rome*; neither had he any hopes of receiving supplies either of men or money from thence, the contrary faction, headed by *Marius* and *Cinna*, prevailing in *Italy*, and watching all opportunities of thwarting his attempts in the east.

IN this distress, he had recourse to the sacred and inviolable *His letter* treasures of the temples; and wrote a letter to the *Amphietyons* *to the Am-* assembled at *Delphi*, desiring them to send him the treasures *phietyons* of *Apollo*, and promising, in the most solemn manner, that he

^s PAUSAN. in Atticis. ^t PLUT. in Sylla. DION. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 642. APPIAN. in Mithridat. p. 190, & l. i. bell. civil. p. 399.

He obliges
the Am-
phietyons
to deliver
up to him
the trea-
sures of
Delphi.

Cuts off
the com-
munica-
tion be-
tween the
city and
the sea.

would return to the god, whom he himself revered, the value of whatever should be remitted him. One *Caphis*, a native of *Phocis*, in whom *Sylla* confided, was charged to deliver this letter to the *Amphietyons*, and excuse, to the assembly, a step which the *Roman* general was forced to take against his will. When *Caphis* arrived at *Delphi*, he wept in presence of the *Amphietyons*, and told them, that nothing but the utmost distress could have obliged *Sylla* to make such a demand, or himself to be the messenger of it, and desired that the god might be consulted. The oracle indeed returned no answer, but the sound of *Apollo's* lyre was heard from the inside of the sanctuary; and *Caphis*, whether he was really terrified with the pretended prodigy, or willing to save the treasure by filling *Sylla* with a religious fear, would not meddle with the gifts consecrated to the god, till he had acquainted the general with what had happened. But *Sylla*, deriding his simplicity, replied, that he was surprised he should not comprehend, that music was a mark of joy, and by no means a sign of anger and resentment: he therefore desired him to take the treasures, and be assured, that in so doing he acted agreeable to the will of the god. Pursuant to this order, all the gold, silver, and brass, all the vases, presents, and offerings, which the superstition of the neighbouring and most distant nations had brought thither, were loaded on carts, and, amidst the lamentations and outcries of the *Amphietyons* and *Delphians*, sent to the *Roman* camp, where the gold, silver, and brass, were coined by *Sylla's* orders. The person he employed to take care of the coinage was *Lucullus*, one of his quaestors, who made so beautiful a coin, that it was ever after highly valued, and known by the name of the *Lucullian money*. The treasures of the god *Aesculapius* at *Epidaurus*, not much inferior in value to those of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, were at the same time, by *Sylla's* orders, brought to the camp, and, by his quaestor, turned into money^t.

SYLLA, being thus furnished with money to pay his troops, and engines to carry on the siege, took the field early in the spring, and shut up both the city and port more closely than before. As he could not possibly reduce the city by famine, so long as it received supplies of provisions by sea from the *Pyræus*, he began by making a breach in the wall, which secured the passage from the port to the city, and lodging in the breach a strong body of legionaries, so that nothing could be conveyed from one place to the other. Having thus cut off the communication between the city and the sea, he drew a line of circumvallation, which prevented the inhabitants from

^t PLUT. in *Sylla*. APPIAN. in *Mithridat*.

abandoning their native country, or receiving any supplies from the neighbouring villages. The city being thus closely shut up, *Sylla* applied himself intirely to the reducing of *Pyræus*, hoping that in the mean time the *Athenians* would be obliged by famine to shake off the tyrannical yoke of *Aristo*, and return to their duty. It is not easy to say, whether the attack of *Pyræus*, or the defence, was conducted with most vigour, both the besiegers and besieged behaving with incredible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and *Sallies*, attended with almost formal battles, in which the slaughter ^{with great} was great, and the loss generally equal. In one of these *Ar-* ^{slaughter} *chelaus* put the *Romans* to flight, set fire to their machines, ^{on both} and obliged them to retire to a greater distance from the place. ^{sides.} They no sooner returned than he attacked them anew, and would have obtained the like advantage, had not *Muræna*, a legionary tribune, encouraged the *Romans*, and brought them back to the charge with such fury, that the besieged, in their turn, were forced to give ground, and save themselves within their walls, after having lost two thousand men in the engagement. The *Romans* pursued them so close, that they would have entered promiscuously with the *Asiatics*, had not the gate been timely shut, and a considerable part of the garison left without the walls at the discretion of the enemy. Among these was *Archelaus* himself, who would have been taken prisoner with the others, had not the soldiers on the ramparts, observing his danger, thrown him down a rope, and by that means drawn him up the wall ^u.

THE disadvantage of this action did not dishearten the *Sylla* in-
besieged, who were still numerous enough to defend the ^{formed by} place. The treachery of two slaves that were in the *Pyræ-* ^{two slaves} *us*, proved far more prejudicial to them than the attacks of ^{of all that} the enemy. These, either out of affection to the *Roman* ^{passed in} party, or in hopes of recovering their liberty, if the place ^{the city.} should be taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that passed within, and threw them with slings into the *Roman* camp. By this means, all the wise measures which *Archelaus* took, were immediately communicated to the enemy, and none of his attempts attended with the usual success. He resolved one night to sally out against the enemy's works, and at the same time to send all his cavalry to fall upon their camp. But he no sooner took this resolution, than *Sylla*, who caused all the balls of lead to be carefully gathered, found one with this intelligence: "To-night, at such an hour, the foot will attack your works, and the cavalry your camp." He made use of this advice, and posted his troops so, that the besieged were

^u Idem ibid. & AUL. GELL. l. xv. c. i.

soon forced to retire with considerable loss. As the city began to be in great want, *Archelaus* designed to send a large quantity of provisions to relieve the garison, and to convey it into the city by a strong detachment, which might have easily broken through the body of *Romans* that guarded the passage: But *Sylla*, who was timely acquainted with this design by the two slaves, doubled the guard, placed his men in ambushes, intercepted the convoy, and cut in pieces most of the *Asiatics* who escorted it w.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these disadvantages, *Archelaus* still held out, in hopes of being soon relieved by *Taxiles*, one of *Mithridates's* generals, who was marching through *Epirus* to his assistance at the head of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with ninety chariots armed with sithes. As the approach of this formidable army, which had already reduced *Thrace* and *Macedon*, gave new courage to the besieged, so it disheartened the *Romans*. Whereupon *Sylla* exerted his utmost endeavours to take the place by storm, before the arrival of so numerous an army. One night, while the centinels on the walls were asleep, he ordered some of the boldest among his legionaries to scale the ramparts; which they did accordingly, and drove off the enemies, that were posted to guard them; but the rest of the garison taking the alarm, the *Romans* were obliged to save themselves by leaping down into the ditch, and retiring in great disorder. *Archelaus* took advantage of the confusion the *Romans* were in, and made a vigorous sally, with a design to burn a tower which had been lately raised by *Sylla*, and from whence the *Romans* greatly galled the besieged on the walls. *Sylla* hastened to the defence of a work, which had cost him much time and labour; the engagement lasted from morning to night, many falling on both sides; but the tower was preserved intirely by the valour of *Sylla*, who, on that occasion, distinguished himself in a very eminent manner x.

IN the mean time, the two cities of *Athens* and *Cecropia* began to be greatly distressed for want of provisions: *Archelaus* had several times attempted to throw in convoys, but had always found, on that occasion, the *Romans* on their guard, and the detachment, which was posted between the port and the city, reinforced with new troops from the camp. He therefore began to suspect, that he had traitors about him; but nevertheless resolved to attempt once more the relief of the city. He did not doubt but *Sylla* would be soon acquainted with his design, and, in consequence of that intelligence, send a considerable detachment from his camp, to reinforce the le-

w PLUT. in *Sylla*. x APPIAN. in *Mithridat*.

gionaries that guarded the road. As the army would be greatly weakened by this detachment, he thought that would be a proper time to make a sally against the camp, and demolish the works. This design he imparted to none, and Archelaus therefore the sally proved very successful, several of the enemy's machines being reduced to ashes; but the convoy was intercepted, and most of the *Asiatics* that guarded it cut in pieces ^{burns several of his machines,}.

SYLLA had raised many castles round the walls, from the several floors of which such showers of arrows were discharged against the besieged, that they could not, without great danger, appear on the ramparts: to obviate this inconvenience, *Archelaus* ordered his men to undermine the castles, which were raised on large foundations of stone; and by this means several of them were thrown down, and the *Romans*, who were lodged in them, either killed, or dangerously wounded. While the besieged were thus busy under-ground, the *Romans* beat down with their rams great part of the wall, and thought themselves at last masters of the place. But, in a general assault, *Archelaus* defended the place with such resolution, that the besiegers were forced to abandon the enterprize, and apply all their thoughts to the widening of the breach, before they could entertain any hopes of taking it by storm. The *Asiatics* had, in imitation of the *Romans*, raised wooden towers without the walls, which rendered the approach to them very difficult and dangerous: *Sylla* therefore altered his measures, and, instead of using the ram, ordered his men to dig a way to the bottom of the walls, and sap their foundations, supporting them with large beams, lest they should be buried themselves in the ruins. The wall being thus undermined, fire was set to the props, which being burnt, great part of the wall fell down with a dreadful noise, which struck the besieged, who did not expect it, with great terror. *Sylla* laid hold of this opportunity to mount the breach at the head of his best troops; but *Archelaus* opposed him with such resolution, that he was obliged to give ground. The *Roman* general returned thrice to the assault, but was as often repulsed; nay, in the last attack, his men suffered so much, that he himself thought it adviseable to give over the attempt, and lead his weary legions back to the camp. There they continued inactive for several days, and, in the mean time, *Archelaus* built another wall within that which the besieged had with so much pains and labour beat down. This new wall *Sylla* began to batter before it was dry; but the prodigious quantity of arrows, and burning materials, which were from thence dis-

charged upon the aggressors, obliged him not only to desist from the attempt, but to retire with some precipitation ^z.

*The siege
turned into
a blockade.*

*Athens in
great di-
stresses for
want of
provisions.*

AND now Sylla gave over all thoughts of taking the place by assault; and therefore turned the siege into a blockade, in hopes of reducing it by famine. All the avenues, both to the city and the port, were guarded by strong detachments; so that neither provisions of any sort could be carried in, nor any of the inhabitants find a way out. By this means the city, which was then one of the most populous in the world, was reduced to such streights, that a bushel of barley was sold for a thousand drachms. Many of the citizens had nothing else to maintain themselves with, but the roots and grass, which they found growing about the walls. In this distress, the senators and priests went to throw themselves at the tyrant *Aristo's* feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to submit to the *Romans* upon any tolerable terms; but the tyrant was so far from being touched with their complaints, that he ordered his guards to discharge their arrows against them, and, in that manner, drove them from his presence. In the midst of the public misery, *Aristo*, and his accomplices in the tyranny, were plentifully provided with all sorts of provisions: their tables were served with the most exquisite meats; while the common people, and many of the nobility, after having consumed their horses, dogs, and all other animals, were forced to live upon leather, which they softened by steeping it in water, and even upon human flesh ^a.

*Aristo,
to quiet
the people,
sends em-
bassadors
to Sylla.*

THE tyrant was at last prevailed upon, by the importunities of the people, to send ambassadors to the *Roman* camp; but, as these made no proposals, but only descants on the exploits of *Theseus*, *Eumolpus*, and their ancestors, against the *Medes* and *Persians*, Sylla interrupted them, desiring the haranguers to keep their rhetorical flourishes for themselves, since he was not come to *Athens* to be informed of the prowess of their ancestors, but to punish their present rebellion. *Aristo* had sent these declaimers with no other view, but to quiet the people, and make them believe, that he was willing to save the city, by capitulating with the *Romans*; but he still depended on the succours, which were on full march to the relief of the city, under the command of *Taxiles*. These he daily expected; and therefore, though, in compliance with the importunities of the people, he sent out ambassadors to Sylla, yet he had no mind to come to any agreement, nor even proposed any terms, which he imagined the *Roman* general might accept ^b.

^z APPIAN. in Mithridat.
ibid.

^a PLUT. in Sylla.

^b APPIAN.

SYLLA had spies in *Athens*, as well as in *Piræus*, who were Athens continually running about, and intruding into all companies. *taken by*
One of these, having one day overheard some old men, that *storm.*

were walking in a place called *Ceramicos* (E), blaming the tyrant for not fortifying and guarding a certain part of the wall, where the enemy might easily surprise the city, upon his return to the camp, acquainted *Sylla* with what he had heard. Upon this advice, the *Roman* went, at midnight, to take a view of the place; and, finding that it might be easily scaled, ordered his legionaries, without delay, to apply their ladders; which they did accordingly with great chearfulness, being tired out with so long a siege, and entered the city sword in hand. While the legionaries were engaged within the city, *Sylla* battered the walls so violently with his rams, that he opened a large breach, and, at the head of his whole army, came to the relief of those, who were fighting on the ramparts. The *Athenians* were struck with terror when they saw the *Romans* advancing in good order within their walls, and, throwing away their arms, implored the clemency of the conqueror. But *Sylla* had been too much provoked by the satirical reflections of the *Greeks* from their ramparts, on himself and his wife (F), to grant them any quarter. He allowed his soldiers to plunder the city, and inhumanly to murder even the women and children. The slaughter was so merciless, that the very chanel in the streets flowed with blood. The next day, all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty granted to the few citizens, who had escaped the swords of the soldiers.

A FEW days after the reduction of *Athens*, *Cecropia*, whither *Aristo* had retired, was likewise forced to surrender. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any employment under him, were put to death; but the others, by *Sylla's* orders, spared. He would not suffer the city to be set on fire, saying, that he pardoned the children for the sake of their fathers. The only punishment he inflicted upon the few citizens, who had the good luck to outlive that fatal day, was, that they should not, for the future, have the power of choosing

The soldiers allowed to plunder the city, and murder even the women and children. Cecropia likewise taken, and Aristo, with all his adherents, put to death.

(E) There were two places at *Athens* bearing this name, the one in the city, and the other in the suburbs; the former was a place of resort for prostitutes, and much frequented by reason of its walks; the other was appointed for the burying-place of great men, such especially as had died fighting for their country.

with the lewd life of his wife *Metella*; whence we may conclude, that her infamy was become very public, since it had already reached *Greece*. *Metella* was the daughter of *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, and by *Sylla*, mother to the famous *Fausta*, whose excessive licentiousness made *Rome* forget the lewdness of *Metella*.

(F) They reproached *Sylla*

their

Arche-
laus aban-
dons the
place, and
retires.

their own magistrates, nor ever repair the breach which he had made in the wall. The first part of this punishment he soon remitted, and restored the city to the full enjoyment of its ancient liberties. Some time after the reduction of *Athens* and *Cecropia*, *Archelaus*, having held out till his new wall was beaten down, thought it adviseable to abandon the place; and accordingly, after a long and most glorious defence, embarked his troops, and retired, first to *Munychia*, and from thence advanced to join *Taxiles* ^c. *Sylla*, having possessed himself of the *Pyræus*, to leave behind him some marks of his resentment, destroyed most of the stately buildings, and, amongst others, the magazines, and the arsenal, which had been built by the celebrated architect *Philo*, and was reckoned a masterpiece of art.

In the ci-
vil war
the Athe-
nians side
with
Pompey;

but are
kindly
treated by
Cæsar.

Favoured
by Antony

THIS storm blown over, the *Athenians* enjoyed a profound tranquillity, till the civil war broke out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, when they sided with the latter, and were therefore closely pursued by *Q. Fustius Calenus*, *Cæsar*'s lieutenant, who committed great devastations in *Attica*, destroyed several edifices, which had been spared by *Sylla*, and reduced the city of *Athens* to great straits. However, they held out so long as they had any hopes of being relieved by *Pompey*; but when news was brought them, that he was intirely defeated, they surrendered at discretion, and met with a more kind treatment than they expected; for *Cæsar* not only pardoned them, but received their city under his protection, saying, *That he spared the living for the sake of the dead*. But this kindness was not sufficient to keep a people in obedience, that had an utter aversion to any thing that favoured of servitude; for they no sooner heard of *Cæsar*'s death, but they openly declared for his murderers, received *Brutus* and *Cassius* into their city, and even erected statues to them, which they placed next to those of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* ^d. After the defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, they sided with *Antony*, who not only restored them to the full possession of all the privileges they had enjoyed in the most flourishing times of their republic, but enlarged their dominions, by subjecting to *Athens* the islands of *Cea*, *Sciathus*, *Peparethus*, and *Ægina* ^e. After the defeat of *Antony*, *Augustus* punished their ingratitude to *Julius Cæsar*, by taking from them the island of *Ægina*, and forbidding them to sell the freedom of their city. Towards the latter end of *Augustus*'s reign, they began to revolt; but were, without much trouble, reduced to their former obedience. *Germanicus*, the adopted son of *Tiberius*, honoured them with the privilege of having a

^c PLUT. in *Sylla*. APPIAN. in *Mithridat*. p. 195, 196. STRABO, l. ix. p. 398. ^d See vol. vi. p. 353. ^e PLUT. in *Antonio*.

lictor,

lictor, which was deemed a mark of sovereign power. This grant was confirmed to them by *Tiberius*, and his successors, under whose protection they maintained their antient form of government till the reign of *Vespasian*, who reduced *Attica*, with the rest of *Greece*, to a *Roman* province, saying, *That the Greeks knew not how to enjoy their liberty.* But the emperor and by the *Adrian*, who had been archon of *Athens* before his accession to emperor the imperial throne, restored them to the full enjoyment of all *Adrian*. their antient privileges, and bestowed upon them a large sum of money, with an annual provision of corn.

In his reign, and at his charge, the two ports of *Pyræus* and *Munychia* were repaired, and a whole region of new buildings added to the old city. This quarter was called *Adrianopolis*, from *Adrian*, whom the *Athenians*, as appears from some antient inscriptions^e, not undeservedly, used to stile the second founder of their city. All the privileges, granted them by *Adrian*, were not only confirmed, but extended, by his successors *M. Antoninus Pius* and *M. Antoninus* the philosopher, the latter of which allowed them handsome salaries for the maintenance of their public professors. But *Severus* abridged them of a great many privileges, to revenge, as is supposed, an affront which he received at *Athens* while he studied there^f. *Valerian* was more favourable to them, and gave them leave to repair that part of the wall, which had been thrown down by *Sylla*. In the reign of *Gallienus*, as *Zosimus* informs us, or of *Claudius*, as *Cedrenus* will have it, the city was taken and plundered by the *Goths*, who were soon obliged by *Cleidemus*, who had escaped their fury, to abandon their new conquest, and save themselves by a timely flight. *Constantine the Great* was a peculiar patron and benefactor of the *Athenians*, honouring their chief magistrate with the title of *grand duke*, and granting them many other privileges of greater consequence; which were confirmed and enlarged by *Constantius*, who moreover put them in possession of several islands in the *Archipelago*.

In the time of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, they were cruelly harassed and pillaged by the *Goths*, who turned all the stately and magnificent structures, that were still standing, into heaps of ruins. From this time, there is scarce any mention made of *Athens* till the thirteenth century, when it was in the hands of *Baldwin*, as *Nicetas* informs us^g, and besieged by one of the generals of the *Greek* emperor *Theodorus Lascares*, who was forced to raise the siege, after having suffered a considerable loss. The same author tells us, that it was, not long after, besieged and taken by the marquis *Bonifacius*. It fell after-

^e GRUTER. p. 177, 178. in vita Baldwini.

^f SPARTIANUS.

^g NICETAS

wards into the hands of one *Delves*, of the house of *Aragon*; upon whose death it was seized by *Bajazet*^h, who did not hold it long, being driven out by the *Catalonians*, under the command of *Andronicus Palæologus* the elder. The *Catalonians* were, in their turn, dispossessed of it by *Reinerius Acciaioli*, a *Florentine*, who, having no lawful issue, left the estate or dukedom of *Athens*, as it was then called, to the *Venetians*; and *Thebes* with *Bœotia*, to his natural son *Antony*. *Antony* made war on the *Venetians*, and, in one campaign, recovered the whole state of *Athens*, which continued for some years under the government of the *Acciaioli*; but was at last reduced by the *Turks* in 1455ⁱ. *Francus Acciaioli*, the last duke of *Athens*, and prince of *Achaia*, seeing his country threatened with an invasion by the *Mohammedans*, under the conduct of *Omares*, and not being in a condition to make head against so numerous an army, had recourse to the western princes, called then the *Latins*; but these refused to assist him, unless he engaged his subjects to renounce all the articles wherein the *Greek* church differed from the *Latin*; which he not being able to perform, was forced to deliver up both himself and the city to the *Barbarians*, who first treated their captive with great humanity, but afterwards put him to death^k. *Athens* remained subject to the *Turks* till the year 1687, when it was, after a short siege, taken by the *Venetians*, and not many years after retaken by the *Turks*, who continue masters of it to this day.

The History of Bœotia.

The smaller states of Greece. **T**O what we have said of the greater republics of *Greece*, we shall add something relating to the smaller states, namely those of *Bœotia*, *Acarnania*, and *Epirus*. The *Bœotians*, after having driven out their kings (of whom we have spoken elsewhere^l), formed themselves into a republic, whereof the chief magistrates were the *prætor* or *strategos*, the *Bœotar-chi*, and the *polemarchi*. The *prætor* was always chosen from among the *Bœotar-chi*, and his authority lasted only a year, it being death for the *prætor*, according to the laws of the republic, not to resign his office before the first month, called *boucatios*, of the new year was expired. His authority was much the same with that which was vested in the *prætors* of *Achaia* and *Ætolia*. The province of the *Bœotar-chi* was to assist the *prætor* with their advice, chiefly in war, and to command under him; they were the supreme court of the nation.

Their chief magistrates. *Prætor.* *Bœotar-chi, and their province.*

^h LAONICUS CHALCOCONDYLES, l. iii. ⁱ Idem ibid. ^k Idem, l. vi. & ix. ^l Vol. vi. p. 192.

in what related to military affairs, the prætor himself, who was one of their body, not daring to act contrary to their determinations. As to their number we are in the dark, some authors mentioning seven, some nine, and some even eleven, all vested with some command in the army. But their authority was not confined to military affairs only; they bore a great sway in the civil administration, and were from thence stiled *Bœotarchi*, or governors of *Bœotia*. They were chosen yearly, and obliged by law, as well as the prætor, to lay down their employment, on pain of death, before the first month of the new year was expired. The *polemarchi* were Pole-intirely civil magistrates, it being their province to maintain *marchi*. peace and concord at home, while the *Bœotarchi* were employed abroad in the wars of the republic.

BESIDES these magistrates, there were four councils, in *The four* which the whole authority of the state, as *Thucydides* informs *councils*. us ^m, consisted. These were made up of the deputies that were sent by all the cities of the *Bœotian* republic; and, without their approbation, the *Bœotarchi* could not declare war, make peace, conclude alliances, or transact any other business of importance, as appears from *Thucydides* ⁿ, who tells us, that an alliance with some of the neighbouring states, which had been approved by all the *Bœotarchi*, was rejected by a plurality of voices in the four great councils of the nation. At *Thebes*, the chief city of *Bœotia*, merchants, and even artificers, were admitted into the number of citizens; an honour which they enjoyed in no other city of *Greece*. However, they were excluded there, as in all the other *Greek* states, from public employments, pursuant to a law which obtained all over *Greece*, and declared those only qualified for the administration of public affairs, who had abstained, for the space of ten years, from all manner of trade and traffick ^o. We find another of the *Bœotian* laws mentioned by the antients ^p, which forbids, on pain of death, any parent to expose his child. If he had not wherewithal to maintain the infant, he was, by the same law, directed to put it into the hands of a magistrate, and the magistrate to dispose of it to any one that was willing to bring it up; but the child, thus brought up, was condemned to perpetual slavery, being intirely at the disposal of the person, who had taken care of it during its childhood.

THE *Bœotians*, and especially the *Thebans*, were continually harassed by the princes of *Macedon*, as we shall relate in the history of *Alexander*, and his successors: nevertheless they *The Bœo*. sided with *Philip* against the *Romans*, and could not be pre-tians *fiac*

^m THUCYD. l. v.
^p PAUSAN. in Bœot.

ⁿ Idem ibid.

^o ARISTOT. polit.

with Philip *vailed upon by the Athenians and Achæans to desert him, and join lip against the other states of Greece, till he was intirely defeated in the famous battle of Cynocephalæ. As they were then sensible, that the Romans would at last prevail, they thought it adviseable to provide in time for their own safety; and accordingly sent deputies to Flaminius, imploring his protection. The proconsul received them with great humanity, and put them upon the same footing with the other allies of the republic in Greece. Not long after, they offered a petition to Flaminius, which seemed reasonable: a great many Bœotians had served in the Macedonian army; and these the proconsul was desired to demand of Philip, who had then made a truce with the Romans. Flaminius complied with their request, and obtained what he desired of Philip; who immediately sent back the Bœotian troops, and with them one Brachyllas, who had been banished for appearing too zealous in the cause of the Macedonians against the Romans. The Bœotians, though indebted to Flaminius alone for the return of their troops, thanked the king of Macedon only; and, to shew their gratitude, in the first election they made of a prætor, they preferred Brachyllas, famous for his attachment to Philip, and hatred to the Romans, to Zeuxippus and Pisistratus, who were both zealous partisans of Rome; nay, they had the confidence to make this impolitic election in the sight of the Roman camp. In like manner, all the other employments were filled with such only as were enemies to Rome, and friends to Macedon. These steps greatly exasperated Flaminius; and Zeuxippus and Pisistratus joined their resentment to that of the proconsul. These two Bœotians foresaw, that Brachyllas would not fail to vent his rage upon them, as soon as the Roman troops were withdrawn from Greece; and therefore resolved to be beforehand with him while Flaminius continued there. All the friends of Rome concurred in this design, persuading the proconsul, that neither their lives nor fortunes could be safe, so long as Brachyllas was alive. Flaminius approved of their design; but refused to contribute to it himself. His approbation was sufficient encouragement; Zeuxippus and Pisistratus, having hired three Ætolians, and three Italians, fell upon Brachyllas as he was one night returning home from an entertainment, and dispatched him. Some of his companions, who were conducting him to his house from the banquet, when the assassins attacked him, were at first the only persons suspected of the murder. But Zeuxippus appeared with an air of confidence in the assembly of the people, undertook the defence of the accused, and shewed that it was not at all probable, that debauchees should have courage enough to make any attempts on the life of the prætor. This assurance made some of the Bœotians believe, that*

*Implore
the pro-
tection of
Flamini-
nius;*

*whom
they dis-
oblige,
though fa-
voured by
him.*

*Their
prætor
murdered
by the
friends of
Rome.*

Zeuxippus was noways privy to the murder; but others took umbrage at seeing him so mighty solicitous in having those cleared who were apprehended, and began to suspect, that the prætor had been murdered by them, and the plot laid by *Zeuxippus*.

ON this suspicion, those who were in his company, being put to the rack, though innocent, accused *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus* purely upon the public suspicions, without being able to bring any proofs of their accusation. Hereupon *Zeuxippus*, who was conscious to himself of the crime laid to his charge, changing his presumption into fear, privately withdrew from *Thebes*, where the murder was committed, to *Tanagra*, another city of *Bœotia*. *Pisistratus* continued in *Thebes*, not fearing the deposition of men who had been any-ways privy to the crime; he was only under apprehension of being discovered by a slave who had been employed in the assassination by *Zeuxippus* his master: he therefore wrote to *Zeuxippus* at *Tanagra*, desiring him to dispatch the slave, as one more fit to be employed in a bad action, than to keep it a secret. The messenger was ordered to deliver the letter into *Zeuxippus*'s own hands; but he, thinking the slave faithful and affectionate to his master, trusted it with him. The slave read it, and finding it contained a sentence of death against himself, left his master that instant, and repaired to *Thebes*, where he discovered the whole affair. *Pisistratus* was apprehended, and put to death; but the odium of the murder fell intirely on the *Romans*. *Zeuxippus* retired to *Athens*, and lived there without any apprehension, being recommended to the magistrates of that city by his protectors the *Romans*.

THE *Bœotians* were inclined to take up arms; but, having no officer of experience to head them, and *Philip* refusing to lend them any assistance, they contented themselves with a private revenge, murdering all the *Romans* they found straggling about the fields; insomuch that they could no longer cross the country but in large bodies. At last *Flaminius* being informed, that many of his men were missing, and that there were just grounds to suspect they had been murdered by the *Bœotians*, sent officers with troops to inquire into the matter, and apprehend the authors of such treacherous proceedings. The officers, upon their return, acquainted him, that great numbers of *Romans* had been murdered, and their bodies, to prevent discovery, thrown into the lake of *Copias* (G). He was

(G) This lake, which is the same with the lake called by *Pausanias* (15) the lake of *Cephissus*, took its name from the city of

(15) *Pausan. in Bœot.*

Flami-
nius enters
and ra-
vages
their ter-
ritories ;

but is pre-
vailed up-
on by the
Atheni-
ans to
spare them

Bœotia
reduced to
a Roman
province.

was at the same time assured, that the cities of *Coronæa* and *Acræphia* (H) had, on that occasion, signalized their hatred to the *Romans*. Upon this information, the proconsul ordered the murderers to be delivered up to him ; and, as he had lost five hundred men, the *Bœotians* were condemned to pay five hundred talents : troops were likewise sent to ravage the fields of *Acræphia*, and lay siege to *Coronæa*. The *Bœotians*, who were conscious to themselves, that they deserved severe punishment, seeing the proconsul drawing together his troops, with a design to punish them as they deserved, had recourse to the *Athenians* and *Achæans* ; whose mediation was of such weight with *Flaminius*, that he immediately ordered the siege of *Coronæa* to be raised, and remitted four hundred and seventy talents of the fine he had laid upon the treacherous cities of *Bœotia*. He insisted only on their delivering up to him the murderers ; who were accordingly apprehended, and carried to the *Roman* camp, where they were brought to condign punishment. This mixture of mildness and severity was highly extolled and applauded by the *Bœotians*, who ever afterwards continued faithful to the *Romans*. But, as some of their leading men joined *Perfes* king of *Macedon* in his wars against the *Romans*, the whole country was, on that score, treated with great severity, *Rome* being at that time under no apprehension of an invasion from *Antiochus*, as she was when *Flaminius* suffered himself to be so easily appeased. At the dissolution of the *Achæan* league, *Bœotia*, with the rest of *Greece*, was reduced to a *Roman* province⁹.

⁹ Liv. l. xxxii. c. 7.

Copæ. It was, in former times, as *Strabo* tells us (16), three hundred and seventy-one furlongs in compass ; but is now much less. It is fed by the river *Cephisus* ; and the poets tell us, that *Hercules* made it by turning the *Cephisus* into the plain of *Orchomenos*. The people of this neighbourhood are said to have been the first inventors of oars ; whence the city next to the lake was called *Copæ*, from the Greek word κώπη.

(16) *Strabo*, l. ix. p. 283.

(H) *Coronæa*, a city of *Bœotia*, stood on the river *Cephisus*, where it discharges itself into the lake *Copias*, not far from mount *Helicon* (17). It is famous on account of the victory which *Agésilas* gained there over the *Thebans* and *Athenians*. The city of *Acræphia* stood between the springs of the *Ismenus* and the *Asopus*.

(17) *Idem* *ibid.*

The history of Acarnania.

ACARNANIA lay between *Ætolia* and *Epirus*, was a free state, and governed by a prætor, a general assembly, Govern- and other subordinate magistrates of the same nature and au- ment. thority as those of the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*. The *Acarna-* The *Acar-* nians were, above all the other *Greeks*, attached to the kings nanians of *Macedon*, and chiefly to *Philip* the father of *Perses*. They attached to alone adhered to him after the famous battle of *Cynocephalæ*, the kings valuing themselves upon an inviolable fidelity in the observation of treaties. However, *Lucius Flaminius*, brother to *Titus Fla-* don. minius, took upon him to bring them over to the *Romans*, and deprive *Philip* of this his only support. With this view, he engaged the chief men of the nation to meet him in the island of *Corcyra*, whither they resorted, according to their appointment; but the result of this conference was, to appoint another in the city of *Leucas*, the capital of *Acarnania* (I). In this second interview, the leading men of the nation, after warm disputes, drew up the plan of a confederacy with the *Romans*, and were inclined to desert *Philip*; but some, who had been bribed by the king, leaving the assembly with indignation, filled all the city with their complaints. The people joined them; and, as they were generally inclined to the princes of *Macedon*, who had often protected them against the *Ætoli-* ans, the whole city was in an uproar.

DURING this general commotion, *Philip* sent *Echedemus* and *Androcles*, two *Acarnanians* greatly esteemed in their own country, and steady friends to *Macedon*. These declaimed

(I) *Leucas* was the capital of *Acarnania*, where the general assembly of the *Acarnanians* used to meet. The city gave its name to the whole island, which was called *Leucadia*, but is now known by the name of *Santa Maura*. It lies in the *Ionian* sea, and is now divided from the continent by a streight, which is not above fifty paces over. The *Carthaginians* are said to have settled a colony here, and to have formed this streight, or canal; for *Leucadia* was formerly a peninsula, being joined to *Acarnania* by a neck of land. Near this city stood, in antient times, a stately temple,

consecrated to *Apollo*, and the famous rock whence despairing lovers leaped into the sea. During the feast of *Apollo*, the *Leucadians* yearly threw from the top of this rock a criminal who had been sentenced to die, imagining, that the gods would load the criminal with all the evils that threatened the city. They fastened a great many birds and feathers to his body, believing they would make his fall less violent. If he happened not to be killed by the fall, his life was spared, but he was banished for ever.

with great virulency against their slavish countrymen, who, without any regard to the faith of treaties, were betraying the interest of their country, in order to deliver up the whole nation to the mercy of an imperious republic. The people, already prepossessed against the *Romans*, backed the remonstrances of the two deputies, and openly protested, that they would not enter into any engagements prejudicial to the interest of *Philip*. Thus the decree, which had been drawn up in favour of the *Romans*, was unanimously rejected in the assembly; and *Archelaus* and *Bianor*, who were the authors of it, declared enemies to their country, and guilty of the blackest treachery. *Zeuxidas* their prætor was deposed, for no other reason, but because he had proposed the affair in the assembly. However, upon more mature deliberation, the sentence passed against these three was annulled, and they restored to their former honours: but, at the same time, their alliance with the king of *Macedon* was renewed, and the treaty, made by some private men with the *Romans*, rejected with indignation.

Leucas
besieged by
the Ro-
mans.
Makes a
vigorous
defence;

but is be-
trayed by
the Italian
exiles.

LUCIUS, who had, in the beginning of the tumult, retired from *Leucas*, resolved to reduce the *Acarnanians* by force; and accordingly, having made the necessary preparations, he sailed from *Corcyra*, with a design to lay siege to *Leucas*. He thought, that the very sight of the *Roman* troops would frighten the citizens into a compliance with his request; but he was disappointed; the *Leucadians* appeared on the walls, and prepared to make a vigorous resistance. Whereupon the *Roman* general began his approaches, being resolved to take the place by storm. *Leucadia*, or the territory of *Leucas*, was at that time a peninsula, being joined to the western part of *Acarnania* by a neck of land, about five hundred paces in length, and an hundred and twenty in breadth; in after-ages this isthmus being dug through, *Leucadia* became an island. *Lucius*, having viewed the situation of the place, resolved to attack it on that side which was washed by the sea, and, on that account, the least fortified: the water being very low near the walls, the earth was easily removed, and the wall without much trouble undermined, and thrown down. But the besieged made such a vigorous resistance, that the *Romans* were repulsed in three successive attacks, which obliged the general to allow them some rest; and, in the mean time, the *Leucadians* raised a new wall stronger than the former. The siege would have been protracted to a great length, had not some *Italian* exiles, who were well acquainted with the place, brought a great many *Romans* privately into the city. These, uniting themselves into one body, marched strait to the market-place; and, while the inhabitants were engaged with them there, the rest of the army scaled the walls, and marched in.

in good order to the relief of their companions. The *Acar-nanians* were surrounded, and those who refused to submit, put to the sword. The reduction of the capital struck such terror into the whole nation, that they deserted *Philip*, and submitted to the *Romans*, under whose protection they lived according to their own laws, till the destruction of *Corinth*, when *Acarnania* became part of the province of *Achaia*.

The history of Epirus:

EPIRUS was bounded on the east by *Ætolia*, on the west by the *Adriatic*, on the north by *Thessaly* and *Macedon*, and on the south by the *Ionian* sea. This country was antiently governed by its own princes; in which state it made no small figure, as we shall see in a more proper place. *Deidamia*, great grand-daughter to the famous *Pyrrhus*, having no issue, gave the *Epirots* their liberty, who formed themselves into a republic, which was governed by magistrates annually elected in a general assembly of the whole nation. Their neighbourhood to *Macedon* obliged them to be continually on their guard against those princes, who made frequent incursions into their country, took and pillaged their cities, and forced them to contribute, as if they had been their subjects, to all the charges of the wars they carried on with the other states of *Greece*. The *Romans*, after having conquered *Philip*, restored them to their antient liberty; but they, forgetful of this favour, took up arms against their friends and benefactors, and joined *Perses*; which so provoked the *Roman* senate, that they dispatched peremptory orders to *Paulus Æmilius*, after the reduction of *Macedon*, commanding him to plunder the cities of this ungrateful people, and level them with the ground. This decree drew tears from the eyes of *Æmilius*; but he could not decline the execution of it. He therefore set out at the head of his victorious army, and, arriving on the confines of *Epirus*, sent small bodies of troops into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garrisons, that the *Epirots* might enjoy the same liberty which *Rome* had granted to *Macedon*. The *Romans* were received in all the cities of *Epirus* with great demonstrations of joy; for *Æmilius* had not communicated his orders to any one, for fear of alarming the *Epirots*, who would not have failed to defend themselves and their country with their usual bravery. In the mean time, *Paulus Æmilius* sent orders to the ten chiefs who were dispersed in the different provinces, and go-

vernal all *Epirus*, injoining them to bring to his camp all the gold and silver they had in their respective districts. The chiefs with great reluctance complied with his order, and by this means, what was most valuable in *Epirus* was saved out of the hands of the greedy soldiers, and delivered to the quaestors to be laid up in the public treasury. All the rest was given up as a prey to the soldiery. Though the confusion of the troops was made the same day and hour, the *Roman* soldiers falling every-where with incredible fury on the houses which were abandoned to their rage. The whole booty was sold, and of the money raised by the sale each foot-soldier had two hundred denarii, that is six pounds nine shillings and two-pence, and each of the horse the double of this sum. An hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and sold to the best bidder for the benefit of the republic. Nor did the vengeance of *Rome* stop here; all the cities of *Epirus*, to the number of seventy, were dismantled, and the chief men of the country carried to *Rome*, where they were tried, and most of them condemned to perpetual imprisonment. After this terrible blow, *Epirus* never recovered its antient splendor. Upon the dissolution of the *Achaean* league, it was made part of the province of *Macedon*; but, when *Macedon* became a diocese, *Epirus* was made a province of itself, called the province of *Old Epirus*, to distinguish it from *New Epirus*, another province lying to the east of it. On the division of the empire, it fell to the emperors of the east, and continued under them till the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Latins*, when *Michael Angelus*, a prince nearly related to the *Greek* emperor, seized on *Aetolia* and *Epirus*, of which he declared himself despote or prince, and was succeeded by his brother *Theodorus*, who took several towns from the *Latins*, and so far enlarged his dominions, that, disdaining the title of despote, he assumed that of emperor, and was crowned by *Demetrius* archbishop of *Bulgaria*. *Charles*, the last prince of this family, dying without lawful issue, bequeathed *Epirus* and *Acarmania* to his natural sons, who were driven out, as we have related above, by *Amurath* the second. Great part of *Epirus* was afterwards held by the noble family of the *Castriots*, who, though they were masters of all *Albania*, yet stiled themselves princes of *Epirus*. Upon the death of the famous *George Castriot*, *Epirus* fell to the *Venetians*, who were soon dispossessed of it by the *Turks*, in whose hands it still continues, being now known by the name of *Albania*, which comprehends the *Albania* of the antients, all *Epirus*, and that part of *Dalmatia* which is subject to the *Turks*.

^a Liv. l. xlv. c. 33, 34.

THUS we have seen, through a series of many ages, the rise, progress, declension, and, lastly, the final ruin, of the several states of *Greece*. The first form of government introduced among them was monarchical, which, as *Plato* observes, is formed upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion, which fathers exercise over their families. But, as power, when lodged in one person, becomes often insolent, unjust, and oppressive, especially if it is hereditary, the several states of *Greece*, in process of time, began to be weary of kingly government, and to put the administration of public affairs into many hands; so that monarchy every-where, except in *Macedon*, gave way to the republican government, which was diversified into as many various forms, as there had been distinct kingdoms, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people. However, they had all liberty for their fundamental principle; but this liberty was prevented from degenerating into licentiousness by wise laws, which awed the people, and kept them to their duty. As every individual, at least in the early times of *Greece*, was capable of attaining the chief honours of his republic, he considered his country as his inheritance. The children were taught, from their infancy, to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained, than to their parents, and not as private persons, who regard nothing but their own interest, and have no sense of the misfortunes of the state, but as they affect themselves. They studied above all things to maintain among the citizens, and members of the state, a great equality, without pride, luxury, or ostentation. Magistrates, who had borne a great sway during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority, but what their experience gave them. Those, who had commanded armies one year, served perhaps the very next as subalterns, and were not ashamed to perform the most common functions, either in the armies or fleets. The principles, which prevailed in all the states of *Greece*, were, the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self-interest, concern for the public good, desire of glory, love for their country, and, above all, such a zeal for liberty, as no danger could abate. So long as they adhered to these principles, they were invincible: we have seen them not only making head with an handful of men, against the innumerable armies of the *Persians*, but putting them to flight, and obliging the most powerful monarch then upon earth to submit to conditions of peace, as shameful to the conquered, as they were glorious to the conquerors; but, as soon as luxury, and the love of riches,

‡ PLATO, l. iii. de legibus, p. 680.

Degenerate when luxury began to prevail.

prevailed among them, they began to degenerate, and, in a short time, became a quite different people. The *Persians* soon perceived this alteration, and, by bribing those who had the greatest share in the government, found means to make them turn their arms against themselves. These intestine divisions, carefully fomented by the *Persians*, so weakened them, that *Philip* of *Macedon*, and his son *Alexander*, met with no great opposition in reducing a people, that had, for so many ages, maintained their liberty against the whole power of the *Persian* monarchy. They made several attempts to reinstate themselves in their antient condition; but these efforts were ill concerted, and only served to confirm their slavery. They were therefore at last obliged to have recourse to the *Romans*, who, after having gained them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and made use of them to destroy the *Macedonian* power, at last turned their arms against those they were come to assist, and reduced to slavery the nations which they pretended to deliver. *Greece*, thus deprived of its antient power, still retained another sovereignty, to which the *Romans* themselves could not help paying homage. *Athens* continued to be the school of polite arts, and the centre of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. *Rome*, haughty as she was, acknowledged this glorious empire, and sent her most illustrious citizens to be finished and refined in *Greece*. *Cicero*, already the admiration of the bar, did not think it below him to become the disciple of the great masters *Greece* then produced. The emperors themselves, who were, by more weighty affairs, prevented from going into *Greece*, brought *Greece*, in a manner, home to themselves, by receiving into their palaces the most celebrated philosophers, for the education of their children, and their own improvement. Thus, by a new kind of victory, *Greece* triumphed over *Rome*, and made the conquerors of the world submit to her laws.

S E C T. IV.

The history of the Grecian states in Asia Minor.

The history of Ionia.

Name and division of Ionia.

IONIA, so called from the *Ionians*, who inhabited this part of *Asia Minor*, was bounded on the north by *Æolia*; on the west by the *Ægean* and *Icarian* seas; on the south by *Caria*; on the east by *Lydia*, and part of *Caria*. It lies between the thirty-seventh and fortieth degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very small extent in longitude, which we shall not

not pretend to determine, there being a great disagreement among authors as to the boundaries of the inland country.

THE most remarkable cities of *Ionia* were, *Phocæa*, now *Cities of Foggia*, built, according to *Vellerius*^a, by the *Ionians*, according to *Pausanias*^b, by the *Phocenses* of *Greece*; and, according to *Strabo*^c, by the *Athenians*. Some writers tell us, that, while the foundations of this city were laying, there appeared, near the shore, a great shole of sea-calves; whence it was called *Phocæa*, the word *phoca* signifying in *Greek* a *sea-calf*. *Ptolemy*, who makes the river *Hermus* the boundary between *Ælia* and *Ionia*, places *Phocæa* in *Æolis*; but all other geographers^d reckon it among the cities of *Ionia*. It stood on the sea-coast, between *Cuma* to the north, and *Smyrna* to the south, not far from the *Hermus*; and was, in former times, one of the most wealthy and powerful cities of all *Asia*; but is now a poor, beggarly village, though the see of a bishop. The *Phocæans* were, as *Herodotus*^e informs us, expert mari-
The Pho-
cæans ex-
pert mari-
ners.
ners, and the first among the *Greeks* that undertook long voyages; which they performed in galleys of fifty oars. As they applied themselves to trade and navigation, they became acquainted pretty early with the coasts and islands of *Europe*, where they are said to have founded several cities, namely *Velia* in *Italy*, *Alalia*, or rather *Aleria*, in *Corfica*, *Marseilles* in *Gaul*^f, &c. Neither were they unacquainted with *Spain*; for *Herodotus* tells us^g, that, in the time of *Cyrus the Great*, the *Phocæans*, arriving at *Sartessus*, a city in the bay of *Cadiz*, were treated with extraordinary kindness by *Arganthonius* king of that country; who, hearing that they were under no small apprehension of the growing power of *Cyrus*, invited them to leave *Ionia*, and settle in what part of his kingdom they pleased. The *Phocæans* could not be prevailed upon to forsake their country; but accepted of a large sum of money, which that prince generously presented them with, to defray the expence of building a strong wall round their city. The wall they built on their return; but it stood them in no stead against the mighty power of *Cyrus*, whose general *Harpagus*, investing the city with a numerous army, soon reduced it to the utmost extremities. The *Phocæans*, having no hopes of any succour, began to capitulate; but, the conditions offered by *Harpagus* seeming somewhat hard, they begged he would allow them three days to deliberate, and, in the mean time, withdraw his

^a VELLERIUS, l. i. ^b PAUSAN. l. vii. ^c STRAB. l. xiv. sub init. ^d POMP. MELA, l. i. c. 17. PLIN. l. v. c. 29. STRAB. l. xiv. HERODOT. l. i. c. 142. ^e HERODOT. l. i. c. 163. ^f Idem ibid. MARCELLIN. l. xv. JUSTIN. l. xliii. ^g HERODOT. ubi supra.

Quit their forces. *Harpagus*, though not ignorant of their design, complied with their request; and the *Phocæans*, taking advantage of this condescension, put their wives, children, and all their most valuable effects, on board several vessels, which they had ready equipped, and conveyed them safe to the island of *Chios*, leaving the *Persians* in possession of empty houses. Their design was to purchase the *OEnessian* islands, which belonged to the *Chians*, and settle there. But, the *Chians* not caring to have them so near, lest they should ingross all the trade to themselves, as they were a sea-faring people, they put to sea again; and, having taken *Phocæa* their native country by surprize, put all the *Persians* they found in it to the sword.

but return,
and put the
Persians,
who had
seized it,
to the
sword.

Retire to
Corfica.

Defeat the
Tyrrhe-
nians and
Carthagi-
nians at
sea.

As they were well apprised, that the *Persians* would resent such inhuman proceedings, they reimbarbed with all expedition, steering their course towards *Cyrnus*, now *Corfica*, where, twenty years before, they had built the city of *Alaria* or *Calaris*. Before they left *Phocæa* the second time, they uttered most dreadful imprecations against such as should stay behind, binding themselves by a solemn oath never to return, till a red-hot ball of iron, which, on that occasion, they threw into the sea, should appear again unextinguished. However, above half the fleet broke through all these engagements, and returned soon to *Phocæa*, the *Persians*, who were desirous the city should be repeopled, offering a general pardon to such as had been concerned in the massacre. The remaining part arrived safe at *Alaria*, where they continued five years, infesting the neighbouring seas with piracies, and ravaging the coasts of *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Carthage*. Hereupon the *Tyrrhenians* and *Carthaginians*, entering into an alliance against them, fitted out a fleet of an hundred and twenty sail, with a design to drive them from *Cyrnus*. The *Phocæans*, not at all dismayed at the sight of so powerful a fleet, engaged them in the sea of *Sardinia* with half their number; and, after a bloody engagement, put them to flight; but the victory cost them dear, forty of their ships being sunk, and most of the rest quite disabled (A). Where-

(A) *Herodotus* tells us, that such of the *Phocæans* as had lost their ships in the engagement fell into the hands of the *Carthaginians* and *Tyrrhenians*, who attacked them as they came ashore in their small boats, and put them all to death. As this happened in the territory of *Agylla* in *Tuscia*, both the inhabitants and cattle of that district were

seized with a dreadful distemper, which obliged the *Agyllians* to have recourse to the oracle of *Delphi*, being desirous to atone for the crime they had committed in what manner the god of that place should direct. The oracle enjoined them to commemorate yearly the death of the *Phocæans* with great magnificence and gymnastic combats; which they

Whereupon, not finding themselves in a condition to stand a second shock (and that the enemies were preparing to attack them anew), they resolved to abandon the island, and retire, with their wives and children, to *Rhegium*; which they did accordingly: but soon left that place, and settled in *OEnotria*, now *Ponza*, a small island in the *Tyrrhenian* sea, over-against *Velia* in *Lucania*, which their ancestors had founded &.

THOSE, who returned home, lived in subjection either to the *Persians*, or tyrants of their own. Among the latter, we find mention made ^h of *Laodamas*, who attended *Darius Hy-staspis* in his expedition against the *Scythians*; and of *Dionysius*, who, joining *Aristagoras* tyrant of *Miletus*, and chief author of the *Ionian* rebellion, retired, after the defeat of his countrymen, to *Phœnicia*, where he made an immense booty, seizing on all the ships he met with trading to that country. From *Phœnicia* he sailed to *Sicily*, where he committed great depredations on the *Carthaginians* and *Tuscan*s; but is said never to have molested the *Greeks* ⁱ.

IN the *Roman* times, the city of *Phocæa* sided with *Antiochus Various the Great*; whereupon it was besieged, taken, and plundered, by the *Roman* general; but allowed to be governed by its own laws. In the war which *Aristonicus*, brother to *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, stirred up against the *Romans*, they assisted the former to the utmost of their power; which so displeased the senate, that they commanded the town to be demolished, and the whole race of the *Phocæans* utterly rooted out. This severe sentence had been put in execution, had not the *Massilienses*, a *Phocæan* colony, interposed, and, with much ado, asswaged the anger of the senate ^k. *Pompey* declared *Phocæa* a free city, and restored the inhabitants to all the privileges they had ever enjoyed; whence, under the first emperors, it was reckoned one of the most flourishing cities of all *Asia Minor*. This is all we have been able to gather from the antients, touching the particular history of *Phocæa*.

SMYRNA, by the *Turks* called *Ismyr*, is situated on the isthmus of the *Ionian* peninsula, at the bottom of a bay, to

^g HERODOT. l. i. c. 65, 165, 167.

^h Idem, l. iv. c. 138.

ⁱ Idem, l. vi. c. 11, & seqq.

^k Liv. decad. iv. l. vii. & seqq.

JUSTIN. l. xxxvii.

they did accordingly, beginning as soon as their deputies returned from *Delphi*; and were immediately delivered from the raging distemper. Our author adds, that

they continued, even in his time, the same combats, and performed all the other rites which the oracle had prescribed on that occasion (1).

(1) Herodot. l. i. c. 167,

which

By whom
founded.

which it gives name, and is reckoned one of the largest and richest cities of the *Levant*. *Smyrna* was not at first one of the twelve cities of the *Ionian* league so often mentioned by the antients; but was, in process of time, admitted into that confederacy, by means of the *Ephesians*, who lived, as *Strabo*¹ informs us, for many years in the same district with the *Smyrnæans*: and hence it is, that *Ephesus* is sometimes called *Smyrna*. *Velleius Paterculus*^m reckons it among the cities of *Æolis*: wherein he agrees with *Herodotus*ⁿ, who tells us, that *Smyrna* was built by the *Æolians*; but afterwards destroyed by the *Ionians*, who claimed the ground on which the city stood, and all the neighbouring country. Be that as it will, it must have been soon after rebuilt; for the same *Herodotus*, or whoever else is the author of *Homer's* life, describes it as a famous emporium in that poet's time, whither merchants resorted from all parts. *Pliny*^o is of opinion, that it was founded by an *Amazon* named *Smyrna*; and adds, that it was, many ages after, rebuilt and adorned by *Alexander*. What he says of the *Amazon* is commonly looked upon as fabulous, though the present inhabitants pretend, that it borrowed its name from an *Amazon*, who, coming into *Asia* at the head of a female army, possessed herself of this city. Neither was it rebuilt by *Alexander*; for *Strabo*, a writer far more exact, informs us^p, that *Smyrna*, four hundred years after it had been destroyed by the *Lydians*, during which time the *Smyrnæans* lived in villages, was begun to be rebuilt by *Antigonus*; but that *Lyfimachus* put the last hand to the work.

THIS new city was built, according to the same writer, twenty furlongs distance from the place where the old city stood, between the castle on the shore and the present city, as our best modern travellers conjecture^q, from the many ruins of edifices that are still to be seen in that place (B). This new

¹ STRABO, l. xiv. sub init. ^m VELL. PATERC. l. i. c. 4.

ⁿ HERODOT. l. i. c. 194. ^o PLIN. l. v. c. 29. ^p STRABO,

l. xiv. p. 444. ^q SPON, LE BRUYN, TOURNEFORT, voyage au Levant, &c.

(B) A modern traveller (2) covered in the same place, with this inscription, Marcus Fabius, the son of Marcus Fabius, of the Galerian family, surnamed Junius, one-and-twenty years old. Upon opening the urn they discovered the bodies, both of the father and son, lying together in their armour, which was still intire.

(2) Le Bruyn voyage au Levant, &c.

city,

city, as it was most conveniently situated for trade, became, *One of the* in a short time, one of the most populous and wealthy of all *most weal-* *Asia*, as is plain from several inscriptions, in which it is stiled *thy cities* *The metropolis, The first and chief city of Asia, The ornament of* *in Asia.* Ionia, &c.^r But nothing can give us a greater idea of the magnificence of antient *Smyrna*, than the description of it we read in *Strabo* : “ It is at present (says he) the finest city in “ *Asia*. One part of it is built on an hill ; but the finest edi- “ fices stand on a plain, not far from the sea, over-against the “ temple of *Cybele*. The streets are the most beautiful that “ can be, strait, wide, and paved with fine stone. It has many “ stately buildings, magnificent porticoes, majestic temples, “ a public library, and a convenient harbour, which may be “ shut up at pleasure.” There are still to be seen many vestiges of the antient grandeur of *Smyrna*, namely of a marble theatre, which was reckoned the finest in *Asia*, of a circus, of baths, temples, &c. for the description of which we refer our readers to *Le Bruyn*, *Tournefort*, *Spon*, and other modern travellers. Neither the circus, nor the theatre, were built, it seems, in *Strabo*’s time, else he would have mentioned them among the other edifices that embellished the city. The walls of *Smyrna* were washed by the *Meles*, a river of great note in *The river* the republic of letters ; for *Homer* is said to have been born near *Meles*. its banks : whence, as the name of his father was unknown, he was called *Melesigena*. Some writers add^t, that he composed his inimitable poem in a cave near the spring of this river (C).

UNDER the Roman emperors, the city of *Smyrna* was at *Smyrna* the height of its grandeur, and ever courted by them, as it *greatly at-* was the finest harbour in *Asia*, and distinguished with titles, *tached to,* exemptions, and privileges, above all the cities of *Asia*, *Ephe-* and *fa-* *sus* alone excepted. *Tiberius* shewed, on all occasions, a great *voured by,* esteem for the *Smyrnæans* ; and *Marcus Aurelius* rebuilt their *the Ro-* city, after it had been almost ruined by an earthquake ; and *mans.* the succeeding emperors heaped such favours on them, as raised no small jealousy among the other *Greeks* of *Asia*. The *Smyrnæans*, on the other hand, continued ever faithful to the *Romans*, and are said to have been the first in *Asia* that ho-

^r Vide marmor. Oxon. apud PRIDEAUX. ^s STRABO, l. xiv. sub init. ^t PAUSAN. Achaic. c. 5.

(C) To this *Statius* alluded more famous than the *Meles* it- (3), when he said, in commend- self, *Graio nobilior Melete Bætis* ; ing *Lucan*, born near the *Bætis*, and *Tibullus* (4), when he stiled that the *Bætis* would be one day *Homer*’s poem *Meletæas chartas*.

(3) Stat. 2. Syl. carm. 7. ver. 34.

(4) Tibull. l. iv. eleg. 1. ver. 200.

noured

noured *Rome*, under the title of *Rome the Goddess*, with a temple, priests, and sacrifices; which they did while *Carthage* was at the highest pitch of its glory, and *Asia*, in great part, possessed by powerful princes, who had not yet experienced the *Roman* valour.

Its present condition.

As to the present city, it is situated on the shore, at the foot of an hill, which commands the port, and may be justly stiled the centre of trade to the *Levant*. Its convenient harbour and situation have saved it from undergoing the same fate which most of the famous cities of *Asia* have suffered. The great city of *Sardis*, so famous in the *Greek* history, of *Pergamus*, the capital of a rich kingdom, of *Ephesus*, the metropolis of all *Asia*, are at present but small villages: *Thyatira*, *Philadelphia*, *Laodicea*, &c. are known only by some ancient inscriptions; whereas *Smyrna*, though often destroyed by earthquakes (D), is still one of the richest and most populous cities in the east, being resorted to by all the trading nations of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*. They reckon in the city fifteen thousand *Turks*, ten thousand *Greeks*, eighteen hundred *Jews*, two hundred *Armenians*, and as many *Franks*. Its territory is very fertile and pleasant, abounding chiefly in vines and olive-trees; but the air is not reckoned very wholesome. *Smyrna* was one of the seven churches mentioned in the *Revelations*, and is the only one that still remains in any reputation.

Treacherously seized by the Ionians.

As for the particular history of the *Smyrnæans*; their city at first belonged to the *Æolians*, as we have hinted above; but was taken from them by the *Ionians* in the following manner: A great many of the inhabitants of *Colophon*, an *Ionian* city, being driven out, on account of a sedition they had raised at home, fled to the *Smyrnæans*, who received them with great kindness; which they requited with the utmost ingratitude: for, not long after, while the inhabitants were performing certain religious ceremonies in honour of *Bacchus*, without the walls, they shut the walls, and seized on the city. This alarmed all the *Æolians*, who hastened to the assistance of their countrymen with what forces they could raise; but the *Colophonians* being supported by the other cities of *Ionia*, both parties came to an agreement, whereby it was stipulated, that the *Ionians* should restore to the *Smyrnæans* all their effects; and the *Æolians*, on their part, should quit their claim to the city. The

(D) The *Greeks* of the country count six dreadful earthquakes, which destroyed the greatest part of the town; and they have a

tradition, that it is to be utterly ruined by the seventh, and never after rebuilt (5).

(5) *Le Bruyn, ubi supra,*

Smyr-

Smyrnæans, consenting to these conditions, were distributed among the other eleven *Ionian* cities, and allowed to enjoy the same privileges. The *Colophonians* continued in possession of *Smyrna*; which was thenceforth reckoned among the twelve *Ionian* cities^u. It was afterwards taken by *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*^w, and continued subject to the *Lydians* till the time of *Cyrus*, by whose general *Harpagus* it was brought under the *Persian* yoke, with the other cities of *Ionia*. The *Smyrnæans*, according to the character *Aristides* gives them^x, followed their pleasures, and lived in great luxury; but, what seldom happens, were at the same time ready to exert themselves, when called upon, and behaved with great gallantry (E).

CLAZOMENÆ, now *Vourla*, as is commonly believed, was one of the twelve *Ionian* cities, and of great note in the flourishing times of *Greece*. The antient city, as *Pausanias*^y informs us, stood on the continent, and was by the *Ionians* fortified at a vast expence, in order to put a stop to the *Persian* conquests. But the inhabitants were so terrified after the defeat of *Cræsus*, and surrender of *Sardis*, that they abandoned the city on the continent, and withdrew, with all their effects, to one of the neighbouring islands, where they built the city of *Clazomenæ*, so often mentioned in the *Roman* history. *Alexander* joined it to the continent by a causeway two hundred and fifty paces long^z: whence *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and most of the antient geographers, count it among the cities on the continent. The *Romans* always treated the inhabitants with great kindness, knowing of what importance their city was for carrying on their conquests in *Asia*; for they not only declared them a free people, but moreover put them in possession of the island of *Drymusa*, and often quarrelled with the princes of *Asia* on their account^a. *Augustus* repaired and embellished their city with many stately buildings; whence, on some medals, he is stiled the founder of *Clazomenæ* (F), though this city was, without all doubt, founded by the *Ionians*, and, from the very

^u HERODOT. l. i. c. 150. ^w Idem ibid. c. 16. ^x ARISTID. in *Smyrnæ* encomio. ^y PAUSAN. Achaic. c. 3. ^z Idem ibid. ^a LIV. l. xxxviii. c. 39.

(E) This gave rise to the proverb *Σμυρναῖοι καὶ τρεῖς*, mentioned by *Aristides*, and applied to such as live luxuriously, but, at the same time, are brave and courageous.

of *Augustus*, and the inscription, *Founder of Clazomenæ*. Another is to be seen in the *French* king's cabinet, with the head of *Augustus*, and, on the reverse, ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ, the goddess *Livia*; round the head of *Augustus* is wrote, ΚΛΑΖΟΜ.

(F) Mr. *Tournefort* makes mention of a medal in the king of *Prussia's* cabinet, with the head

beginning,

beginning, one of the *Ionian* confederacy. Some antiquaries take *Clazomenæ* for the antient city of *Grynium*, which gave the epithet of *Grynæus* to *Apollo*; for there was in antient times a famous temple of *Apollo* in the neighbourhood of *Clazomenæ*; *Cybele* likewise was one of their chief deities, and also *Diana*, as we gather from several antient medals and inscriptions. The *Clazomenians* held out against the *Lydians*, after most of the other cities of *Ionia* were reduced by *Alyattes*, who besieged, but could not master, *Clazomenæ*^a. The *Persians* got possession of it in the time of *Darius Hystaspis*^b, and thought it of such consequence, that they could not be induced to part with it at the famous peace of *Antalcidas*. *Alexander* reinstated them in their antient liberty and privileges; which were rather enlarged than diminished by the *Romans*, whom they assisted on all occasions with great fidelity.

Erythræ.

ERYTHRÆ, one of the twelve *Ionian* cities, is placed by some on the shore over-against the island of *Chios*, but, by *Strabo*^c, on the peninsula at the foot of mount *Mimas*, over-against the islands called by the antients *Hippi*. *Erythræ* was the seat of *Herophile*, one of the *Sybil*s, thence called the *Erythrean*^d. It had a spacious harbour called *Cyffus*, and a temple of *Hercules*, which was reckoned one of the most stately edifices of all *Asia*. *Erythræ* sided on all occasions with the *Romans*, who rewarded their fidelity with ample privileges, and considerably enlarged their territory^e.

Teos.

TEOS, situated on the south side of the *Ionian* peninsula, was likewise one of the twelve cities. *Anacreon* was born here, and also *Hecateus* the historian. The inhabitants, abandoning, in *Anacreon*'s time, their native country, where they were grievously oppressed by the *Persians*, retired to *Thrace*, and settled in the city of *Abdera*^f, which *Timesius* of *Clazomenæ* had founded (F). They were the only people among the *Ionians*, as *Herodotus* observes^g, who preferred banishment to slavery, and are therefore greatly commended by that writer. Some of them returned afterwards to their antient

^a HERODOT. l. i. c. 16.

^b Idem, l. v. c. 123.

^c STRA-

BO, l. xiv. p. 443.

^d PAUSAN. in Phoc. c. 12.

^e LIV.

l. xxxv. c. 39.

^f STRABO, l. xiv. p. 443.

^g HERODOT.

l. i. c. 168.

(F) And hence the saying, Ἀβδερὰ καλὴ Τηϊῶν ἀποικία, *Abdera, a fine colony of the Teians*, signifying, that brave men will choose to live any-where rather than suffer oppression and servitude (6). To this saying some think *Tully* alludes, in his epistles to *Atticus* (7).

(6) Vide Eras. chiljad.

(7) Cic. ad Attic. l. vii. § iv.

habitation, for in the *Roman* times the city of *Teos* was of some note, and well peopled ^f. *Augustus*, in several medals, is called the founder, which title he may have deserved, by repairing and adorning that, as he did most other cities of *Asia*. *Pliny* ^g counts *Teos* among the islands, wherein he is contradicted by all the antient geographers. The small towns of *Eræ* and *Myonnesus*, between *Teos* and *Lebedus*, were formerly subject to the *Teians*, who enjoyed a large territory extending from their city to the neighbourhood of *Lebedus*.

LEBEDUS, counted by *Mela*, *Strabo*, and *Herodotus*, among *Lebedus*. the twelve *Ionian* cities, stood on the isthmus of the *Ionian* peninsula, over-against *Smyrna*, and was famous in antient times for the sports that were there yearly performed in honour of *Bacchus*. *Lyfimachus* utterly ruined the city, and transferred the inhabitants to *Ephesus* ^h. Upon his death, they left *Ephesus*, and rebuilt *Lebedus*; which, however, never afterwards made any figure, being a village rather than a city ⁱ.

COLOPHON, now *Altobosco*, or, as others will have it, *Bel-Colophon vedere*, was one of the chief cities of the *Ionian* league, seated on the coast, and not an inland city, as *Pliny* ^k calls it. It was destroyed by *Lyfimachus*, and the inhabitants sent to people *Ephesus*; but, after his death, rebuilt in a more convenient situation. The *Colophians* were so skilled in horsemanship, that those they sided with were always sure of the victory; which gave rise to the trite proverb ^l (G). *Colophon* was the birth-place of *Nicander*, and one of the seven cities that claimed *Homer*, who lived there some time, as *Herodotus* informs us in the life of that great poet ^m. The antients mention a famous grove and temple of *Apollo Clarius* in the neighbourhood of this city ⁿ. Whence that deity borrowed the epithet of *Clarius* is uncertain, some pretending, that his temple stood in a small town near *Colophon*, called *Claros*; and others maintaining, that he was so called from a mountain bearing that name. The small town of *Notium*, on the same coast, often mentioned by *Livy*, belonged to the *Colophonians*, and was by the *Romans* allowed to enjoy the same privileges as *Colophon* itself ^o.

^f LIV. l. xxxvii. c. 27. ^g PLIN. l. v. c. 31. ^h PAUSAN. Attic. c. 9. ⁱ Vide HORATIUM, l. i. epist. 11. ^k PLIN. l. v. c. 29. ^l STRABO, l. xiv. p. 442. ^m HERODOT. vita Homeri, c. 8. ⁿ PLIN. l. v. c. 29. STRAB. l. xiv. p. 442. ^o LIV. l. xxxviii. c. 39.

(G) Τὸν κολοφῶνα ἐπέθηκε, the last hand to a work, to end it *Colophonem addere*; that is, to put with success.

Ephesus.

EPHESUS, called by the present inhabitants *Aiasaloue*, was, in former times, the metropolis of all *Asia*. *Stephanus* gives it the title of *Epiphanestate*, or *most illustrious*. *Pliny* styles it the ornament of *Asia*; and *Strabo* the greatest and most frequented emporium of that continent. How different was the antient *Ephesus* from the modern, which is but a sorry village, inhabited by thirty or forty *Greek* families, who are not capable, as *Spon* observes, to understand the epistle *St. Paul* wrote to them! The antient city stood about fifty miles south of *Smyrna*, near the mouth of the river *Cayster*, and the shore of the *Icarian* sea, which is a bay of the *Ægean*; but, as it has been so often destroyed and rebuilt, it is no easy matter to determine the precise place. Most of our modern travellers are of opinion, that the antient city stood more to the south than the present; which they argue from the ruins that still remain. *Ephesus* was, in antient times, known by the names of *Alopes*, *Ortygia*, *Morges*, *Smyrna*, *Trachæa*, *Samornion*, and *Ptela* ^p. It was called *Ephesus*, according to *Heraclides* ^q, from the *Greek* word *ephesus*, signifying *permission*; because *Hercules*, says he, permitted the *Amazons* to live and build a city in that place. Others tell us, that *Ephesus* was the name of the *Amazon* that founded the city; for *Pliny* ^r, *Justin* ^s, and *Orosius* ^t, unanimously affirm, that it was built by an *Amazon*; while others bestow this honour upon *Androclus* the son of *Codrus* king of *Athens*, who was the chief of the *Ionians* that settled in *Asia*. But, in matters of so early a date, it is impossible to come at the truth, and therefore not worth our while to dwell on such fruitless inquiries. What we know for certain is, that the city, which, in the *Roman* times, was the metropolis of all *Asia*, acknowledged *Lyfimachus* for its founder; for that prince, having caused the antient city to be intirely demolished, rebuilt, at a vast expence, a new one, in a place more convenient, and nearer the temple. *Strabo* tells us, that, as the inhabitants shewed a great reluctance to quit their antient habitations, *Lyfimachus* caused all the drains that conveyed the water into the neighbouring fens and the *Cayster*, to be privately stopt up; whereby the city being on the first violent rains in great part laid under water, and many of the inhabitants drowned, they were glad to abandon the antient, and retire to the new city. This new *Ephesus* was greatly damaged by an earthquake in the reign of *Tiberius*, but by that emperor repaired and adorned with several stately buildings, of which there are now but few ruins to be seen, and scarce any thing worthy of antient *Ephesus*. The aque-

Its vari-
ous names.

*Lyfima-
chus builds
a new
Ephesus.*

^p PLIN. l. v. c. 29.
supra.

^s JUSTIN. l. ii.

^q HERACLID. de polit.

^t OROSIUS, l. i. c. 15.

^r PLIN. lib.

duct, part of which is still standing, is generally believed to have been the work of the *Greek* emperors; the pillars, which support the arches, are of fine marble, and higher or lower as the level of the water required. This aqueduct served to convey water into the city from the spring of *Halitee*, mentioned by *Pausanias*. The gate, now called by the inhabitants, for what reason we know not, the gate of persecution, is remarkable for three bas-reliefs on the mould, of an exquisite taste. The port, of which so many medals have been struck, is at present but an open road, and not much frequented. The *Cayster* was formerly navigable, and afforded a safe place for ships to ride in, but is now almost choaked up with sand.

BUT the chief ornament of *Ephesus* was the so much celebrated temple of *Diana*, built at the common charge of all the states in *Asia*, and, for its structure, size, and furniture, accounted among the wonders of the world. This great edifice was situate at the foot of a mountain, and at the head of a marsh; which place they chose, if we believe *Pliny*, as less subject to earthquakes. This doubled the charges; for they were obliged to be at a vast expence in making drains to convey the water that came down the hill, into the morasses, and the *Cayster*. *Philo Byzantius* tells us, that, in this work, they used such a quantity of stone, as almost emptied all the quarries in the country; and these drains or vaults are what the present inhabitants take for a labyrinth. To secure the foundation of the conduits or sewers, which were to bear a building of such a prodigious weight, they laid beds of charcoal, says *Pliny*, well rammed, and upon them others of wool. Two hundred and twenty years, *Pliny* says four hundred ^{P.}, were spent in building this wonderful temple by all *Asia*. It was four hundred and twenty-five feet in length, and two hundred in breadth, supported by an hundred and twenty-seven marble pillars seventy feet high, of which twenty-seven were most curiously carved, and the rest polished. These pillars were the works of so many kings, and the bas-reliefs of one were done by *Scopas* the most famous sculptor of antiquity; the altar was almost wholly the work of *Praxiteles*. *Cheirromocrates*, who built the city of *Alexandria*, and offered to form mount *Athos* into a statue of *Alexander*, was the architect employed on this occasion. The temple enjoyed the privilege of an asylum, which at first extended to a furlong, was afterwards enlarged by *Mithridates* to a bow-shot, and doubled by *Marc Antony*, so that it took in part of the city: but *Tiberius*, to put a stop to the many abuses and disorders that attend privileges of this kind, re-

The temple of
Diana.

voked them all, and declared, that no man, guilty of any wicked or dishonest action, should escape justice, though he fled to the altar itself (H). A great many medals are to be seen with the heads of divers emperors, and, on the reverse, the temple, with a frontispiece of two, four, six, and even of eight pillars.

Priests of
Diana.

THE priests, who officiated in this temple, were had in great esteem, and trusted with the care of sacred virgins or priestesses, but not till they were made eunuchs. They were called *Estiatores* and *Essenæ*, had a particular diet, and were not allowed by their constitutions to go into any private house. They were maintained with the profits accruing from the lake *Selinusius*, and another that fell into it, which must have been very considerable, since they erected a golden statue to one *Artemidorus*, who, being sent to *Rome*, recovered them, after they had been seized by the farmers of the public revenues ^q. All the *Ionians* resorted yearly to *Ephesus* with their wives and children, where they solemnized the festival of *Diana* with great pomp and magnificence ^r, making, on that occasion, rich offerings to the goddess, and not forgetting her priests. The *Asiarchæ*, mentioned by St. *Luke* ^s, were, according to *Beza* ^t, those priests whose peculiar province it was to regulate the public sports that were annually performed at *Ephesus* in honour of *Diana*; they were maintained with the gatherings that were made during the sports; for all *Asia* flocked to see them. The great *Diana of the Ephesians*, as she was styled by her blind adorers ^u, was, according to *Pliny* ^w, a small statue of ebony, made by one *Canitia*, though commonly believed to have been sent down from heaven by *Jupiter*. This statue was at first placed in a niche, which, as we are told, the *Amazons* caused to be made in the trunk of an elm. Such was the first rise of the veneration that was paid to *Diana* in this place (I).

Diana of
the Ephe-
sians.

THE

^q STRAB. ubi supra. ^r THUCYD. l. iii. ^s LUKE, Acts xvi. ^t Annotat. ad Acta. ^u Acts xix. 17, 18. ^w PLIN. l. xix. c. 4.

(H) Pope *Pius II.* in relating this, observes, that the many sanctuaries of *Rome* open to ruffians, and all offenders without distinction, have changed that city, otherwise quiet, into a den of thieves (6). Thus he wrote before he was raised to the papal chair; but that dignity inspired him, it seems, with different sentiments; for he was the whole time of his pontificate a most strenuous assertor of what they call the *ecclesiastical immunity*. (I) In process of time the veneration for the goddess daily in-

(6) *Pius secundus in Asia.*

creasing

THE Ionians first settled at *Ephesus* under the conduct of *Gyges*, *Androclus*, who drove out the *Carians* and *Leleges*, by whom ~~that~~ those places were possessed at his arrival. The city, whether built by him, as *Strabo* affirms, or by one *Cræsus* or *Ephesus*, long before the *Ionic* migration, as others maintain, became soon the metropolis of *Ionia*. It was at first governed by *Androclus*, and his descendants, who assumed the royal title, and exercised the regal authority over the new colony: whence, even in *Strabo's* time, the posterity of *Androclus* were stiled kings, and allowed to wear a scarlet robe, with a sceptre, and all the ensigns of the royal dignity. In process of time, a new form of government was introduced, and a senate established; but when, or on what occasion, this change happened, we know not. This kind of government continued till the time

creasing among the inhabitants of *Asia*, a most stately and magnificent temple was built near the place where the elm stood, and the statue of the goddess placed in it. This was the first temple, but not quite so sumptuous as that which we have described, though reckoned, as well as the second, among the wonders of the world. The second was still remaining in *Pliny's* time, and in *Strabo's*; and is supposed to have been destroyed in the reign of *Constantine*, pursuant to the edict by which that emperor commanded all the temples of the heathens to be thrown down and demolished: the former was burnt the same day that *Alexander* was born, by one *Erostratus*, who owned on the rack, that the only thing which had prompted him to destroy so excellent a work, was the desire of transmitting his name to future ages. Whereupon the common council of *Asia* made a decree, forbidding any one to name him; but this prohibition served only to make his name more memorable, such a remarkable extravagance, or rather madness, be-

ing taken notice of by all the historians who have written of those times. *Alexander* offered to rebuild the temple at his own expence, provided the *Ephesians* would agree to put his name on the front; but they rejected his offer in such a manner as was no way taken amiss by that vain prince, telling him, that *it was not fit one god should build a temple to another*.* The pillars and other materials that had been saved out of the flames, were sold, and also the jewels of the *Ephesian* women, who, on that occasion, willingly partly with them; and the sum raised from thence served for the carrying on of the work till other contributions came in, which, in a short time, amounted to an immense treasure. And this is the temple which *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and other *Roman* writers, speak of. It stood between the city and the port, and was built, or rather finished, as *Livy* † tells us, in the reign of king *Servius*. Of this wonderful structure there is nothing at present remaining but some ruins, and a few broken pillars.

(*) *Strabo, ubi supra.*

(†) *Liv. l. i. c. 45.*

Tyrants of *Ephesus*. of *Pythagoras*, who lived before *Cyrus the Great*, and was one of the most cruel and inhuman tyrants we read of in history ; for, having driven out the senate, and taken all the power into his own hands, he filled the city with blood and rapines, not sparing even those who fled to the temple of *Diana* for shelter ^z. *Pythagoras* was succeeded by *Pindarus*, who bore the same sway in the city ; but treated the citizens with more humanity. In his time *Ephesus* being besieged by *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, he advised the inhabitants to devote their city to *Diana*, and fasten the wall, by a rope, to the pillars of her temple. They followed his advice, and were, in regard of the goddess, not only treated with great kindness by *Cræsus*, but restored to their former liberty ^a. *Pindarus*, being obliged to resign his power, retired to *Peloponnesus*. He was, according to *Ælian* ^b, grandson to *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, and *Cræsus*'s nephew. The other tyrants of *Ephesus* mentioned in history are *Athenagoras*, *Comas*, *Aristarchus*, and *Hegesias* ; of which the last was driven out by *Alexander*, who, coming to *Ephesus*, after having defeated the *Persians* on the banks of the *Granicus*, bestowed upon *Diana* all the tributes which the *Ephesians* had paid to the *Persians*, and established a democracy in the city. In the war between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*, they sided with the former, and, by his direction, massacred all the *Romans* that resided in their city ; for which they were severely fined, and reduced almost to beggary, by *Sylla*, but afterwards treated kindly, and suffered to live according to their own laws, as is plain from several antient inscriptions and medals (I). The *Ephesians* were mightily given to superstition, forcery, and curious arts, as the Scripture styles them ^c ; whence came the proverb *Ephesian letters*, signifying all sorts of spells or charms (K).

PRIENE

^z SUIDAS.^a HERODOT. l. i. c. 26. POLYÆN. l. vii. Æ-

LIAN. var. hist. l. iii. c. 26.

^b ÆLIAN. ubi supra.

xix. 19.

^c ACTS

(I) Among others, we find even imprint on their feet, and one of *Vespasian*, with this remarkable inscription: ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΤΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ. other parts of their bodies. To this purpose *Suidas* tells us, that a famous wrestler of *Miletus* having for a long time struggled with an *Ephesian*, without being able to conquer him, observed at last, that his adversary, who had already got the better of thirty robust and expert wrestlers,

(K) By the *Ephesian letters* were meant certain obscure words, and incoherent sentences, which superstitious bigots used to write on their girdles, and

was

PRIENE was one of the antient cities of *Ionia*, and the Priene birth-place of *Bias*, one of the seven wise men. *Ptolemy* places it at a great distance from the sea; but all other geographers count it among the maritime towns of *Ionia*.

MILETUS, now *Palataschia*, was formerly a city of great Miletus note, being stiled, by *Pliny*^d and *Pomponius Mela*^e, the first city and metropolis of all *Ionia*. The same *Pliny*^f mentions the antient and new *Miletus*: the former he calls *Lelegeis*, *Pithyusa*, and *Anactoria*; and *Strabo* tells us, that it was built by the inhabitants of *Crete*^g. The latter was founded, according to *Strabo*^h, by *Neleus*, the son of *Codrus* king of *Athens*, when he first settled in that part of *Asia*. This great city stood on the south side of the river *Mæander*, near the sea-coast. The inhabitants applied themselves very early to navigation, having founded, according to *Pliny*ⁱ, eighty, according to *Seneca*^k, three hundred and eighty colonies in different parts of the world. The city itself was no less famous for a temple and oracle of *Apollo*, surnamed *Didymæus*, than for the wealth and number of its citizens. This temple was burnt by *Xerxes*; but rebuilt by the *Milesians* to such an immense size, that it was accounted the greatest in the world, being equal in compass, as *Strabo* attests^l, to a village; whence it remained uncovered, but was surrounded with a thick grove, in which the priests dwelt, who served the temple. *Pliny* places this temple and grove at an hundred and fifty-eight furlongs from the city; but *Strabo* says, that it stood near the walls^m. Our modern travellers tell us, that there are still large ruins of the temple to be seen; but that the town is reduced to a few shepherd's cottages. Near *Miletus* stood mount *Latmos*, where the moon, as the poets feigned, made her private visits to *Endymion*. *Thales*, one of the seven wise men of *Greece*, and the first that foretold an eclipse of the sun, was born in this city, and thence surnamed the *Milesian*, to distinguish him from a famous lyric poet bearing the same name.

Several colonies founded by the Milesians. The temple of Apollo Didymæus.

MILETUS was in a most flourishing condition in the time of *Darius Hystaspis*, and accounted the ornament of *Ionia*, as *Herodotus* informs usⁿ, though it had been strangely afflicted with domestic troubles for two generations before, and almost reduced to the last extremities. Their differences were at last

Domestic troubles in Miletus.

^d PLIN. l. v. c. 29.

^e MELA, l. i. c. 17.

^f PLIN. ibid.

^g STRAB. l. xiv. p. 437.

^h Idem, ubi supra.

ⁱ PLIN. ibid.

^k SENECA de consolat. ad Albinam.

^l STRABO, ubi supra.

^m PLIN. & STRABO, ubi supra.

ⁿ HERODOT. l. v. c. 28, 29.

was armed with the *Ephesian* letters; which he was no sooner deprived of, than he fell to the ground, owning himself conquered (9).

(9) *Vid. Erasmi chil.*

How com-
posed by
the Pa-
rians.

They
maintain
a long
war a-
gainst the
kings of
Lydia.

Miletus
ruined by
the Per-
sians.

composed, as the same writer informs us ^o, by the *Parians*, whom they had chosen from among all the *Greeks* for that purpose. These, arriving at *Miletus*, and observing that the fields round the city lay, in great part, uncultivated, told the *Milesians*, that they designed to survey their whole country; which they did accordingly, writing down the name of the owner, where-ever they saw, in that desolate country, any portion of land well cultivated. After they had thus viewed the whole territory, and found but a very small part of it well kept, they returned to the city; and, having called an assembly, put the government into the hands of those, whose lands they had found in good condition, not doubting but they would administer the public affairs with the same care which they had taken of their own. They strictly enjoined the rest of the *Milesians*, who, till that time, had been rent into parties and factions, to obey the magistrates they had appointed; and, in this manner, reformed the state of the city ^p, which thenceforth daily increased in wealth and power.

In the time of *Psammiticus* king of *Egypt*, a colony of *Milesians* settled in that country, and built a wall, as *Strabo* tells us, called by the *Egyptians* the *Milesian wall* ^q. We may judge of the wealth, power, and flourishing condition of *Miletus* in those days, from the long and expensive war which they maintained against *Gyges*, *Ardayes*, *Sadyattes*, and *Alyattes*, kings of *Lydia*, without being assisted by any of the *Ionians*, except the *Chians*, whom they had supported against the *Erythraeans*. In what manner this war was carried on, and how *Alyattes* was at last obliged to sue for peace, we have already related in the history of *Lydia* ^r. After the defeat of *Cræsus*, and taking of *Sardis*, all the *Ionians* sent embassadors to *Cyrus*, offering to submit to him on the same terms which had been granted them by *Cræsus*; but that prince, rejecting the proposals of the others, admitted the *Milesians* alone on the terms of their former agreement with the *Lydians*. By this indulgence of *Cyrus*, *Miletus* flourished above all the cities of *Ionia*, till it fell into the hands of *Hystians* and *Aristagoras*, who brought ruin not only on their own country, but on all *Ionia*; for *Miletus* was besieged, taken, and laid in ashes, by the *Persians*, whom they had provoked, and the inhabitants transferred first to *Susa*, and then to *Ampæ*, a city on the *Red sea*, not far from the mouth of the *Tigris*. The *Athenians* were so grieved at their misfortune, that they mourned and shed tears when they first heard it, in the same manner as if the like calamity had happened to *Athens* itself; and, some time after,

^o HERODOT. .v. c. 28, 29.
l. xvii. p. 551

^p Idem, *ibid.*

^q Vol. vi. p. 118.

^r STRABO,

one *Phrynicus*, a dramatic poet, having written a tragedy on the destruction of *Miletus*, the whole theatre burst out into tears when it was exhibited; and the magistrate fined the author in a thousand drachmas, for renewing the memory of a misfortune, which they looked upon as their own; ordering, at the same time, that the piece should never more be acted^s.

THE *Persians*, having thus utterly ruined *Miletus*, and transplanted the inhabitants, reserved for themselves the lands about the town, and level country; but bestowed the hilly and less fruitful parts on the *Carians* of *Pedieis*. This misfortune befel *Miletus* six years after the revolt of *Aristagoras*, in the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*; and had been long before foretold, if we believe *Herodotus*, by the oracle of *Apollo Didymæus* (L). However, the *Milesians* were suffered afterwards to return, and rebuild their city; which they did in a different place from that of the former, as we conjecture from the prediction of *Thales*, related by *Plutarch*^t; for that philosopher desired his body might be buried in an abandoned and solitary place, at some distance from the city; saying, that it would one day become the market-place of the *Milesians*. The inhabitants never afterwards recovered their former power; for we find them, eight years before the *Peloponnesian* war, contending with the *Samians* for the sovereignty of *Priene*, and obliged to call in the *Athenians* to their assistance: for which piece of service they sided with them in the *Peloponnesian* war, till they were persuaded by *Alcibiades*, then in banishment, to join the *Lacedæmonians*^u.

IN the time of *Cyrus* the younger, they attempted to shake off the *Persian* yoke, and join that prince against his brother *Artaxerxes*; but *Tissaphernes*, governor of that province, hav-

^s HERODOT. l. vi. c. 18, & 21. ^t PLUTARCH. in Solon.
^u THUCYD. l. i. iv. viii.

(L) That author tells us (10), that the *Argians* having consulted the oracle touching the fate of their city, received a double answer, partly concerning themselves, and partly the *Milesians*. The answer relating to the *Milesians* was uttered in the following terms: " *Miletus*, source of evils, thy stores and wealth shall serve to feast and enrich a multitude; men with long hair shall sit, and have their feet washed by thy virgins: *Didyma* shall see her altars transferred to another place." What the oracle is said to have foretold, was fulfilled; for the greater part of the men were put to the sword by the *Persians*, who wore long hair; the women and children were made slaves; and the temple in *Didyma*, with the grove and oracle, reduced to ashes.

(10) *Herodot. ubi supra.*

Are reduced by the Persians to a state of slavery; but treated kindly by Alexander and the Romans. ing timely notice of their design, put some of the chief conspirators to death, banished others, and reduced the city to a miserable state of slavery. At the famous peace of *Antalcidas*, it was given up to the *Persians*, and remained subject to them till the time of *Alexander*, who restored them to their antient liberty; notwithstanding they had shut their gates against him, and did not submit till reduced to the last extremities ^w. By the *Romans* they were treated very kindly, and suffered to enjoy their freedom, especially under the emperors.

Tyrants of Miletus. THE *Milesians*, like the other states of *Ionia*, when free from a foreign yoke, were often reduced to a miserable state of slavery by tyrants of their own, who governed them with an arbitrary sway, and made them feel all the evils of a foreign subjection. The first, who usurped this power over their fellow-citizens, were *Thoas* and *Damascenor*, who, as *Plutarch* informs us ^x, filled the city with blood and slaughter, and spared none, but such as submitted to their usurped authority. These being destroyed, or driven out, *Thrasybulus* seized the sovereignty, which he maintained to his death. In his time, and by his means, an end was put to the war, which had been, for many years, carried on between the *Lydians* and *Milesians*, as we have related at length in the history of *Lydia* ^y. He was so famous for his prudence in the administration of public affairs, that most of the petty tyrants of *Greece* courted his friendship, and governed themselves, in their unjust usurpations, by his advice. Among these, *Periander*, tyrant of *Corinth*, is said to have dispatched a messenger to him, to inquire what methods he had pursued in so settling his authority among the *Milesians*, that none of the citizens entertained any thoughts of shaking off the yoke, which he had imposed upon them. *Thrasybulus*, unwilling to send an answer, either in writing or by word of mouth, took the slave into a corn-field, and there, as it were by way of amusement, struck off all the ears of corn that overtopped the rest. Then he sent back the messenger without any answer. *Periander* understood the hint; put all those to death, whose overgrown power gave him any umbrage; and thereby enjoyed, without disturbance, the authority he had usurped ^z. Upon the death of *Thrasybulus*, several other tyrants rose up, mentioned by *Herodotus* ^a, *Plutarch* ^b, and other writers ^c. Among these, the most famous in history are *Hystiaeus* and *Aristagoras*, who, in attempting to shake off

^w STRAB. l. xiv. & PLUT. in Alexandro. ^x PLUTAR. in Ptolem. ^y Vol. vi. p. 118. ^z ARISTOT. polit. l. iii. c. 10. ^a HEROD. l. iv. v. vi. ^b PLUT. in sympoſ. ^c POLYÆN. l. i. TZETZES chiliad. 3, & 9. PROBUS in Miltiad.

the yoke of the *Persian* kings, by whom they were supported, brought utter destruction upon all the *Greek* colonies in *Asia*, as we have related at length in the history of *Persia* ^d. In the time of *Antiochus* II. king of *Syria*, we read of one *Timarchus* reigning in *Miletus*, and practising great cruelties on the citizens, till he was driven out by that prince, who was, on that account, honoured by the *Milesians* with the surname of *Theos* or *God* ^e. *Miletus* gave birth to the celebrated philosophers *Anaximander*, *Anaximenes*, and *Thales*. The islands of *Chios* and *Samos* were likewise inhabited by the *Ionians*, and belonged to their confederacy. But we shall have occasion to speak of them in the following section, containing the history of the *Greek* islands.

ÆOLIS, so called from the *Æolians*, who settled in this part ^{Descrip-} of *Asia*, extended, according to *Strabo* ^f, from the promontory ^{tion of} *Leclus* to the river *Hermus*, and contained the following cities; *Æolis*. *Cyme*, *Larissa*, *Neontichus*, *Tenus*, *Cylla*, *Notium*, *Ægiroessa*, *Pitane*, *Ægæa*, *Myrina*, and, in more antient times, *Smyrna*, which, as we have related above, was taken from the *Æolians* by the *Ionians*. These are the eleven antient cities of *Æolis* mentioned by *Herodotus* ^g. *Cyme* stood on the sea-coast, and ^{Cities in} was the last of the maritime cities of *Æolis* towards *Ionia*. *Æolis*. *Larissa* belongs properly to *Troas*, and is placed by *Strabo* ^h between *Achæum* and *Colonnæ*. In former times, *Æolis* comprehended all *Troas*, and extended, along the coast, from *Ionia* to the *Propontis*. *Neontichus*, or *Neon-Tichos*, is mentioned by *Thucydides* ⁱ as situate in the country of the *Apodoti*, who were a peculiar tribe of *Æolians*, inhabiting the sea-coast ^k. *Tenus*, called also *Temnos*, is placed by *Pliny* at the mouth of the *Hermus*; but, by all other geographers, in the inland parts of *Æolis*. *Cylla* was a colony of the *Æolians*, on the sea-coast of *Mysia*. *Notium* stood on the sea-side, about two miles from *Cilophon* ^l, and was, in after-ages, subject to the *Colophonians*. Authors do not agree about the precise situation of *Ægiroessa*, some placing it on the coast, and others at a great distance from the sea. *Pitane* was a considerable town, not far from the mouth of the river *Caicus*. The inhabitants of this city are said to have had the art of making bricks that floated, like wood, upon the water. *Ægæa*, or *Ægæ*, bordered on the territory of *Cyme*, and is counted, by *Strabo* ⁿ, among the mediterranean cities of *Æolis*. *Myrina*, the most antient city of all *Æolis*, stood on the coast, and had a very

^d Vol. v. p. 211, & seqq. ^e APPIAN. in Syriac. Prolog. in Trogum, l. xxvi. ^f STRABO, l. xiii. p. 423. ^g HERODOT. l. i. c. 149. ^h STRABO, l. xiii. & seqq. ⁱ THUCYD. l. viii. ^k Idem, l. iii. ^l LIV. l. xxxvii. ⁿ STRAB. ubi supra, p. 427.

safe and capacious harbour. It was, in after-ages, called *Sebastopolis*, in honour of *Augustus*. To these *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Pomponius Mela*, add *Grynium* and *Elæa*. The former was about forty furlongs distant from *Myrina*, and famous for a temple and grove consecrated to *Apollo*; whence the surname of *Grynæus* is often given by the poets to that deity^o. The latter, which was the port of *Pergamus*, and the birth-place of *Zeno* the philosopher, stood near the mouth of the *Caicus* P. *Cyme*, or, as others write it, *Cuma*, was the metropolis of all *Æolis*.

Doris.

Cities in
Doris.

DORIS, properly so called, was that large promontory of *Caria*, which runs into the sea over-against the island of *Telos*. The chief cities of *Doris* were; *Halicarnassus*, formerly the capital of *Caria*, and famous for the *mausoleum*, or tomb, built by queen *Artemisia*, in honour of her husband *Mausolus*, which was of so noble a structure, that the antients looked upon it as one of the wonders of the world. This city gave birth to the two celebrated historians *Herodotus* and *Dionysius*, and to the poets *Heraclitus* and *Callimachus*. It stood between the *Ceramic* and *Iasian* bays, and was reckoned one of the strongest cities of *Asia* 9. It is now an heap of ruins, and known by the name of *Nesi*. *Cnidus* stood on the sea called *Triopium*, having on the north the *Ceramic*, or, as others call it, the *Ceraunian* bay, and, on the south, the *Rhodian* sea. This city was formerly famous for the *Venus* of *Praxiteles*; and, as *Venus* was the tutelar goddess of the place, she is thence often stiled by the poets, the *Cnidian* goddess^r. *Lindus*, *Ialysus*, and *Camirus*, were likewise cities of the *Dorians*, as *Herodotus* informs us^s; but we find nothing relating to them worth mentioning.

THAT the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*, who settled in *Asia Minor*, were *Greek* nations, is not to be doubted. Of their origin we have given elsewhere the best account we could^t.

As to their migration, it is said by all chronologers, except *Eusebius*, and his followers, to have happened an hundred and forty years after the taking of *Troy*, and sixty after the return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*; that is, about seven hundred and ninety-four before the christian æra. The *Æolic* migration preceded the *Ionic* about fifty-two years, and that of the *Dorians* was posterior to the *Ionic* near seventy.

^o Vide VIRGIL. eclog. 6. & l. iv. *Æn.* ver. 345. ^r STRABO, l. xiii. ⁹ ARRIAN. l. i. expedit. Alexand. ^s HORAT. l. iii. ode 28. ^t HERODOT. l. i. c. 144. ¹ See vol. vi. p. 138, & seqq. & vol. i. p. 379, 380.

THE *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Dorians*, were at first governed by kings, and divided into many petty kingdoms, the monarchical form of government prevailing, at the time of their migration, all over Greece. Besides, *Herodotus* tells us, in express terms, that some of the *Ionians* chose only *Lycian* kings of the race of *Glaucus*, others such only as were sprung from *Codrus*; and that some indifferently raised to the throne princes of either of these families^u: but the actions and very names of their kings are buried in oblivion. Monarchy gave way to a republican government, which was settled in almost all the Greek cities of *Asia Minor*, each of them being governed by their own laws, and no-way dependent on one another. However, in most of these states some private citizens, without any right to the throne, either by birth or election, endeavoured to advance themselves to it by cabal, treachery, and violence, sacrificing to their own security all those whom merit, rank, and zeal for their liberty, or love of their country, rendered obnoxious to them. It was this cruel and inhuman treatment that rendered these usurpers so odious to the people, and furnished such ample matter for the declamation of orators, and the tragical representations of the theatre.

THE *Ionians*, on their arrival in *Asia*, divided themselves into twelve small states, or cantons, having been thus divided, while they inhabited *Peloponnesus*; as were afterwards the *Achæans*, who drove them out. Of these twelve states consisted the *Ionian* confederacy, so often mentioned by the antients^w. The chief and most powerful city of the whole confederacy was *Miletus*. To those we have already described, *Thucydides* adds the cities of the islands of *Lemnos* and *Imbros*^x, and *Velleius*^y those of *Delos*, *Paros*, *Andros*, *Tenos*; which were all, according to that writer, peopled by the *Ionians*. Some of the cities we have mentioned were built by the *Ionians*; others they possessed themselves of after driving out the antient proprietors. As they brought no women with them out of Greece, they forced those of *Caria* away from their parents, putting to death such of their relations as opposed them: in revenge of which violence and cruelty the *Carian* women bound themselves by an oath, which they transmitted as sacred to their daughters, never to take any repast with their husbands, or call them by their names^z. The *Ionians* being thus established in the most fruitful and pleasant part of all *Asia*, their number soon increased, new adventurers joining them from other countries of Greece: the *Abantes* from *Eubœa*, who had nothing in common with the *Ionians*, were no inconsiderable

The *Ionians*
and divided
ed into
twelve
small
states.

Joined by
several
adventu-
rers from

^u HERODOT. l. i. c. 147.

^w Idem, ibid. c. 143, 145, 246.

Greece.

^x THUCYD. l. vii.

^y VELL. l. ii.

^z HEROD. l. i. c. 146.

part of this colony; the *Mynian Orchomenians*, the *Cadmæans*, *Dryopians*, and *Molossians*, with the *Pelasgians* of *Arcadie*, the *Dorians*, *Epidaurians*, and many others of the several states of *Greece*, were, as *Herodotus* informs us ^a, intermixed with the *Athenians*, who were sent by the *Prytanæan* council.

The Pan-Ionium.

THE latter, who were true and genuine *Ionians*, as deriving their original from *Athens*, built a temple, which from themselves they called the *Pan-Ionium* (N). The privileges of this place they communicated to no other *Ionians*; neither did others, as we read in *Herodotus* ^b, ever desire to be admitted, except the *Smyrnæans*, most of them being ashamed of the name of *Ionians*, that people having soon degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, and given themselves up to all manner of vice. The *Pan-Ionium* was a sacred place on the promontory of *Mysale*, dedicated by the *Ionian* confederacy to *Neptune*, surnamed *Heliconius*. Here the *Ionians* met, to perform solemn exercises in honour of that deity, and to hold their general assemblies. This festival was peculiar to the *Athenian Ionians*; but the *Apaturian* solemnity (O) was common to all those of the *Ionian* name, except the *Ephesians* and *Colophonians*, who were excluded, under pretence of a murder committed in their cities ^c.

The Dorians form themselves into six independent states

THE *Dorians*, on their arrival in *Asia*, formed themselves into six independent states, or small republics, which were confined within the narrow bounds of so many cities; these were *Lindus*, *Ialysus*, *Camirus*, *Cos*, *Cnidus*, and *Halicar-*

^a HEROD. l. i. c. 143, 148. c. 147.

^b Idem, ibid.

^c Idem, ibid.

(N) The temple was called *Pan-Ionium*, from the concourse of people that flocked thither from all the cities of *Ionia*. A festival was kept here by all the *Ionians*, in honour of *Neptune*, surnamed *Heliconius*, from *Helice*, a city of *Achaia*, which afterwards perished by an earthquake. One thing was remarkable in this sacrifice, viz. that if the bull to be offered happened to bellow, it was accounted a good omen, because that sound was thought to be acceptable to *Neptune*.

(O) Of the origin of this festival, and the etymon of its name,

we have spoken elsewhere. Some writers tell us, that the *Apaturian* festival was so called, from the Greek word ἀπαύρεια, because, upon that solemnity, children accompanied their fathers, to have their names entered into the public register. Others are of opinion, that the *Apaturian* festival had its name from the Greek word ἀπαύρες; that is, without fathers, in a civil sense, it not being, till that solemnity, publicly recorded to whom they belonged. The *Apaturia* was celebrated in the month *Pyanepsius*, and lasted three days (14).

(13) See vol. vi. p. 186, 187.

(14) *Athenæus*, l. iv.

nassus. Other cities in that tract, which was from them called *Doris*, belonged to their confederacy; but the inhabitants of these alone, as true and genuine *Dorians*, were admitted into their temple at *Triope*, where they exhibited solemn games in honour of *Apollo Triopius*. The prizes were tripods of brass, which the victors were obliged to consecrate to *Apollo*, and leave in the temple, on an altar of gold. When *Agasicles* of *Halicarnassus* won the prize, he transgressed this custom, and carried the tripod to his own house: wherefore the city of *Halicarnassus* was ever afterwards excluded from the *Dorian* confederacy; so that the *Dorians* were, from that time, known by the name of the five cities ^d.

THE *Æolians* were divided, like the *Ionians* and *Dorians*, into several small states, or cantons, independent of each other, but united in one common confederacy, or league. They possessed, at first, twelve cities; but *Smyrna*, as we have related above, was taken from them by the *Ionians* of *Colophon*: their country was of greater extent than that of the *Ionians*, but far inferior to it in all other respects, *Ionia* being, in the opinion of *Herodotus* ^e, the most fruitful and agreeable region of all *Asia*. The *Dorians*, besides the cities which belonged to them on the continent, possessed five in the island of *Lesbos*, one in *Tenedos*, and another in the hundred islands, which we shall have occasion to speak of in a more proper place. Thus the *Greek* states in *Asia* were governed much after the same manner as those in *Europe*, forming three different confederacies, of which the cities were governed by their own laws, and the three different confederacies by their respective general assemblies, or diets.

THE religion and laws of the *Greek* colonies in *Asia* were much the same with those of *Greece*. Their principal deities were *Ceres*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, and *Neptune*. The *Ionians*, who came from *Athens*, celebrated, every fifth year, the mysteries of *Ceres Eleusina*, which we have already described ^f. The *Milesians* worshiped *Apollo Didymæus* as their tutelary god; whence he was likewise called *Apollo Milesius*. Near the city of *Miletus* was a famous oracle of *Apollo*, called the oracle of *Apollo Didymæus*, and also the oracle of the *Branchidæ*; the former denomination it had from *Apollo*, or the sun, who was surnamed *Didymæus*, as *Macrobius* informs us ^g, from the double light imparted by him to mankind; the one directly from his own body, and the other by reflection from the moon: the latter appellation was given both to the oracle and to *Apollo* himself, who was called *Branchides*, from one *Branchichus*, the reputed son of *Macareus*, but begotten, as was be-

^d HEROD. ib. c. 144. ^e Idem, ib. ^f See above, p. 376, in the notes. ^g ARNOB. l. i.

lieved, by *Apollo* (P). This oracle was, as we are assured by *Herodotus*, very antient, and the best of all the *Grecian* oracles, except that of *Delphi* ^b. In the time of the *Persian* war the temple was burnt down to the ground, being betrayed to the Barbarians by the *branchidæ*, or priests, who had the care of it. *Xerxes*, in requital of their service, allowed them to settle and build a city in a remote part of *Asia*, where they thought themselves out of the reach of their angry countrymen. But, for all this, their treachery did not escape condign punishment; for *Alexander*, having conquered *Darius*, and possessed himself of all *Asia*, utterly demolished their city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, revenging on the children the treachery of their forefathers ⁱ.

Diana

Triclaria. AN annual feast was celebrated by the *Ionians*, in honour of *Diana Triclaria*, to appease whose wrath, for an incest committed in her temple, men and women used to walk barefooted to it. This solemnity was instituted by the *Athenians*, who, till after the *Trojan* war, used annually to sacrifice to the angry goddess a male and a female child.

Trade.

THEIR trade we can only guess at from their situation, which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbouring parts to traffick in their country, as well for their own growth, as for foreign productions. Their country was stocked with many useful commodities, and abounded in all things necessary for life. They had a safe coast, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think, that they carried on a considerable trade. Besides, we know that they were very powerful by sea, maintained great fleets, and planted colonies not

^b HERODOT. l. i. c. 97, 157, & l. v. c. 36. p. 437.

ⁱ STRAB. l. xiv.

(P) *Varro* tells us, that the mother of *Branchus* being with child, dreamed, that the sun entering into her mouth penetrated to her womb; and that from thence the child was called *Branchus*, from *βρόγχος*, the throat, through which the god passed. *Branchus* received, when he grew up, a crown and sceptre from *Apollo*, and began to prophesy; but soon disappeared. Whereupon a magnificent temple was dedicated to him and *Apollo Philesius*, so called from *φιλεῖν*, to kiss, because he was supposed to have imparted the spirit of prophecy to *Branchus*, by a kiss. This temple was burnt by the *Persians*, but afterwards rebuilt with such magnificence, that it surpassed all the other *Greek* temples in bigness, being raised to such a bulk, that they were forced to let it remain uncovered, for it was no less than five furlongs in compass (15).

(15) *Strabo*, l. xiv. p. 437.

only

only in the neighbouring islands, but even in *Gaul*, and beyond the pillars of *Hercules*.

THEY soon degenerated from the valour of their ancestors, *Character* and became a most superstitious, effeminate, and voluptuous people, insomuch that the *Ionians*, in the time of *Herodotus*, were looked upon as quite unfit for any military service ^k. They are said to have been the first who introduced the use of perfumes and garlands at banquets, and also of sweet-meats or desserts^l. *Maximus Tyrius*, speaking of the different affections and inclinations of the various *Greek* nations and colonies, tells us, that the *Crotoniates* loved the *Olympic* sports, the *Spartiates* fine armour, the *Cretans* hunting, the *Sybarites* pompous dress, and the *Ionians* lascivious dances ^m. The *Æolians* and *Dorians*, being planted in a less fruitful country, were not so soon debauched by the soft climate of *Asia*: they were accounted no-way inferior to the *European Greeks*, till they were subdued by the *Persians*; but, having lost their liberty, they gave themselves up to idleness; and, in a short time, became quite unfit for action, and no less effeminate than the other *Asiatics*.

THE *Greek* colonies settled in *Asia* enjoyed their liberties, and lived according to their own laws, from the time of their migration to the reign of *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, to whose superior power they were forced to submit, after having baffled all the attempts of his predecessors ⁿ. They paid him a yearly tribute, furnished him with ships and mariners in time of war, and sent their respective quotas of land-forces, when required; but, at the same time, were free from all oppression, and suffered to enjoy a profound tranquillity under his mild government ^o. This made them oppose *Cyrus* when he first invaded *Lydia*, and reject the advantageous proposals of that prince: but, after the defeat of *Cræsus*, and taking of *Sardis*, they sent ambassadors to the conqueror, offering to submit to him upon the same terms which had been formerly granted to them by *Cræsus*. *Cyrus* having heard them with attention, returned an answer in the following apologue: "A piper, seeing numerous shoals of fish in the sea, and imagining he might entice them ashore by his music, began to play; but, finding his hopes disappointed, he threw a net into the water, and drew a great many of them to the land. When he saw the fish leaping on the ground, since you would not dance, said he, to my pipe before, you may now forbear dancing at all." With this answer the *Greek* ambassadors returned home; and, hav-

Their history.

They submit to Cræsus.

Year of the flood 1786.

Bef. Chr. 562.

Cyrus's answer to their ambassadors.

^k HERODOT. l. i. c. 143.

memorabil.

sophiæ finis.

^l VALER. MAX. l. ii. rerum

^m MAXIMUS TYRIUS in dissert. Quis sit philo-

ⁿ Vol. vi. p. 120.

^o HEROD. l. i. c. 6, & 28.

*Recur to
the Lace-
dæmoni-
ans ;*

*who in-
terpose
with Cy-
rus on
their be-
half.*

*Mazares
charged
with the
reduction
of the
Greek
states in
Asia.*

*Year of
the flood
1804.*

*Bef. Chr.
544.*

*The Pho-
cæans and
Teians
abandon
their coun-
try.*

ing communicated it to their countrymen, they resolved, in a general assembly, to fortify their cities against any sudden attack, and send ambassadors, to solicit succours from the *Lacedæmonians*. *Pythermus*, a *Phocæan*, was sent, in the name of all the *Greeks* in *Asia* ; but the *Spartans* could by no means be prevailed upon to lend them any assistance : however, they dispatched by sea some of their chief men to observe the motions of *Cyrus*, and interpose their good offices with him, in behalf of their countrymen. These, putting in at *Phocæ*, sent *Lacrines*, the most considerable person among them, to *Sardis*, with instructions to acquaint *Cyrus*, that, if he committed any hostilities against the *Grecian* cities, the republic of *Lacedæmon* would resent them as offered to herself. *Cyrus*, hearing them speak in this stile, inquired of the *Greeks* about him, who the *Lacedæmonians* were ; and what number of men they could bring into the field. Being informed of these particulars, he answered the deputy, that he was no-way afraid of a people, who, in the midst of their cities, had a place of public resort, where they met to impose on each other by mutual deceits ; and that, if the gods preserved his life, they should have sufficient cause to be concerned for their own calamities, instead of troubling themselves about those of the *Asiatics*. These words were levelled at the *Greeks* in general, who had in their cities large squares, where they met to trade ; a custom unknown to the *Persians* P.

CYRUS, having dismissed the *Lacedæmonian* ambassador with this answer, left *Sardis* ; and, setting out for *Ecbatan*, charged *Mazares*, one of his lieutenants, with the reduction of *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*. *Mazares*, pursuant to his commission, entering *Ionia*, took and destroyed the city of *Priene*, wasted the fertile plains that were watered by the *Mæander*, and, advancing to *Magnesia*, laid that city likewise in ashes. From *Magnesia* he marched to *Phocæa* ; but, before he made any attempts upon that important place, he fell sick, and died. Upon his death *Harpagus*, being appointed to command the army in *Ionia*, laid close siege to *Phocæa*. The *Phocæans*, detesting slavery, chose rather to abandon their native country than submit to the *Persian* yoke ; and accordingly having put their wives, children, and all their most valuable effects, on board their vessels, they set sail for the island of *Chios*, leaving the *Persians* in possession of an empty city. The example of the *Phocæans* was followed by the *Teians*, who, after *Harpagus* had made himself master of their walls, went on board their ships, and conveyed themselves and their families to *Thrace*, where they settled in the city of *Abdera*, which

had been founded by the *Greeks* of the *Ionian* confederacy, under the conduct of *Timesius*, a native of *Clazomene*.

THE other cities of *Ionia* were all reduced by *Harpagus*, *The other* and likewise the *Dorians*, *Æolians*, and all the inhabitants of *cities of* the upper *Asia*, except the *Milesians*, who, distrusting their *Ionia re-* own strength, and that of the *Ionians*, had made a separate *duced by* peace with *Cyrus*, and, by a timely submission, obtained the *the Per-* same terms which had been formerly granted them by *Cræsus*. *sians.* The rapidity of these conquests struck the islanders with such terror, that they all submitted of their own accord. Thus all the *Greek* states, both in the islands, and on the continent of *Asia*, were a second time conquered, and forced to live, under the *Persian* monarchs, in a state of greater subjection and dependency, than they had ever felt before^t. In the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*, they made an attempt towards the recovery of their antient liberty, and maintained a war against the whole power of the *Persian* monarchy for the space of six years; but were again, in spite of their utmost efforts, brought under subjection, and punished with great severity by the haughty conqueror, for endeavouring to regain the rights which they had been unjustly deprived of. But of this war, and the many calamities which it drew upon the *Greek* states in *Asia Minor*, we have already given a particular and distinct account in the history of *Persia*^u, to which we refer the reader.

THE *Ionians* assisted *Xerxes* in his expedition against *Athens* *They join* with an hundred ships; but as the king had undertaken this *Xerxes* for no other end but to be revenged on the *Athenians* for *against* having sent some ships to the assistance of the *Ionians*, when *the Athe-* they attempted to shake off the *Persian* yoke, *Themistocles*, *nians.* who commanded the *Athenian* fleet, imagined that the *Ionians* served in this expedition against their will, and might therefore be easily prevailed upon to desert the *Persians*, and join their antient allies and countrymen. But as no opportunity offered of conferring with them, or sending messengers, he sailed in person to the place where they used to take in fresh water, and there engraved on the rocks the following words:
 “ Men of *Ionia*, you are guilty of an heinous crime in fight- *Persuaded*
 “ ing against your fathers, and helping to enslave *Greece*: *by The-*
 “ resolve therefore to come over to us; or, if you cannot do *mistocles*
 “ that, withdraw your forces from the enemy, and persuade *to aban-*
 “ the *Carians* to imitate your example. But if both these *don the*
 “ ways are impracticable, and you find yourselves under an *Persians!*
 “ absolute necessity of continuing in the *Persian* fleet, favour
 “ us at least when we come to an engagement; and remem-
 “ ber, that you are not only descended from us, but are the

^t HERODOT. ubi supra.

^u Vol. v. p. 213, & seqq.

“ original cause of the Barbarians enmity against us.” *Themistocles* had, in so doing, a double view; he believed, that this invitation, if not discovered to the king, would induce the *Ionians* to come over to the *Greeks*; and, on the other hand, if it should come to the king’s ears, he hoped it would make him distrust the *Ionians*, and dismiss them. The *Ionians*, coming ashore the next day as usual, read, on the rocks, the invitation of *Themistocles*, and resolved to comply with it; pursuant to which resolution, when the two fleets engaged, the *Ionians*, instead of falling upon the *Athenians*, tacked about and made to sea. Their flight, which was soon followed by that of the *Phœnicians*, contributed not a little to the famous victory gained by the *Athenians* at *Salamis*^w. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the *Ionians*, by means of a certain *Samian*, gave private notice to the *Athenians* of all that passed in the enemy’s fleet, assuring them, that as soon as the battle was joined, they would desert the Barbarians^x. This, according to our author, so encouraged the *Greeks*, before disheartened, that they attacked the *Persian* fleet contrary to their former determinations, and gained that victory which is so famous in history^y.

The like
expedient
used by
Leuty-
chides at
Mycale.

THE same stratagem was used by *Leutychides*, commander of the *Greek* fleet, before the battle of *Mycale*. The *Ionians*, *Dorians*, *Æolians*, and the inhabitants of the islands, made no small part of the *Persian* army, which was drawn up along the shore, in order to prevent the *Greeks* from making a descent into the country. *Leutychides* therefore, standing in to the shore as near as he could, ordered an herald to speak thus to the *Ionians* in his name: “ Men of *Ionia*, hearken with attention to my words; for the *Persians* will not understand the advice I give you: when the battle begins, every one of you ought, in the first place, to remember liberty, and, in the next, that the word agreed upon is *Hebe*. If any of you hear me not, let those who hear inform him.” These words had such an effect on the *Greeks*, that, in the heat of the engagement, they deserted the *Persians*, and joined their countrymen; which occasioned the total overthrow of the *Persian* army. Before the engagement, the *Persian* generals had appointed the *Milesians* to guard the passes leading to the eminences of *Mycale*, that they might have a safe retreat, in case they were put to flight, and guides to conduct them over the mountains, the *Milesians* being well acquainted with the country; but they, acting quite contrary to their orders, brought

^w HERODOT. l. viii. c. 22. ^x DIODOR. SIC. l. xi. c. 1. p. 251. ^y Idem, ibid. JUSTIN. l. ii.

back, by other ways, to the enemy, such as fled: by which means few *Persians* escaped the slaughter of that day ².

THUS the *Asiatic Greeks* revolted a second time from the *Persians*; and their behaviour, on this occasion, was so pleasing to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they were for transplanting them out of *Asia* into *Greece*; for they were well apprised, that, if the *Ionians* continued in *Asia*, they would be in perpetual alarms from an enemy, that far excelled them in strength, and was near to them: whereas their friends, who were at a great distance, could not be assistant to them so opportunely, and at such seasons as their necessity might require. The *Peloponnesians* proposed to drive those nations out of *Greece*, which had sided with the *Persians*, and to bestow their territories and estates on the *Ionians*. Upon these promises, the *Ionians* and *Æolians* were preparing to convey themselves, and their effects, over into *Europe*; but the *Athenians* persuaded them to remain in *Asia*, faithfully promising to assist them on all occasions to the utmost of their power. The *Athenians* were afraid, that, if the *Ionians* should settle in *Europe* by the common concurrence of the *Greeks*, they would not, for the future, own *Athens* as their metropolis, and place of their original. The *Peloponnesians* readily yielded to the *Athenians*; and the *Ionians*, upon second thoughts, determined not to remove out of *Asia* ^a. But, upon the conclusion of the peace between the *Greeks* and *Persians*, which happened in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, one of the articles, sworn to by both parties, was, that all the states of *Asia* should be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws ^b.

THE *Ionians*, being thus delivered from the *Persian* yoke, entered into an alliance with the *Athenians*, who came, by degrees, to treat them as subjects rather than allies, obliging them to contribute to all the charges of the *Peloponnesian* war, no otherwise than if they had been their vassals; nay, *Euphemus*, who was sent, in the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, to draw the *Camarinæans* into an alliance with *Athens*, owned, that the *Athenians* had subjugated both the *Ionians* and islanders, for having joined, said he, the *Persians* against their mother-city ^c. This was but a poor pretence, since the victory, which the *Athenians* gained at *Salamis*, was, in great measure, owing to the *Ionians*, and other *Greeks*, who served on board the *Persian* fleet, as we have seen above. In the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, we find them again subject to the *Persians*, and governed by *Tissaphernes*, from whom they revolted to *Cyrus* the

The Lacedæmonians propose to transplant the Asiatic Ionians into Greece.

The proposal not approved of by the Athenians.

All the Greek states in Asia declared free

The Ionians treated by the Athenians rather like subjects than allies.

² HERODOT. l. ix. c. 97. ^a HERODOT. ibid. DIODOR. SIC. l. xi. c. 4. p. 261. ^b DIOD. SIC. ibid. p. 74. THUCYD. l. i. ^c THUCYD. l. vi.

Their various fortune to the time of Alexander ;

younger. Upon the death of *Cyrus*, they sent ambassadors to the *Lacedæmonians*, imploring their assistance and protection against *Tissaphernes*, who was returning to his government, at the head of a numerous army, with a design to punish them for their revolt. The *Lacedæmonians*, having now ended the long war which they had waged with the *Athenians*, laid hold of this opportunity of breaking again with the *Persians* ; and sent first *Thimbro*, after him *Dercyllidas*, and lastly *Agésilas* their king, to invade the *Persian* provinces in *Asia*, where they made great conquests, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not *Darius*, by distributing large sums among the leading men in *Greece*, found means to rekindle the war there ; which obliged the *Lacedæmonians* to recal their king, and conclude a peace with the *Persians*, equally disadvantageous and dishonourable to the *Grecian* name ; for one of the articles was, that all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be subject to the king of *Persia*, and, besides, the islands of *Cyprus* and *Clazomenæ*. Thus were all the *Greeks* settled in *Asia*, with the utmost injustice and baseness, given up to the *Persians*^d, whose yoke they bore, till they were delivered by *Alexander*, who restored all the *Greeks* in *Asia* to the enjoyment of their antient rights and privileges^e.

and from his time till their reduction by Sylla.

AFTER the death of *Alexander*, as they had neither strength nor courage to defend themselves, they fell under the power of the kings of *Syria*, and continued subject to them, till the *Romans*, after having delivered *Greece* from the oppressions of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, obliged *Antiochus* III. surnamed the Great, to grant the same liberty to the *Greek* colonies in *Asia*, which they had procured for the *Greek* states in *Europe*^f. Being thus again reinstated in their antient rights, most of the free cities entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and enjoyed such liberty as the *Romans* used to grant ; till they were again brought under subjection by the famous *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, whom they joined against the *Romans*, partly out of fear, and partly out of hatred to *Rome*. By his order they massacred, without distinction, all the *Romans* and *Italians*, whom either trade, or the sweetness of the climate, had drawn into *Asia*. On this occasion, the *Ephesians* distinguished themselves above the rest, not suffering even their famous temple of *Diana* to be an asylum to such *Romans* as fled to it. However, their ready compliance with the cruel and inhuman orders of *Mithridates* did not exempt them from the most tyrannical oppression. No wonder then that, upon *Sylla's* arrival in *Asia*, they abandoned *Mithridates*, and declared for the *Romans*, as

^d XENOPH. *anabásis*. l. i. DIODOR. l. xiv. PLUTAR. in *Agésilao*.

^e HERODOT. l. xvii. c. 2. ARRIAN. l. iii. ^f LIV. l. xxxv. c. 16.

they had formerly deserted the *Romans* to side with *Mithridates*. *Ephesus* was the first that revolted; and the example of that metropolis was soon followed by *Smyrna*, *Colophon*, *Sardis*, *Trallis*, *Hypæpene*, and *Mesopolis*. The revolt of these cities made the king change his conduct: in hopes of keeping the *Greek* cities steady in his interest, and supporting his faction on the coasts of *Asia*, he restored all the *Greeks* to the full enjoyment of their liberties, declaring, that even the slaves should have their share of this universal freedom^g. But they did not long enjoy the liberty, which the king, out of a selfish policy, bestowed upon them. *Sylla*, having routed the several armies of *Mithridates*, and reduced all the *Lesser Asia*, revenged on the *Asiatics* the death of so many thousand *Romans*, whom they had inhumanly murdered, by depriving them of their liberty, and laying such heavy taxes and fines on their cities, as reduced them to beggary. The city of *Ephesus* was treated with most severity, *Sylla* having suffered his soldiers to live there at discretion, and obliged the inhabitants to pay every officer fifty drachmas, and every soldier sixteen denarii a day. The whole sum, which the revolted cities of *Asia* paid *Sylla*, amounted to twenty thousand talents, that is, three millions eight hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds sterling; for the raising of which they were forced to sell not only their moveables, but even a great part of their lands^h. This was the most fatal blow *Asia* ever received; nor did the inhabitants ever after recover their antient splendor, notwithstanding the favour shewn them by many of the emperors, under whose protection they enjoyed, for many years at least, some shew of liberty.

^g APPIAN. in Mithridat.

^h Idem, ibid. & PLUT. in Sylla.

APPENDIX to the Grecian History,

Giving an account of the famous retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, under the conduct of the great Xenophon, commonly stiled Xenophon's retreat.

*Length of
their
march.*

THIS celebrated transaction, which was a march of two thousand three hundred and twenty-five miles, the longest we read of in history, through the territories of a powerful and victorious enemy, and under all the dangers and difficulties that can be imagined, having been but barely mentioned in our former edition of this work; and several of our friends and correspondents having complained of it, as an unpardonable omission of one of the most remarkable pieces of antient history, we shall now give it to our readers, by way of appendix to that of *Greece*, as having no connexion either with any other part of it, or with that of *Persia*, but being wholly detached from both, and containing a long and memorable series of dangers and difficulties, surmounted by an army of ten thousand men, under the conduct of one of the wisest and completest generals of antiquity, and transmitted to posterity by his own inimitable pen (A).

THE

(A) It plainly appears, however, that this work (which came out under the name of *Themistogenes*, of *Syracuse*, and is so quoted accordingly by *Xenophon* (1), tho', from the elegancy and sweetness of the stile, universally allowed to be his) was not penned by him immediately after his return into *Greece*, much less in the same order of time as the transactions happened; for *Xenophon* had neither wife nor children when he set out upon this expedition; whereas, at the very end of this history, where he mentions the offerings made to *Diana*,* he takes notice of his son's going a-hunting with the rest, on the anniversary festival of that goddess. From which we may safely conclude, that he

must have wrote it at least 20 years after the retreat we are upon; that is, as is commonly conjectured, after his retirement to *Sciluns*, not long after the battle of *Chæronæa*, which was fought in the second year of the ninety-sixth *Olympiad*. We may add, that he doth not seem even to have kept regular journals of that memorable march; so that we need not wonder, if many curious particulars, relating to time, place, and other circumstances, had, by that time, slipped out of his memory.

Much less can we suppose him to have been furnished with proper instruments for making observations on the situation of places, on their distance from each other, on the course and

(1) *Hellen*, l. ii,

* *Lib. vii. ad fin.*

breadth

10



The reader may recollect the distant situation in which we left this small number of auxiliaries, after the battle of Cannæ, and

breadth of the river they either crossed or coasted along; and other material particulars of the like nature: all which, joined to their being near strangers to those countries they travelled through, had proved the source of a great number of insurmountable difficulties, which we meet with in this account: and which have excited the wish of some of the best critics to clear up the, in many respects to very little purpose, as may be seen in the authors quoted in the margin (3): and which, for that very reason, we shall enter into by, or content ourselves with the bare mention of, to avoid entering into too large a field: though, where they have been cleared to satisfaction, we shall readily quote them in the margin, in a few words, as the subject will allow.

Whether Xenophon should be mentioned as a writer, as is done at this treatise, as some learned men believe, or Xenophon only borrowed his name, to avoid attention, as is more common by thought, is less, upon the whole, as if some writers had given some account of it, which not being satisfactory to our ears, obliged him to give the world a more perfect one, from such memoirs as he had taken of it, the rest of which he might apply either from his own memory, or by the assistance of ways, might purposely increase the length and difficulties of their march, by conducting them over hills, and rough unknown paths.

Several circumstances are likewise related, and some of them of a nature which, if true, would have made them doubly, and more particularly, the time which this expedition lasted. The most material of them will be taken notice of in the sequel: as pre- sent it will be sufficient to say, that the difficulties of those marches, the badness of the roads, and their ignorance of the country, through which they travelled, made their journey, and made them doubly, each journey longer than it really was. We have said, that the auxiliaries, who were their guides, and rather inclined to hardships, than to lead them through the best and shortest ways, might purposely increase the length and difficulties of their march, by conducting them over hills, and rough unknown paths.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME

through

THE reader may recollect the dismal situation in which we left this small number of auxiliaries, after the battle of *Cunaxa*, and

breadth of the rivers they either crossed or coasted along; and other material particularities of the like nature: all which, joined to their being utter strangers to those countries they travelled through, hath proved the source of a great number of unsurmountable difficulties, which we meet with in this account; and which have exercised the wit of some of the best critics to clear up, tho', in many respects, to very little purpose, as may be seen in the authors quoted in the margin (3); and which, for that very reason, we shall either pass by, or content ourselves with the bare mention of, to avoid entering into too large a field; though, where they have been cleared to satisfaction, we shall readily insert them in the margin, in as few words as the subject will allow.

Whether *Themistogenes* above-mentioned did write an account of this retreat, as some learned men believe, or *Xenophon* only borrowed his name, to avoid ostentation, as is more commonly thought, it seems, upon the whole, as if some writers had given some account of it; which not being satisfactory to our author, obliged him to give the world a more perfect one, from such memoirs as he had taken of it, the rest of which he might supply either from his own memory, or by the assistance of those who had had a share in that expedition; for *Diodorus* hath also written an account of

those transactions, but varies from him in so many particulars, that he seems to have taken them from any author rather than from *Xenophon*, whose name he doth not so much as mention, even where he had the greatest share of the merit; nor, indeed, upon any other account than his making war against the *Thracians* (4); whereas he gives the glory of the whole march to *Cheirosophus*, whom he names as the general chosen by the rest to conduct it (5).

Several other difficulties are likewise raised about the number of parasangs, or leagues, which this march is said to have consisted of, about the distances assigned from place to place, the points they steered; and more particularly, the time which this expedition took up. The most material of them will be taken notice of in the sequel; at present it will be sufficient to say, that the difficulties of those marches, the badness of the roads, and their ignorance of the countries through which they travelled, might easily deceive them, and make them fancy each journey longer than it really was. We may add, that the *Persians*, who were their enemies as well as their guides, and rather designed to harass and fatigue, than to lead them through the best and shortest ways, might purposely increase the length and difficulties of their march, by conducting them over hills, and rough unknown paths,

(3) *De his vid. int. al. Hutchinson, d'Abblancourt, de Lisle's map, de la retraite des 10,000. Spelman, Forster, & al.*

(4) *Bibl. l. xiv. c. v.*

(5) *Ib. c. 6.*

Sad condition after Cyrus's death

and the death of *Cyrus*, in whose behalf they had engaged in this expedition^a; their camp plundered, themselves in a victorious enemy's country, and at a vast distance from their own, and expecting every moment to feel the severest effects of the king's resentment: it was in this extreme difficulty, that *Xenophon* began to give some signal proofs of his bravery and sagacity, as well as of his singular eloquence, by which he not only inspired the desponding *Greeks* with fresh courage, but persuaded their remaining chiefs to resolve upon this noble, though arduous and dangerous, retreat (B); and, after the death

^a See before, vol. v. p. 270.

through woods and marshes, and all the most difficult roads and passes; and perhaps also lead them about, and backward and forward, especially in rainy and foggy weather, when they had not the sun to steer by. Hence it probably comes, that our author mentions several rivers, towns, and even people, which we can find no account of in any other; and of which it is impossible to form any conjecture, unless we were better acquainted with those countries than we really are, notwithstanding the great helps we have since had from modern travellers and geographers, as the reader may plainly see, by comparing the different accounts they have given us of the places they have seen (6).

(B) We are sensible it would carry us too far, were we to give our readers all the noble instances of his eloquence, and persuasive talent, such as he was forced to make use of on divers pressing occasions, with no less success than applause, as he himself hath transmitted them to us, in this excellent relation; yet our *English* readers will not be displeased to see a specimen or two of it, that they may the

better judge of the rest. He tells us, That, upon his revolving within himself the desperate condition of the *Greek* army, on the death of several of their best officers, and the little care that was taken by the surviving ones for the preservation of their troops, he at once roused himself, with a soliloquy, to this effect; "Do I stay for the coming of a new general from Greece to command us? or do I wait for years to undertake it myself? but in vain shall I hope for the latter advantage, if I suffer myself to be taken by those Barbarians. And is this a time for me to lie slumbering in my bed, when, for aught I know, we may be attacked by them by break of day?" He got up, and having gathered together some of the head-officers, spoke to them, to this effect: "Sleep is quite fled from me, as I imagine it is from you, considering the condition we are in: the enemy hath, doubtless, by this time, got together the shattered remains of their army, but what preparations have we made to oppose their fury? Should our remissness suffer

(6) See de Lisle's map above quoted, Rauwolf, Tavernier, Herbert, Tournefort, &c.

death of *Clearchus*, to appoint him their general, and the chief conductor of it. What still enhances his merit on this occasion,

“ us to fall into the hands of an
 “ exasperated king, who scrupled
 “ not to cut off the head and
 “ hand of his dead brother,
 “ what can we expect from him,
 “ who have fought so vigorously
 “ to dethrone him, but the most
 “ ignominious treatment, if not,
 “ perhaps, the most cruel of
 “ deaths, to deter all men from
 “ ever engaging against him?
 “ We ought therefore to hazard
 “ any thing rather than fall into
 “ his hands: I own, that while
 “ the truce lasted, I deeply be-
 “ wailed our wretched condi-
 “ tion, and envied those Bar-
 “ barians, whom we beheld
 “ masters of a large and fruit-
 “ ful country, and abounding
 “ with all sorts of provisions,
 “ slaves, cattle, gold, and sump-
 “ tuous apparel, whilst we were
 “ destitute of them all, and
 “ could get nothing for our-
 “ selves but by the dint of our
 “ money, which, by that time,
 “ was almost exhausted, whilst
 “ our oath to them forbade us to
 “ supply our wants by any
 “ other way: but since they
 “ themselves have broken the
 “ peace, I foresee the great ad-
 “ vantages we shall now gain
 “ by an open war; and the
 “ gods, who are the arbiters of
 “ it, will not fail of giving the
 “ victory to the *Greeks*, who
 “ paid such regard to their
 “ oaths, as to forbear infring-
 “ ing upon their property, not-
 “ withstanding the pinching
 “ wants we laboured under, ra-
 “ ther than to those Barbarians,
 “ who have made no scruple to
 “ add perjury to their cruelty
 “ and injustice. So that we may

“ engage in the present war
 “ with much greater confidence
 “ than they, since the gods are
 “ on our side. Our bodies are
 “ better seasoned against cold,
 “ heat, or labour, than theirs,
 “ and our minds more firm and
 “ resolute; and, if we are still
 “ blessed with success, we shall
 “ make them more obnoxious
 “ to wounds and death. Others
 “ of our strateges (chiefs) may
 “ think just as we do now; don't
 “ let us therefore stay till they
 “ come and excite us to it by
 “ their example, but let them ra-
 “ ther receive it from us. Shew
 “ yourselves to be the bravest
 “ of all the *Greek* commanders,
 “ and the fittest to lead them on.
 “ As for me, I am equally ready
 “ to follow you, if you will
 “ take the command; or to be
 “ your leader, if you desire it;
 “ and shall be so far from de-
 “ clining the task, on account of
 “ my youth, that I shall think
 “ all the strength and vigour of
 “ it barely sufficient to surmount
 “ the difficulties we shall meet
 “ with.”

Thus spoke our noble ora-
 tor; and had the pleasure to
 hear his proposal applauded by
 all the rest, and himself desired
 to take the command upon him.
 There was only one, named *Apol-
 lonides*, that opposed it; and,
 in his affected *Boeotian* dialect,
 took upon him to say, that all at-
 tempts for returning into *Greece*
 were chimerical and impracti-
 cable, unless it was by soothing
 the king to consent to it. He
 was going to give his reasons for
 it, and to lay the dangers and
 difficulties of such an enterprize
 before

sion, is, that he had till then served only as a volunteer, and without any commission or command; and was, as is commonly supposed, under thirty years of age, when he was raised to that dignity (C).

THE

before them, when *Xenophon* briskly interrupted him, by shewing him how strangely blind he was to what he had before his eyes, and deaf to what so forcibly struck upon his ears. "Were you not, said he, with us, when that monarch, elevated with his victory, and the death of his brother, sent us an order to lay down our arms? Have you forgot what low shifts he made use of to incline us to peace, when, instead of obeying his command, we marched strait up against him, and were just on the point of attacking him; and what promises he made to supply us with provisions, till he had obtained peace from us? and when afterwards, trusting to his faith, our generals went unarmed, to treat with his satraps, were they not used in the vilest and most perfidious manner, and put to such ignominious tortures, as make them, perhaps, to this day, wish for death? And you, who know all these things, can you call it an impertinent advice, when I exhort you to stand in your own defence? or dare you propose to us to sue again to the king for his favour?" Then, addressing himself to his colleagues, "I think such an infamous man as this ought to be degraded from our company, and his

command, and only employed in carrying our baggage. A Greek with such a mind, and such language, ought to be looked upon as a shame to his country, and a dishonour to all Greece." He was accordingly degraded on the spot; and, as there was no time to be lost, they hastened to summon the rest of the *Greek* captains, not doubting but they would be all charmed, by *Xenophon's* eloquence, into a ready compliance with this grand design; which, as it was the main spring of that glorious retreat, reflects no less honour on his divine master *Socrates*, under whose wings he had been brought up, since the success of it was as much owing to the eloquence as to the valour and bravery of his disciple.

(C) It is not, indeed, easy to determine justly what age he then was of: for, if what *Dio-genes Laertius* says be true, that he died in the first year of the one hundred and fifth *Olympiad* (7); and *Lucian*, that he lived to be upwards of ninety years old (8); he must have been, at least, in the fifty-first year of his age, when he went on this expedition. But this is altogether inconsistent with what we have observed him to have said of himself, in the last note, especially in the last speech there mentioned, that *he would not excuse himself by reason of his youth*. He was there speaking to the

(7) *Lib. ii. c. 22.*(8) *περὶ μακροβίῳ.*

THE first step which the *Persian* monarch had taken, with *Ordered to* regard to the *Grecian* army, was to send *Phalinus*, with ex-lay down press command to them to lay down their arms, and to come their and beg his pardon, at the gate of his pavilion. This was stre-arms. nuously opposed by the *Greek* chiefs, one of whom, *Proxenus*, asked him, Whether the king demanded it as a conqueror, or desired it as a friend: if the former, why did he not rather come, and disarm them by force? but if the latter, he desired to know, what he would give them in exchange. Being answered, that the king had a right to demand it, in the first sense, seeing *Cyrus* their master was dead, and themselves wholly in his power, and surrounded on all sides with his troops, *Xenophon*, who was one of the company, gave him this reply: "You see that we have nothing left but our arms and Xeno-
 " our valour; whilst we have the former, we can easily phon's
 " make use of the latter; but if we deliver up those, we give brave re-
 " up all indeed. Think not therefore, that we will part with ply.
 " the only two advantages we have left us; but rather, that
 " we will try with them to gain those that are in your pos-
 " session." When *Phalinus* heard this, he said, with a smile,
 " You speak elegantly, indeed, young man, and like a phi-
 " losopher; but you will find yourself greatly deceived, if
 " you imagine, that your valour can be proof against the
 " king's numerous forces."

HE told them furthermore, that several of the *Greek* chiefs, less sanguine than they, especially after the death of *Cyrus*, had offered themselves and their troops to serve under the king, either against the revolted *Egyptians*, or on any other expedition, and with the same bravery and faithfulness with which they had served his brother. All which was said to intimidate, and sow jealousies amongst them; when *Clearchus*, who came in the interim, addressed himself to him, in words to this effect: "You, *Phalinus*, are a *Greek*, as well as we, and are Clear-
 " no stranger to our present situation; and we expect rather, chus's an-
 " that you should tell us what, in honour, we ought to do.swer to
Phalinus.

officers who commanded under *Proxenus*, who had been lately put to death, in the thirtieth year of his age: so that he must be supposed to have been some years younger than he, or else what he said would have rather looked as a banter upon the youth of that commander.

We may add, that, in his conference with *Phalinus*, a *Greek* in high credit with *Tissaphernes*, about laying down their arms, that officer makes no scruple to call him a young man, as will be seen in the sequel; and himself takes frequent notice of his being one of the youngest officers. Upon all which accounts he is commonly supposed to have been about twenty-three or twenty-four; or, allowing the most that can be, near, but under, thirty years of age.

" In.

Ariæus's
message to
the
Greeks.

Who agree
to join
him.

“ In the name of the gods therefore, give us the most salutary advice ; and let it be recorded, that *Phalinus* was sent by *Artaxerxes* to command the *Greeks* to lay down their arms, but that his singular prudence suggested to him the means of saving them.” This he said, in hopes of inspiring his desponding troops by his means ; but *Phalinus*, who had nothing of the *Greek* but his birth, soon disconcerted his hopes, by telling him, that he could see no other way for them to save themselves, but to submit to the king's orders, since it was not in their power to oppose them. Whereupon the *Greek* general bravely replied, “ If that be your opinion it is not ours ; and you may tell the king, that, if he chooses our friendship, he will find it more for his service to leave us our arms ; but that, if he means war against us, we shall have too much need of them to defend ourselves.” Being asked, what answer he should return to the king, whether peace or war ; “ As he pleases, replied he ; peace, if we stay ; war, if we march.” *Phalinus*, not being able to get a positive answer from him, went away. Immediately afterwards came some deputies from *Ariæus*, to whom they had offered the crown of *Persia*, in the room of *Cyrus*, but who had absolutely declined it, and resolved to retire into *Ionia* ; and by these they were given to understand, that he would wait for the *Grecian* army all that night ; but that, if they did not join him by that time, he would depart without them. Upon which *Clearchus* sent him word, that they would come up to him accordingly, if they resolved upon a retreat ; but if on any thing else, he was at liberty to steer what course he pleased. The *Greeks* thereupon having agreed to join *Ariæus*, and to coast along the *Euphrates*, reached his camp towards the close of the evening ; and *Clearchus*, accompanied with some other officers, went immediately to his tent, where the *Persian* satraps were gathered together ; and both concluded a mutual alliance, by which the *Persians* engaged to guide the *Grecian* army homeward, without fraud or delay. The treaty being ratified, and sworn to on both sides (D), *Ariæus* was asked, what rout he thought best for the army to take : whose answer was, Through richer countries than those it hath lately

(D) The ceremony of ratifying this alliance by oath was performed by the sacrifice of a bull, a boar, a wolf, and a ram ; the blood of which being mixed together, in the hollow of a shield, the *Greeks* dipped their swords, and the *Persians* their spears, into it. This custom of

ratifying of treaties by the sacrifices of peculiar animals, is of very old date, and mentioned by *Homer*, and other antient authors ; but, in the present instance, the *Greeks* only were sincere, as the sequel will soon shew.

gone

gone through; whereby their marches being made longer by halt during the first days, they might gain a much larger space between it and that of the king; which last being much more numerous, would never be able to overtake them.

It is plain by this, that he had no other view but to make the speediest retreat he could: but fortune, says *Xenophon*, directed us to a more glorious one; for, as soon as day-light appeared, they found themselves near some villages situate on the plains of *Babylon*, whence, having the sun on their right, they perceived, at some distance, a body of cavalry, as they imagined, tho' it was no other than the king's baggage, consisting of a vast multitude of beasts of burden; from which, and from the clouds of dust that darkened the air, they concluded, that his army was not far off. But by that time the day began to decline, the *Greeks*, through fatigue, and want of provision, were so exhausted, as to be in no condition to fight, much less to go back. *Clearchus's* vanguard had lodged itself in some villages, the very timber of whose houses had been carried off by the *Persians*. The *Greeks*, who passed that night with no small uneasiness, were seized, in the dead of it, with such a panic, that nothing but the most hideous outcries could be heard, till *Clearchus* caused a proclamation to be made thro' the camp, promising a talent to the person that discovered the author of the uproar: by which they all perceived it was only a false alarm; and all was quiet again.

By break of day *Clearchus* had ranged the *Greek* army in such a gallant order of battle, that *Artaxerxes*, instead of commanding them to lay down their arms, sent deputies to him to treat of a peace. He made them wait some time, that they might take a full view of his army; and, at length, told them, that it would be time enough to treat of peace after the battle was over; for, added he, our troops want provisions, and will not listen to any but those that bring us a supply of them. They returned soon after, with a promise from the king of a sufficient and speedy supply: upon which it was agreed among the *Greek* generals, to accept of the proffered alliance, though *Clearchus*, willing to make them think they could do without it, made them wait a good while for the answer. As soon as the treaty was agreed on, the *Greeks* were conducted through a long plain, so intersected with chanel, that they were forced every mile to cut down vast numbers of palm-trees, and lay bridges over them; and *Clearchus* was seen foremost in that laborious task, in order to encourage the rest. At length they arrived at a delicious plain, where they found plenty of wheat, palm-wine, and dates of exquisite colour and taste; only the wine proved so strong as to give them violent head-aches.

HERE

An halt of
three days.
Tissaphernes
sent to
treat with
them.

Promises
to conduct
them to
Greece.

The
Greeks in
great
doubt.

HERE they halted three days; at the end of which came *Tissaphernes*, attended by the queen's brother, and a numerous retinue; and, under pretence of a particular esteem for them, as he was now made governor of the *Persian* provinces that bordered upon *Greece*, assured them, that he had almost obtained from the *Persian* king, as a reward for his former services, the singular favour of being their conductor into *Greece*; but was, at the same time, charged to ask of them, what had induced them to take up arms against him; and advised them not to exasperate that monarch by too haughty an answer, since that would effectually prevent his being able to serve them. The *Greeks* were far enough from giving any credit to his great professions of friendship, looking upon him rather as their bitterest enemy; but this was not a time for them to betray any mistrust; and *Clearchus* had address enough to excuse their joining with *Cyrus*, and, at the same time, to observe, that they had not committed the least hostility against the *Persians*, from the time they heard of that prince's death; from which it was plain they had acted only as his allies, and not as enemies to the king. Upon this, *Tissaphernes* agreed with them, that the truce should continue till his return; and engaging to send them fresh supplies of provisions, returned immediately to the *Persian* camp. He came three days after, and acquainted them, that the king had (with much ado, and even against the advice of many of his counsellors, who opposed their being suffered to return home) given him leave to conduct them to their own frontiers: and he engaged to accompany them quite to the *Ægean* sea, and to furnish them with provisions all the way, on condition that they should pay for them, and forbear all kinds of hostilities. This being likewise sworn to on both sides, he promised that he would soon return, and be ready to march at their head.

HE made them, however, wait full twenty days for him; during which time there was no small mistrust in the *Greek* camp; especially as they observed now-and-then some new satraps coming into that of *Ariæus*, to assure him, and his men, that the king wholly forgave their revolt: so that this delay was looked upon as a stratagem of the *Persian* king, to gain time to reunite his forces, in order to fall more furiously on theirs, on the first river or post they were obliged to pass; and, as for *Ariæus*, the only friend they had now left, they did not doubt but he would give them the slip whenever that happened. *Tissaphernes* being at length come, his troops, and those of *Ariæus*, were immediately joined, and began their march as one body or camp; which so far alarmed the *Greeks*, that they took care to encamp at the distance of three or four miles at least from them.

SEVERAL other misunderstandings, which happened between the two armies, increased their mutual diffidence; however, after three days march, they reached the wall of *Media*, which was an hundred feet high and twenty in thickness, all built of brick, joined with a strong cement. It extended itself from the *Euphrates*, near that part on which *Babylon* stood, quite to the *Tigris*, and is said to have been about twenty parasangs or leagues in length: above it northward, about fifteen or twenty more, were cut several canals, which opened a communication between these two rivers; though, if what *Arrian* says be true, that the level of the latter was much lower than that of the former, the stream must run from this to that^a: it is by these canals, that this river discharges those vast floods of water which fall into it in the spring from the melted snows, which would otherwise cause it to overflow as the *Nile* doth *Egypt*.^b However, through this wall the armies marched, still under the conduct of *Tissaphernes*, and then crossed over two large canals, formed by the *Tigris*, which, dividing themselves into lesser chanel, watered that whole plain. They arrived at length on the banks of that celebrated river, over which they threw a bridge, whilst the *Greeks* encamped near *Sitace*, a considerable town, about fifteen stades short of the *Tigris* (E), and out of sight of the *Persians*, whom they saw no more from that time. Here *Proxenus* and *Xenophon*, taking an evening-walk together before the quarter where the heavy-armed men encamped, observed a stroller asking one of the out-guards, where he might meet *Proxenus* or *Clearchus*; and pretending, that he had been sent by *Ariæus* to acquaint them, that a numerous body lay in ambush against them in the neighbouring park, and were to surprise the *Greeks* on that night; and that *Tissaphernes* de-

Encamp
near Si-
tace.

A false
alarm.

^a *Ἀναβάσις Ἀλεξάνδρου*. b. vii. ^b STRAB. l. vi. PLIN. n. hist. l. v.

(E) *Sitaca*, or, according to *Stephen* of *Byzantium*, *Sitace*, was the capital of a province in *Assyria*, called from it *Sitacene*, situate on the direct road between *Susa* and *Babylon* (8), and of a considerable extent on the north of *Media*. *Sitace* stood fifteen stades from the *Tigris*, and in the neighbourhood of *Babylon* and mount *Zagrus*. *Pliny*, speaking of the *laudanum*

of *Persis*, affirms, that it grew on that mount, on the confines of the *Sitacean* territories (9). It is very probable, that *Sitace* is the very same that is called *Sita*, by *Diodorus Siculus*. This being the first city that is mentioned in his account of this retreat, we thought it necessary to settle its situation, as well as we could, from the authors above-named.

(8) *Strabo*, l. xvi. See also *Ptolemy*, l. vi. c. 1. *Plin.* l. vi. c. 27. l. xii. c. 17.

(9) *Plin.*

signed

signed to break down the bridge, in order to inclose them between the two branches of the river. He was forthwith brought to *Clearchus*, to whom he repeated the same advice; which threw him into no small consternation, when a young soldier present made him sensible of the absurdity of the message. "To attack us (said he), and break down the bridge, are things inconsistent; for, if they attack us, and beat us, what need is there of breaking down the bridge? And, if we beat them, and the bridge be broken down, they can neither receive succour from the army, nor retreat themselves to it (F)." Upon which, they contented themselves with sending a strong detachment to guard the bridge for that night, and marched over it in the best order on the next morning by break of day, without opposition. Some *Persians* they, indeed, perceived at a distance; but they retired immediately at the sight of them, they being only sent to observe whether they would cross over.

Go over
the bridge.

Army cross
the Phys-
cus.

THE *Grecian* army marched four whole days, or about twenty parasangs, through a large plain, which lies between the *Tigris* and the *Physcus*, which last was an hundred feet wide, and over which they found a bridge. Near it stood the antient and populous city of *Opis* (since called *Seleucia*), where they were met by a *Persian* satrap, who was a natural brother of *Artaxerxes* and *Cyrus*, and was marching to the assistance of the former, at the head of a numerous army, which had been drawn out of the cities of *Susa* and *Ecbatane*, but stopped to see the *Greek* forces pass by him. *Clearchus*, who was at their head, made them march two and two, and halted now-and-then with his vanguard, in order to make his army appear more numerous; and the *Persian* satrap was highly

(F) This was rightly judged, all things considered; but they found still greater reason to suspect this messenger, when, upon *Clearchus* asking him of what extent the country was between those two arms of the *Tigris*, he answered, that it was very large, and contained many great and considerable cities, besides a great number of villages: so that they rightly concluded it to be an artifice of *Tissaphernes*, from an apprehension of the *Greeks* settling in that island, which was defended on one side by the *Tigris*, and on the other by the

large canals; and where the country was rich and fertile, large and populous, and might serve them as a retreat, if they should make war against the *Persian* king. Besides, had it been a real message from *Ariæus*, it would rather have been dispatched to *Menon* the *Theffalian*, who was his intimate friend, than either to *Clearchus* or *Proxenus*, whom he knew to be too diffident to give credit to it. This bridge was of a considerable length, being supported by twenty-seven large boats, and wide and strong in proportion.

taken

taken with the sight. From thence they marched about thirty parasangs more in six days, through a desert part of *Media*, and came at length to some rich and fertile valleys, which were the appennage of *Parysatis* the queen-mother; and these *Tissaphernes*, who never loved that princess, suffered to be plundered by them of every thing but slaves. Here having refreshed themselves, they continued their march through the *Median* ^{through} deserts, keeping still the *Tigris* on their left, without meeting ^{the Me-} with any towns, except the large and opulent city of *Cænæ*, ^{dian de-} which they passed by on the first day of their march, and, at ^{sarts.} the end of four more, came to the banks of the river *Zabatus*, where they halted three days * (G).

THEIR mutual diffidence still reigning, though without any *Jealousy* act of treachery on the *Persian* side, *Clearchus*, who feared the ^{between} consequences of it, took the fatal resolution of going himself ^{the two} to confer with *Tissaphernes*, and to put him in mind of the ^{camps.} oaths which had passed between them, and of the dreadful punishment that would attend the infringement of them. He ^{Clear-} went on, with observing to him of what great service the ^{chus's} *Greeks* might be to him in the suppressing of the *Mysians*, *Pi-* ^{conference} *fidians*, and other nations, particularly the *Egyptians*, who ^{with Tif-} were ever disturbing the tranquillity of those provinces that ^{saphernes} were now put under his government; assuring him, that their forces, which were the fittest for such services, would be the most ready to engage in it, not only as auxiliaries, but likewise in grateful return for the obligations they should then justly owe to him as their deliverer; and concluded his speech with words to this effect: "When I consider all these things, "I am so much surpris'd at your diffidence of us, that I would "gladly know who it is that could inspire you with it, or "induce you to think the *Greeks* capable of any sinister designs "against you." To this the *Persian* satrap, affecting the same open frankness, and willingness of extinguishing these dangerous jealousies, answered, That he was highly pleased ^{His} with his speech, and the wise step he had taken of reviving ^{treache-} their mutual confidence. He took occasion, in his turn, to ^{rous an-} observe to him, that, as all the designs they could possibly form ^{saver to} against the *Persians* would infallibly fall doubly upon them- ^{him.}

* XENOPHON. ubi supra, l. ii. pass.

(G) This river, which our author says was four hundred feet wide, and at some small distance from the *Tigris* (11), is supposed by some to be the same with the

Zaba, mentioned by *Cedrenus* and *Calistus* (12); but whether the greater or lesser of that name, is still undetermined.

(11) *Cyriacor.* l. ii. c. 3.

(12) *Vide Orig. thesaur.*

selves, their whole safety only depended on their friendship and fidelity : “ For (continued he) had we any ill intention against you, how easily could we put it in execution ? Are not our forces strong and numerous enough to surprise and destroy you ? How many strong passes are there in your way to Greece, where we could, with ease and safety, stop your progress ? And, if this would not do, how easily could we famish you, by burning all sorts of provision before you ? And is it to be supposed, that, having so many easy ways in our power of destroying you, we should choose that only one which would be most detrimental to us, and expose us, by such perfidy, to the hatred and resentment of the gods ? Since therefore I have hitherto treated you in a different way than was in my power to do, assure yourselves that I did it with a design to convince you of my fidelity to, and confidence in you ; and that, as *Cyrus* had formerly been supported by you in his march, I might also, by the same faithful troops, be conducted back to my government. You have reminded me of the many services I may expect from you at the end of our journey ; but there is one main one you have omitted : it is the peculiar prerogative of the king to wear his tiara upright ; but he, who shall then have the disposal of your forces, may have it in his power to do so, whenever he shall think fit.”

Clear-
chus's ill-
fated con-
fidence.

CLEARCHUS, being now fully satisfied of his sincerity, and that these misunderstandings had been raised by ill-affected persons, agreed with him, that they deserved to be very severely punished, and engaged to bring to him, by the next day, some of the chief officers of his army ; at which time *Tissaphernes* promised to let him know, whether they were those that had accused him of having treacherous designs against him. As soon as was got to his *Greeks*, he began to extol *Tissaphernes's* fidelity, and bitterly to inveigh against those, that had been the authors of these jealousies and misrepresentations, vowing, that he would have them all confronted, and their perfidy punished as it deserved. Accordingly, he would have carried the greatest part of the *Grecian* chiefs to *Tissaphernes*, had he not been strenuously opposed by the whole council, who unanimously insisted on the danger of trusting the *Persian* so far, and of putting the lives of so many illustrious chiefs in the power of that treacherous satrap. However, *Clearchus*, naturally hot and imperious, so far gained his point, that four of them, and twenty subalterns, were induced to accompany him ; and these were escorted by two hundred soldiers, who went with them, under pretence of buying some provisions. They had no sooner reached *Tissaphernes's* pavilion, than *Clearchus*, with the other four *Greek* chiefs, viz. *Proxenus* a *Bæotian*, *Menon* a *Thessalian*, *Agias*

an *Arcadian*, and *Socrates* an *Athenian*, were conducted in, *Seized by*
 and, upon the signal given, were all five immediately seized; *Tiffa-*
 whilst the twenty subalterns, who staid without, were inhu- *phernes.*
 manly butchered on the spot, and the two hundred soldiers cut *Subalterns*
 in pieces by the *Persian* cavalry. The *Greeks*, from their *butchered.*
 camp, could easily descry some extraordinary commotion in
 that of the *Persians*; but could neither know what it was, nor
 what caused it, till *Nicarchus*, an *Arcadian* soldier, who had
 been wounded in the belly, came, bearing his bowels in his
 hands, and acquainted them with all that had passed. Upon
 hearing the dreadful news, they ran, in the utmost surprize and
 confusion, to their arms, expecting to be forthwith attacked
 by the whole *Persian* army. They had just ranged themselves
 in battalia, when they perceived *Ariæus*, with *Artheasus* and
Mithridates, coming towards them, at the head of three
 hundred *Persian* troops clad in armour. The former of these,
 desirous to take the advantage of the consternation he saw them
 in to make them lay down their arms, sent to desire the *Greek* *Ariæus's*
 chiefs that were left, or those who had succeeded *Clearchus* *message to*
 and his unfortunate colleagues, to come forward: upon which *the chiefs,*
Cleanor and *Sophænetus* immediately advanced, followed by
Xenophon, who came to inform himself of the fate of his friend
Proxenus. As soon as they were come within hearing, *Ari-*
æus said to them, “*Clearchus*, O ye *Greeks*, having been found
 “ guilty of perjury and treason, hath been punished with death;
 “ and *Menon* and *Proxenus*, who discovered his designs, are
 “ honoured and rewarded. As for you, the king commands
 “ you to deliver up your arms to him; for his they are, as
 “ having belonged to *Cyrus*, who was his vassal.”

To this the brave *Cleanor*, an *Orchomenian*, answered, in
 the name of the rest, “O most perfidious *Ariæus*, and the rest
 “ of *Cyrus's* faithless friends, have you no regard to either
 “ gods or men? And, after having plighted your faith to
 “ us by the most solemn oaths, do you now go to deliver us
 “ up to *Tissaphernes*, the most impious and deceitful of all
 “ men?” To this the traitor coolly replied, “That it plainly
 “ appeared, that *Clearchus* was forming some ill designs against
 “ *Tissaphernes*, *Orontas*, and the rest of the *Persian* satraps.”
 Upon which *Xenophon* rejoined, “If *Clearchus* hath so far
 “ perjured himself, he is justly punished; but send back *Pro-*
 “ *xenus* and *Menon* to us, who are both your benefactors,
 “ and our commanders; for, being our friends, as well as
 “ yours, they will be the best able to advise that which is fit-
 “ test to be done by both.” To this the Barbarian made no
 answer; but, having conferred a good while with his col-
 leagues, they all returned to their camp; and the four *Greek*
 generals,

Clearchus
and his
colleagues
put to
death.

generals, whom *Tissaphernes* had caused to be seized, were sent by him to the king; who ordered them to be put to death^d (H).

^d Lib. ii. ad fin.

(H) This was the fatal issue of *Clearchus's* too great credulity. *Xenophon* here only tells us, that they were beheaded, tho' some of his speeches upon another occasion, such as one we have quoted in a former note, seem to intimate as if they had been tortured to death, in the most inhuman manner. *Clearchus* is allowed to have been one of the greatest warriors of his age, and the fondest man of the martial trade; by which, however, he rather exhausted than filled his coffers, being more lavish of his money, in procuring men and arms, than the greatest libertine after the most favourite pleasures. His passion, as well as fitness for it, appears by his forwardness in exposing himself to dangers, and attacking the enemy either by night or day, as well as by his conduct, and singular calmness, under the greatest difficulties, which he viewed with such unconcern, that his soldiers were ever ready to follow him through them; and were never better pleased than when he led them to such dangerous exploits. They were wont to observe, on such occasions, his eyes sparkling with fire, as if he were just then spreading fire and sword; and, on the next moment, casting such serene and smiling looks, as filled them with confidence and bravery.

He was such a master of the art of commanding, that few men exceeded him in it; and always took care to have his army well supplied with all necessa-

ries; but, at the same time, had such a majestic mien, stern look, and harsh voice, that a look of him struck them with greater awe than the sight of an enemy; and, indeed, he sometimes punished them with such severity, that he afterwards repented of it: so that, though they readily obeyed his commands, and followed him through the greatest dangers, yet, when an opportunity offered of serving under any other commanders, they seldom failed of embracing it: so that those who were obliged to serve under him, did rather obey through fear than good will. This was his character as a commander; but it is observed of him, that he was unwilling to be commanded by others. He was about fifty years of age when he died.

Three of his unfortunate colleagues, viz. *Proxenus*, *Agias*, and *Socrates*, would have made a considerable figure in this expedition, if they had not been eclipsed by his superior abilities: the former, especially, was remarkable for his singular modesty and integrity; which last, tho' it made him beloved by men of virtue and honour, yet exposed him too much to the treachery of designing men. He died in the thirtieth, and *Agias* and *Socrates* in the fortieth year of their age. As for *Menon* the *Thessalian*, though he underwent the same hard fate with the other four, yet he was a person of a quite different character; proud, ambitious, and covetous, false and

THE reader may better imagine, than pen describe, the *The sad* consternation the *Greeks* were in, when they came to reflect *situation* on their present dismal situation; their best chiefs betrayed and *of the* butchered by the vilest treachery; themselves not only at such *Greeks.* a vast distance from *Greece*, but in view, and, in all likelihood, in the power, of a bloody and perfidious enemy, without friends, allies, prospect of succour, or even generals to command them; surrounded by as many enemies as there were men, and hemmed in by rivers and mountains, which now appeared to them as so many unfurmountable barriers. The only things that were left to them to depend upon were their arms, and their valour; but the former they expected every minute to be forced from them by the treacherous *Persians*; after which, the latter, if they had any left, would serve them but in little stead, as *Xenophon* justly observed to *Phalinus*, on the same occasion: so that they had every thing to fear, and little mercy to expect, from an exasperated monarch, who could not but resent their late tender of his crown to *Ariæus*^e, more than all the hostilities they had committed against him before. And accordingly, our author tells us^f, that they had, in some measure, given themselves up to despair, even to the neglecting of their sustenance, and of keeping up their watch with their usual vigilance. These considerations, which were still more lively and pungent in our *Athenian* volunteer, having at length roused him, about the middle of that dismal night, to consult with the remaining chiefs about the properest means for avoiding the impending storm, gave birth to that meeting, and noble speech, which we have had occasion to mention at the beginning of this appendix 8.

As there was no time to be lost, the rest of the generals and *Xenophon* captains were immediately summoned from their respective *phon cal's* quarters to that where the heavy-armed men lay encamped; *a council.* and they accordingly appeared, to the number of about one hundred, to whom *Hieronimus* the *Elean*, who was the eldest, addressed himself in words to this effect: “We have thought

“proper, gentlemen, to convene you at this time of the night,
“to consider with you of some expedient to extricate our-
“selves, if possible, from our present sad situation; and de-

^e See before, vol. v. p. 270. ^f Lib. iii. c. 2. & seqq.

^g Pag. 440, & seqq. (B).

and treacherous; and, in a word, *Xenophon* (13), whilst we content ourselves with this short sketch, to avoid running too great a length. The reader may see a further display of their characters, in

(13) *Ubi supra*, in fin. l. ii.

“ fire *Xenophon* to impart to you what we have but just now
 “ heard from him.” Upon which he spoke to them as follows :

His speech. “ We are sensible, that the king, and *Tissaphernes*, have
 “ caused as many of us as they could to be seized, and are no
 “ less desirous to get us into the same snare. It therefore be-
 “ hoves us to take all proper means, not only to prevent our
 “ falling into their hands, but even, if possible, to get them
 “ into ours. The eyes of our army are fixed upon you : they
 “ will all lose their courage, if you appear disheartened ; but,
 “ if you rouse them up to their duty, you need not doubt
 “ their following your example. You are their superiors,
 “ their generals, and guides ; and as, in time of peace, you
 “ have the advantage of them both in riches and dignities,
 “ your honour requires it of you to shew, that you excel them
 “ also in war, both in wisdom, courage, and even, if need
 “ be, in labour also. Our first step therefore, in my opinion,
 “ at this present juncture, should be to fill up all our vacan-
 “ cies, and to choose proper generals and captains in the room
 “ of those that are slain. There is no hope of succeeding in
 “ any thing without chiefs, and much less in war ; for, as
 “ discipline preserves an army, so the want of that is often the
 “ bane of it : and, as soon as you have appointed fit generals
 “ over it, I think it highly necessary to assemble, and spirit
 “ up the rest of the soldiery. You cannot but have observed
 “ how dejectedly they repaired to their quarters, and how
 “ heavy they appear upon their guard ; so that we can expect
 “ no service from them while they are in this desponding con-
 “ dition ; but, if you can divert their thoughts from the dan-
 “ gers that threaten them, to the means of avoiding them, you
 “ will find them quite other men. You know, that it is nei-
 “ ther number nor strength that adjudges the victory ; but
 “ that the side, which, under the protection of the gods,
 “ behaves with the greatest resolution, is generally sure of it.
 “ I have also observed, that those who, in war, most dread
 “ to hazard their lives, commonly meet with an ignominious
 “ death ; whilst those, who look upon death as common to
 “ all, but glorious to the brave, generally live the longer and
 “ happier, and often to a good old age. Upon all these con-
 “ siderations, I think this a proper juncture for us to act with
 “ a becoming intrepidity, in order to inspire our men to do
 “ the same.”

His advice Thus spoke the young *Athenian* hero, whose courage and
applauded, wisdom were greatly applauded by all, but especially by *Cheiri-*
and fol- *sophus*, the *Lacedæmonian* chief ; upon which each body was or-
dered. dered to choose a chief, who was to be introduced directly into
 the assembly. All which was done, without loss of time ; and *Ti-*
masien

masion the *Dardanian* was nominated to succeed *Clearchus*, and *Xenophon* his friend *Proxenus*: *Xanthicles* the *Achaian* was chosen in the room of *Socrates*; *Cleanor*, an *Orchomenian*, in the room of *Agius*; and *Philysius* in that of *Menon*. By this time day-light began to appear, and *Tolmides* the crier having assembled the soldiers, and the guard being set in their posts, *Cheirisophus* acquainted the army with the danger they were in, from the treachery of the *Persians*; and in a short but pathetic speech, exhorted them not to be cast down, but strive either to extricate themselves by a glorious victory, or by an honourable death; lest, said he, in the close of it, if we should fall into their hands, we be made to suffer such things as I hope the gods keep only in store for them.

HE was seconded by *Cleanor*, who began with a display of *Cleanor's* the king's, *Tissaphernes's*, and *Ariæus's* treachery and perjury, *counsel.* and with the manner in which they had trepanned *Clearchus*, and his four colleagues, into their butchering hands; whom therefore he hoped the powers above would not suffer to go unpunished. He concluded with telling them, that, in their present distress, it behoved them carefully to avoid falling into the same snare, and to fight manfully, and submit the event to the gods.

XENOPHON stood up next, who, to inspire the army with fresh courage, appeared in a dress that was more fit for a conqueror than a combatant, but which, he said, would equally suit him, whether he conquered or died; and, with an intrepid air, spake to them, to this effect: "What *Cleanor* Xeno-
 " hath said of the treachery and perjury of the *Persians*, you *phon's ad-*
 " are no strangers to; and it would be base and shameful in *dress.*
 " us to trust any longer to, or treat with them, after their
 " horrid butchery of our five brave generals; but if we re-
 " solve to revenge their deaths with the points of our swords,
 " in whatever shape we wage war against them, we have rea-
 " son to expect, that the gods will declare on our side, and
 " crown it with success." He had hardly spoken out these last words, when one of the soldiers, who stood near him, fell *A good*
 a sneezing; which being taken for a good omen by the whole *omen.* army, *Jupiter* was immediately adored by all, as the gracious author of it. After which *Xenophon* went on with observing to them, that since that god had declared on their side, they ought forthwith to engage themselves to make him suitable returns, as soon as they were got to a place of safety. He then desired all that were of his mind to hold up their hands; which was complied with by them all, and the vows were followed with singing of the *pæan*.

AFTER this *Xenophon* went on with his speech, in which he forgot nothing that could inspire them with intrepidity, and

Reasons
for a
brave re-
treat.

with a resolution to make a safe and glorious retreat into their native country, or to die in the attempt. He reminded them, that the gods were not only bound in justice to assist them in it, but to punish their enemies for their perfidy; and gave them several instances, in which his countrymen the *Athenians* had, with an handful of brave and valiant men, cut in pieces whole armies of the *Persians* (I); and mentioned particularly the late victory they had gained, in favour of *Cyrus*: “And will you, said he, act less valiantly now for yourselves, than you did then for him, especially after you have been witness of the enemy’s cowardice, and how they fled from you, at the first onset? As for *Cyrus’s* dastardly troops, which have so basely abandoned us, did not you see them give way, in the late action? and are not such shameful runaways rather to be wished in the enemy’s army than in ours? I own we have no cavalry to oppose theirs; but then let us remember, that ten thousand horse are no more than ten thousand men; and that in battle men are seldom killed by the mettle of a horse. And, I think, we can fight more firmly upon our feet, than they upon their prancing and scared horses; the only advantage of which is, that they can flee with greater speed upon them. If you think it a grievance, that we shall no longer have *Tissaphernes* for our guide, and the king to supply us with provisions, let it be considered how much safer it will be for us to be conducted by men of our own choosing, than by such a vile traitor; men that will share with us in the same dangers, and whose lives will be our security for their faithfulness: and as for provisions, will it not be better for us to get them by our valour, and to be our own carvers, than to buy them at such extravagant and disadvantageous rates as we have done, considering the lowness of our cash? If you are frightened at the difficulties of repassing the rivers, by what we have already experienced, I would have you consider how probable it is, that the barbarians have purposely misled us: however, at the worst it is but tracing them up to their sources, and there you may ford them, without going up to the knees in wa-

(I) One singular instance he there reminds them of, viz. of the vast army of the *Persians*, and their allies, who came to invade their capital, and were bravely repulsed: so that the *Athenians* having made a vow to sacrifice as many goats to *Diana* as they slew of the enemy, they could not find enough: whereupon they resolved to sacrifice five hundred every year: which custom, he tells them, was still observed, in memory of that signal victory (14).

(14) *Ltb.* iii. p. 201. edit. 2. *Hutchinson*.

“ ter. But if all these should fail us, we ought not to be
 “ disheartened: we are not inferior in bravery to the *Mysians*,
 “ *Pisidians*, and *Lycanians*, who have shaken off the *Persian*
 “ yoke, who are in quiet possession of some of the finest pro-
 “ vinces of the *Persian* empire, and have their fortified towns,
 “ and make frequent inroads into all the neighbouring countries.
 “ After all, I know not whether it be not impolitic in us to
 “ betray such earnestness after our native country; and whe-
 “ ther it would not be more wisely done to order our matters
 “ as if we designed to settle ourselves here. I am sure, that if
 “ the *Mysians* would consent to leave their present abode, the
 “ king would be so far from refusing them proper and faithful
 “ guides to conduct them, that he would even level the roads,
 “ and furnish them with carriages, if they insisted upon it;
 “ and I doubt not but he would as readily do the same for us,
 “ if he once saw us disposed to stay here: but I am much
 “ afraid, that, in this case, our living in plenty and ease, and
 “ the conversation of the beautiful *Mede* and *Persian* women,
 “ would soon make us forget our native home; and am there-
 “ fore of opinion, that it is better for us to return to *Greece*;
 “ and let our countrymen know, that it is their fault they are
 “ no richer, since they might send all their poor hither, to be
 “ glutted with wealth; for this, gentlemen, is the reward of
 “ victory.” *Xenophon* thus proceeded:

“ THE next thing I have to propose to you is, in what man- *Order of*
 “ ner we may march, with the greatest security; and, if ne- *the march.*
 “ cessary, fight with the greatest advantage. And, first of
 “ all, I think we ought to burn all our carriages, the care of
 “ which will but retard our marches: the same I think of our
 “ tents and baggage, of which we should only preserve that
 “ which is most necessary, either for war or for our provi-
 “ sions, that we may march on the more regularly. One
 “ successful victory will indemnify us; for the conquered, and
 “ what belongs to them, will be ours of course. One main
 “ point I must by no means omit: You know, that the *Per-*
 “ *sians* did not dare to attack us whilst we were under
 “ the conduct of such experienced generals as we then had;
 “ but since they have seized and butchered them, and think
 “ us under a kind of anarchy, they will conclude, that we
 “ may be easily conquered by them: for this reason I think it
 “ highly necessary, that our present generals be more cautious
 “ and vigilant, and the soldiers more obedient and submissive
 “ to them; which may be effectually done, if you make an
 “ order, that every one of you that are present shall assist the
 “ commander in punishing the stubborn and disobedient. By
 “ this means the enemy will find, that, instead of one *Clear-*
 “ *chus*, we have recovered a thousand, who will not suffer a
 “ man

“man to neglect his duty. If what I have proposed meets
 “with your approbation, ratify it immediately, and let it be
 “put in execution before the enemy appear. And if any of
 “you, though a private centinel, hath any thing better to of-
 “fer, let him do it without fear; for our preservation is a
 “general concern (K).”

Approved
 of by the
 whole
 army;

HE was silent; and *Cheirisophus* only said, that if there should be any necessity to add any thing to what *Xenophon* had proposed, it might be done afterwards: “At present, said he, let us who are of his opinion, ratify what he hath laid before us.” Upon which they all held up their hands; and *Xenophon* concluded his speech, in words to this effect: “It is now evident, that we ought to march to some place where we may supply ourselves with provisions; and I am informed, that there are many rich villages, not above twenty stades from hence. Should the enemy attempt to harass us in our march, it will be only like cowardly dogs, that bark after those that fly, but run away from those that face them. Possibly therefore we shall retreat with greater safety, if we dispose the heavy-armed men and baggage in an hollow square: let therefore each man take his post before the enemy appear, that when they approach us, he may have nothing to do but to engage them. Let *Cheirisophus*, the *Lacedæmonian*, command the front; let the two eldest generals command the flanks; and *Timasion* and me, who are the youngest, for the present take charge of the rear. We may hereafter find occasion to improve this disposition; and if any of you can now offer any thing better, let him do it, or else approve of mine, by holding up his hands.” Which they all did; and then he said: “You are now to depart, and execute what is determined. Whoever among you is desirous to return to his family, let him remember, that fighting bravely is the only means to effect it: whoever hath a mind to live, let him endeavour to conquer: if any of you covets wealth, let him strive to overcome; for the victorious not only preserves his own, but is intitled to what belongs to the conquered.”

(K) We have contented ourselves with giving our readers the substance of this noble speech, rather than a full translation of it, which would have carried us too far; and by this we have also avoided entering into certain critical niceties, which, however proper in a regular version of this celebrated author, would not

have been so in a work of this nature. At the same time, we hope our *English* readers will not be displeased with this fresh instance of the merit and abilities of a captain, to whose eloquence, as well as wisdom, conduct, and bravery, the chief success of this great transaction was owing.

XENO-

XENOPHON had no sooner ended, than they all went about ^{and put in} their several works, burnt their carriages, tents, and super- ^{execution.}fluous baggage, and were just sat down to dinner, when *Mithridates* appeared, with about thirty horse, and desired to *Mithri-* speak to the *Grecian* chiefs. This man, who had formerly ^{dates ap-}served under *Cyrus*, was sent by the king, as a fit person ^{pears.}to sound their resolutions; and he pretending the same friendship to them that he ever had, told them, that if he found them upon any salutary expedient, he would bring all his men with him, and join them in it. After a short consultation, *Cheirisophus*, in the name of the rest, told him, that their design was to make as safe and peaceable a retreat as they could; but that, if they met with any opposition, they were resolved to fight their way through it. *Mithridates* tried in vain to persuade them, that such an enterprize could not be carried on against the king's consent; his arguments rendered him the more suspected to them. Upon which they immediately resolved, that from that time they would never admit of any farther treaty or parley with the *Persians*, till they were got out of their dominions (L).

As soon as they had dined, they began their march, and ^{*Pass the*}crossed over the river *Zabatus*, in the order that had been pro- ^{*Zabatus.*}posed by *Xenophon*, and their phalanx, which faced on the four sides, seemed to bid defiance to the enemy. They had not gone far before the *Persian* satrap appeared again, at the head of two hundred horse, and four hundred light archers and slingers. They advanced, at first, as friends; but, as soon as they were got within shot, they began to discharge a volley of arrows and stones; which greatly annoyed the *Grecian* rear, ^{*Annoyed*}whose bows did not carry so far as the *Persians*. *Xenophon* ^{*by the*}seeing this, fell upon them with his rear; upon which they ^{*Persians.*}betook themselves to flight, and being light-armed, easily kept out of his reach: neither did their cavalry, who could shoot backwards from their horses, suffer the *Greeks* to separate too far from the main army, as it had wounded many of those who were most forward in the pursuit; so that all the efforts of the satrap served only to retard that day's march, which did not

(L) The *Greek* chiefs had a double reason for interdicting all future commerce with the *Persians*, since these turned them into a double advantage against them, the one to pry into their councils and resolutions, and the other to inveigle their soldiers away: and, even from this last conference with the *Persian* satrap, *Xenophon* tells us, that *Nicarchus*, an *Arcadian* captain, deserted over to them that very night, with about twenty of his men (15).

(15) *Ibid.* p. 216.

Xeno-
phon's
oversight;

and ad-
vice.

A squa-
dron of
horse
formed.

Defeat
the Per-
sians.

exceed twenty-five stades. However, they reached, towards the evening, the villages which *Xenophon* had mentioned to them; and there *Cheirisophus* took the liberty of reproving him for having ventured to leave the main body to pursue the enemy, and exposing himself, without any probability of hurting them.

XENOPHON, who was for turning this mischance to advantage, instead of palliating it, readily owned he had been overseen: "But, added he, we have reason to thank the gods, that, instead of their doing us any harm, they have only shewed us what we still wanted, in order the better to secure our retreat; for, since the *Persians* could so easily harass us, and yet keep out of the reach of our darts, it plainly points out to us the necessity, that we should furnish ourselves with some horse, to give them chace, whenever they appear again. We have among us a good number of *Rhodians*, who are much better slingers than the Barbarians, and can throw leaden balls at them, instead of stones: let us, said he, form them into a body, and add such others of our men as are dextrous at that weapon. I have some horses among our baggage, and there are some more left by *Clearchus*, and others taken from the enemy; let us pick out the best of them, and form them into a squadron, which may, in their turn, annoy the enemy in their flight." His proposal was readily agreed to; and that very night two hundred slingers lifted themselves into that squadron, and on the next morning fifty of them were mounted and provided with cuirasses; and *Lycius*, the son of *Polystratus*, an *Athenian*, was appointed to command over them. This new corps proved not only very necessary to repel the attacks of the *Persians*, but even, at this juncture, to facilitate their march through a narrow valley, formed by a torrent, through which they were to pass on the next day, and where they expected to have been opposed by the enemy. *Mithridates*, however, did not appear till they had got out of it. He was then at the head of one thousand horse, and four hundred archers; and, highly flushed with his late success, which he had greatly magnified to *Tissaphernes*, had engaged, with those forces, to deliver up the *Greeks* to him. As soon therefore as these had advanced about eight stades beyond the valley, they saw him coming against them, at the head of his small army, expecting to have made a discharge upon them, without exposing himself to theirs. He had just begun to cast some darts upon them, when *Lycius's* horsemen, at the signal given by the trumpet, fell furiously on the *Persians*, who were so terrified at it, that they fled, with all possible speed, to the valley. In this pursuit the *Persians* lost many of their foot, and about eighteen of their horse.

horse. The *Greeks*, at the same time, mangled the bodies of the slain, to create the greater horror in the enemy.

THE *Grecians* having thus put the enemy to flight, continued their march, and came, at the close of the day, to the banks of the *Tigris*, where stood a large uninhabited city, called *Larissa* (M); and on the next, after a six leagues march, came to an old uninhabited castle, which stood near the town of *Mespila*, likewise inhabited formerly by the *Medes* (N). On the next day they marched four parasangs, during which they

(M) *Bochart* is of opinion, that the right name of this antient city was *Resen*, the same that is said by *Moses* to have been built by *Asshur*, between *Nineveh* and *Calah* (16); and that the *Greeks* asking what ruins those were of the inhabitants, they answered, *לרסן*, *Laressen*; that is, of *Resen*, the L being the article of the genitive case, which not being rightly understood, they softened it into *Larissa* (17). His reason for that conjecture is, that no *Greeks* settled so far as these *Assyrian* parts till the time of *Alexander's* conquests, which did not happen till a long time after *Xenophon's* death. Others, however, make no scruple to stile this city an antient colony of the *Thessalians*, as its *Greek* name imports, and as some of the learned men in *Alexander's* army discovered afterwards, from more authentic monuments.

As for the city itself, it was two leagues in circuit; and *Xenophon* adds, that it had been antiently inhabited by the *Medes*. The walls were twenty-five feet in breadth, and one hundred in height, built of brick; and the plinth of stone, and 20 feet high. It made the greatest resistance of any against the *Persians*, till an eclipse of the sun frightened the inhabitants into a surrender.

Near the walls of the city stood a large pyramid, tho' different from the taste of those we have described, in treating of *Egypt* (18), and vastly inferior in bigness, being only one hundred feet square, and two hundred in height; and into that structure ran a great number of *Barbarians* for shelter, from the neighbouring villages, at the coming of the *Greek* army.

(N) The ruins of this city did still retain a great deal of its antient grandeur, and sufficiently shewed the magnificence of the *Median* empire. The walls of it were six leagues in circumference, fifty feet broad, and one hundred in height; and stood upon a plinth of fine blue polished stone, beautifully variegated with shells, fifty feet thick, and as many in height. Here the *Median* queen is said to have taken refuge, when that empire was invaded by the *Persians*: it held out likewise a long and stubborn siege against them; and might, in all likelihood, have baffled all their force, had not the inhabitants, like those of *Larissa*, been seized with an unaccountable panic, struck into them, as they supposed, by *Jupiter*, which obliged them to surrender.

(16) *Gen.* x. 12.
p. 425, & seq.

(17) *Ptoleg.* l. iv. c. 23.

(18) See before, vol. 2.

Tiffa-
phernes's
army in-
creased;

but re-
pulsed.

saw *Mithridates*, at the head of his own cavalry, to which he had now joined the troops of *Orontas*, the king's son-in-law, and a body of Barbarians, which had served under *Cyrus*, besides the army which the king's brother had brought to his assistance, and some other forces which he had obtained from that monarch; all which together formed a considerable army. Some of them, as he approached, he placed against the *Grecian* rear, and others against their flanks; and, without venturing to attack them in form, contented himself with making a discharge of his darts and stones; whereupon the *Rhodians* and *Cretans*, who were disposed in platoons, and much more expert at their bows and slings, let fly whole volleys at them, with such success, that both *Tissaphernes*, and the other divisions, were glad to retire out of their reach: so that the *Greeks* continued their march the remaining part of the day, without any farther skirmishes, the *Persians* keeping still at a great distance behind them (O).

HERE they staid that day, and the next, to supply themselves with provisions, of which they found great plenty, as well as with other necessaries, mentioned in the last note; and, on the third, continued their march through an open country, whilst *Tissaphernes* followed them afar off, without shewing any inclination to attack them. However, the *Greek* chiefs found reason to alter their method of marching in an equilateral square, which they now saw was in no case a proper disposition for a retreating army; and, upon several occasions, might have exposed them to the enemy's attacks, if they had had the courage to make any (P). They therefore resolved to form

(O) Our author here observes, that the slings of the *Rhodians* carried farther, not only than those of the *Persians*, but even than most of their archers could sling their arrows. The *Persian* bows are long; so that, when their arrows were taken up, they proved of great service to the *Cretans*, who continued returning them to them; and, taking a great elevation, could reach them at a greater distance. Besides this, the *Greeks* found a good supply of bowstrings, and of lead to cast into balls, in those villages through which they pas-

sed; both which they successfully employed against the enemy (18).

(P) This inconveniency was more particularly found whenever the square body came to a narrow road, to a defile between hills, or in passing over a bridge; at which times the wings, as our author rightly observes, were obliged to close, and the heavy-armed men consequently being forced out of their ranks, marched very uneasily, being both squeezed too close, and confused, and so became useless for want of keeping in right order.

(18) *Αναβάσις, ubi supra.*

form six companies, of an hundred men each; these they divided into others of fifty each; and these again into others of twenty-five each; and appointed officers over them all. These captains, when the wings closed upon a march, staid behind so as not to disorder the rear, and, at the same time, marched clear of the wings; and, when the sides of the square came again to be extended, filled up the centre, if the opening was narrow, with the companies of an hundred men each; if large, with those of fifty; and, if larger still, with those of twenty-five: so that the centre was always full. Whenever, therefore, the army came to a defile or bridge, all confusion was prevented by these officers bringing up the rear; and if a detachment was wanted upon any occasion, these companies were always at hand.

THEY made four marches according to this disposition, without meeting with any thing worth notice; and, on the fifth day, perceived a royal palace, and a number of villages about it; the road to it lay over high hills, that reached down from the mountain, under which stood one of those villages. They marched over them without interruption from the enemy's cavalry, which, from the nature of the ground, could not act; but suffered very much from their infantry, which had posted themselves upon the tops of the hills, and harassed them exceedingly as they ascended one hill, or descended another, their archers and slingers wounding great numbers of them; whilst those of the *Greeks*, not having room to extend themselves, but being mixed with those who guarded the baggage, became useless all that day. In this manner, the *Persian*

On the other hand, when the wings came to extend themselves again, the men who before were forced out of their ranks, must divide, and consequently leave an opening in the centre, which could not but dishearten those who were thus exposed, when the enemy was close at their heels; to say nothing of the confusion they commonly threw themselves into on the crossing over a bridge, where every man was eager to go before another. We may add, that all these difficulties not only exposed them to the enemy,

which might one time or other induce them to attack them, but likewise greatly retarded their march; whereas this new disposition was the most proper, both to accelerate it, and to dishearten the *Persians* from attempting to obstruct it. Some difficulties there are found in *Xenophon's* text, on this new method, which we cannot enter into without going beyond our length; but these the curious will find sufficiently cleared up by a late judicious translator, to whom, for want of room, we shall refer them (19).

(19) *Spelman*, vol. i. p. 222.

fatraps continued, according to their usual discipline, to drive their troops on towards the enemy; and, i the *Greeks* offered to advance towards them, they immediately retreated out of their reach, and, as soon as those had rejoined their camp, set upon them afresh: however, all these efforts did not hinder the *Grecian* army's march over three of those hills; after which they came to a village, where the governor of the province kept his magazines of provisions, such as corn, barley, wine, meal, &c. Here they halted three days, not only to get themselves a fresh supply, but likewise to take care of their many wounded (Q).

On the fourth day, as they descended into the next plain, *Tissaphernes*, with his army, overtook them; which obliged them to encamp at the next village they came to; they being unable any longer to maintain a running-fight, by reason of their wounded, or of those who carried them and their arms. However, as they had encamped before the Barbarians could come up to the village, they soon let them know the difference between attacking them in their posts, and harassing them in their march; so that *Tissaphernes* was forced again to retreat, and to keep to his usual distance of sixty stades from their camp, for fear of being surprised by them in the dead of the night (R); and the *Greeks*, not thinking it expedient to pursue them, decamped also, and advanced about sixty stades more from them; insomuch that they did not see each other either the next day or the day after. On the fourth they appeared on an eminence, on which they had taken care to post themselves the night before, because it commanded the road through which the *Greeks* must pass. Hereupon *Cheirisophus* sent orders to *Xenophon* to come with his targeteers to the front. But, he being unwilling to leave the rear exposed, came without them; and, observing that there

Keep at a distance.

(Q) Our author says, they appointed eight physicians, or rather surgeons, to dress them; and that many of them were so desperately wounded, that they were not able to march, but were carried by the rest, who were too generous to leave them to the mercy of the Barbarians.

(R) We shall not need to wonder at their keeping at such distance from the *Greeks*, if we consider the confusion and danger which a surprize in the night would have exposed such a camp

as theirs to; for, as our author observes, their horses were usually tied together, to prevent their straggling; so that, if an alarm happened, the riders had their housings to fix, their horses to loose and bridle, and their corselets to put on, before they could mount: all which could not be done in the night, especially upon a surprize, without difficulty and confusion, in so numerous an army as *Tissaphernes* then had.

was a passage to the top of the hill, above the enemy's post, offered himself to go, and dislodge them thence; and having received a reinforcement of targeteers from the front, and those that were in the middle of the square, began to lead them up the hill: they climbed it with such swiftness, that it raised a great shout in both armies, each endeavouring to gain the top before the other.

It was on this occasion, that *Xenophon* gave a signal instance *Xenophon's* of his moderation as well as bravery: "Come on, said he, my brave soldiers; this is the last encounter we shall have with the enemy, and which will soon open to us the way into Greece." Here he was smartly taken up by a *Sicyonian*, named *Soteridas*, who roundly told him, that he spoke at his ease, being on horseback, whilst he was quite foun-
 dered with lugging his shield. *Xenophon* no sooner heard him than he leaped from his horse; and, taking the shield in his hand, moved with double speed up the hill, encouraging the rest to follow him: which so exasperated them against the *Sicyonian*, that they loaded him with ill language, and made him take up his shield again. *Xenophon* remounted his horse, and led them on, till the cragginess of the hill obliged him to dismount afresh, whilst the *Greek* army from below encouraged him and his troops with their shouts; and, as soon as they had gained the top, they beheld with pleasure the cowardly *Tissaphernes* and *Ariæus* turning out of the road, and marching off with all the speed they could. At the same time *Cheirisophus* led his army down into the plain, and encamped for that night at a village, where they found plenty of all things, besides some other villages, at a small distance from the *Tigris*, all full of provisions. Here they had, however, several of their men, who had ventured too far after plunder, killed by the *Persians*, whilst *Tissaphernes* attempted to burn some of the more distant villages.

By this time *Xenophon* and his men had joined the *Greeks* in the plain; to whom he addressed himself as follows: "You see that the Barbarians, by the hostilities they commit, and which we have forborn, acknowledge us masters of this country; and, I think, said he, to *Cheirisophus*, that it would highly become us to free its poor inhabitants from those incendiaries." "I am not of your opinion (replied he); and I think, that if we set fire to it ourselves, they will give over the sooner." Notwithstanding all this success, every day made them feel some fresh difficulties: on the one hand, the plain before them was hemmed in by vast and inaccessible mountains, and on the other by the *Tigris*, which was here so deep, that their longest pikes could not reach the bottom of it: there were no vessels, or flat-bottomed boats to be seen upon

it, nor any possibility of throwing a bridge over it. At length came a *Rhodian* to them, who engaged to contrive a pontoon, upon which four thousand men might be wafted over at once, provided they furnished him with such things as he wanted, and gave him a talent for his reward. Being asked, what materials he should want; he answered, Only two thousand leathern bags, which might be easily procured, by flaying as many cattle, and blowing up their skins; which might be afterwards fastened to each other with proper girts, and poised with stones let down into the water; and these being covered with fascines and earth, to prevent the men slipping down, he engaged, that each bag would bear up two men, and so to ferry over four thousand at one crossing. This project seemed, indeed, very ingenious, and well contrived; the misfortune was, that there appeared some *Persian* cavalry on the opposite shore, which would not fail of breaking all these measures: upon which the captains came to a resolution of taking a quite contrary road from that they had gone, and of burning all the villages they left behind; by which means the enemy would be kept in suspense, not knowing which way they designed to steer.

Uncertain
how to
steer their
course.

WHILE the soldiers were busy in getting a supply of provisions, the chiefs, still at a loss what to resolve, held a council amongst them; in which having severally examined their prisoners, concerning the countries that lay round them, they were informed that the south road led to *Media* and *Babylon*, through which they came; that the east road led to *Susa* and *Ecbatane*, where the king was said to pass the spring and summer; the western, which lay over the *Tigris*, led to *Lydia* and *Ionia*; and the northern, which was over high mountains, led to the country of the *Carduchi* (S), a warlike and uncon-

(S) These were the descendants of the antient *Scythians*, who, as we have elsewhere seen, spread themselves all over these northern tracts (20); and were a stout warlike people, and divided into a vast number of tribes. The *Carduchi*, who gave our *Greeks* here so much trouble in their retreat, as we shall see in the sequel, were, according to *Strabo* (21), better known afterwards by the name of *Parthians*; a nation which be-

came such a terror to the *Romans*.

M. *De Lisle*, in his explanation of his map of *Xenophon's* retreat, gives several proofs, that they were the same with the present *Curdes*, their country the same which the *Romans* called *Corduena*, and the moderns now *Curdistan* (22); tho' it is probable, that the present tract that goes by that name is of much greater extent than that which the *Carduchi* then possessed, who

(20) See vol. vi. p. 1, et seqq.
the roy. academ. ann. 1721. p. 87.

(21) Geogr. l. xvi.

(22) *Memoirs of*

unconquered nation, which had once defeated a *Persian* army of an hundred and twenty thousand men, none of which ever returned, the roads being impassable. The prisoners added, that whenever they were at peace with the *Persian* governor of the plain, there was then an intercourse between the two nations; and that having got over those barbarous countries, they would enter into the fertile plains of *Armenia*, of which *Orontas* was then governor, where they might either ford over the *Tigris*, or march round the spring-head of it, and from thence continue their route with ease and safety which way they pleased. The *Tigris* being impassable on the west, they had no way left to steer but northward over the mountains; and being afraid lest the passes should be guarded by the enemy, they resolved to keep their march as secret as possible; and having offered the usual sacrifices, ordered the soldiers to go to rest, and to be ready to march on the first signal ^e.

Take the
northern
road.

ACCORDINGLY the orders for marching were given a little before the last watch of the night; so that they had time enough to cross the plain before them whilst it was dark, and *Cheirisophus*, who commanded the van, was got to the summit of the first hills, before he was perceived by the enemy. *Xenophon* brought up the rear at the head of the heavy-armed, which were the most dreaded by the *Persians*, tho' these did not dare to attack them whilst they were going up the hill. As soon as they had passed it, they followed their van into the villages that were dispersed in the valleys and sides of the mountains. The *Carduchi* no sooner perceived them than they betook themselves to flight with their wives and children, and gave them a fair opportunity of supplying themselves with plenty of provisions. The *Greeks* had, till now, flattered themselves, that they might, with ease, obtain a friendly passage through their country, as both were enemies of the *Persians*; and therefore, instead of pursuing them in their flight, they called after them, and, by the tone of their voice, and other gestures, endeavored

The
Carduchi
fly from
them.

^e XENOPHON, ubi supra, in fin. l. iii.

only occupied the mountainous parts of it (23).

However that be, *Plutarch* informs us (24), that this very *Artaxerxes*, against whom this expedition was undertaken, had invaded their country at the head of three hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse;

and that his army would have, in all probability, perished with famine, had not *Teribaxus* found means to raise such mutual jealousies between the two *Carduchian* kings, as induced them to clap up a peace with the *Persians*.

(23) See the map at the head of this appendix. (24) In vit. *Artax.*

Xeno-
phon ha-
rassed by
them.

voured to bring them to a friendly parley. But when they found them deaf to all their invitations and motions, *Cheiriosophus* encamped his troops in the first villages he met with; but forbore meddling with any thing but such provisions as they stood in need of. *Xenophon*, with his heavy rear-guard, fared much worse, suffering greatly not only from the craggedness of the roads, and the difficult ascents and descents, but likewise from loose bands of the *Carduchi*, who came upon them unawares, and harassed them with their volleys of darts and stones (T). And well it was for him that they were so few, and attacked them so late; for had they been more in number, and fallen upon them sooner in the day, they might have made terrible havock among them: but as it happened, they had only time to attack the extremity of the rear, and killed and wounded but a small number of them: however, they got safe to the villages, and the *Carduchi* made fires all round them upon the mountains, and both sides spent the night in watching of each other^f.

Abandons
his su-
perfluous
baggage.

THE *Greeks*, beginning already to find what a dangerous task it would be to open to themselves a way through a country so craggy and mountainous, and a people so stout and fierce, came to a resolution, by the very next morning, to leave behind all their superfluous baggage, horses, slaves, and prisoners, which only served to clog and retard their march, and to keep many hands employed in the care of them, that might be of more service elsewhere, besides causing a greater scarcity of provisions. As soon therefore as they had dined, the generals placed themselves in a narrow defile, where the army was to pass before them, and took from each soldier every thing that was superfluous or cumbersome, though they would not so far exasperate them, as to deprive them of any handsome captive, for whom they shewed a more than common fondness; and in this manner they continued their march, sometimes fighting, and sometimes resting. The next day proving rainy and stormy, made it still more difficult. However, they were obliged to move on, because their

^f XENOPHON, ubi supra, l. iv. c. i, & seqq.

(T) The *Carduchi* did as much excel the *Greeks* in the use and strength of their bows, as those did the *Persians*. We are told, they were of such prodigious length, that they bent them with their feet; the arrows were so in proportion, and so well tempered and keen, and darted with such violence, that no shield was proof against them (25) so that, by being able to throw them at such vast distance, they kept themselves out of the reach of those of the enemy.

(25) Vid. *Died. Sic.* l. xiv. et *Xenoph.* ubi supra, l. iv.

provisions began to fail; and, as the passes through which their route lay were very narrow, they suffered still more from the *Carduchi*, who lay scattered on each side, and terribly harassed them; and, if the *Greeks* offered to halt, or pursue them, they could presently retire, and shelter themselves behind the rocks, or among the defiles. *Cheirisophus*, who still led the van, which consisted of the light-armed, was frequently, on that account, obliged to halt, and stay for *Xenophon*, whose rear, as we have said, was made up of the heavy-armed. One day, however, instead of waiting for him, he marched on with uncommon speed, and encouraged his men to follow him; by which the latter supposed, there had something extraordinary and the rear, being thus left behind, was terribly handled *Xenophon* on either side, and lost, among many others, two of its bravest officers, viz. *Cleonymus* a *Lacedæmonian*, and *Basias* an *Arcadian*, the latter of whom had his head pierced quite through with an arrow. *Still harassed by the Carduchi.* *reared by them.*

As soon as *Xenophon*, who made the best running fight of it he could, had overtaken the van, which he did in the next plain, where they encamped, he went directly to *Cheirisophus*, and bitterly complained of it, telling him what two brave commanders he had lost, without being able to bring them off, or bury them. To this the *Lacedæmonian* answered, That his design was to gain the summit of an hill, before the Barbarians possessed themselves of it; since his guides assured him there was no other way but that, for him to take. Here *Xenophon*, who had, in the late encounter, taken two prisoners, proposed to have them examined apart about it; which was immediately done: and one of them, in spite of all their threats of torturing him to death, stood strictly to it, that there was no other way, at least, that he knew of none: whereupon the other being called, and the first killed before him, acquainted them, that the reason of his obstinacy was, that he had a daughter married to a man, who lived on the road which he concealed from them, and, at the same time, engaged to conduct them through it himself; and assured them, that it was passable even for sumpter-horses; but added, that it was commanded by an eminence, which, if not secured, would render the pass impracticable.

THE main of the army was made acquainted with it, and a commission, to get possession of this pass, was tendered to those who would voluntarily undertake it: upon which two brave *Arcadians*, named *Agasias* and *Aristonymus*, offering themselves, were appointed to conduct the enterprize: presently after which, two other chiefs, of equal merit, contested that post of honour with them, viz. *Callimachus* the *Parrhasian*, and *Aristeas* of *Chios*; and were joined in the same

Xenophon harassed with huge stones.

commission. They had two thousand men under their command: *Xenophon's* guide was likewise delivered up bound to them; and it was agreed, that they should endeavour to gain the summit that night, and, the next morning, by break of day, if they succeeded, give notice of it to the rest by sound of trumpet. Things being thus ordered, they began their march under the conduct of their guide; and, though it rained very hard that night, *Xenophon* marched, at the head of his rear, towards the passage before them, in order to draw the enemy that way, and conceal the motions of their detachment. But, as he was leading his men through a valley, in order to gain an ascent, the Barbarians rolled down stones of a monstrous weight and size, which, breaking in pieces in their fall, made it impossible for them to go farther; and this was continued all that night.

The pass gained by the van.

IN the mean time, the volunteers, having taken a long compass, fell upon the enemy's guard as they were sitting round a fire, and, having killed some of them, and forced the rest down the precipice, imagined they had got possession of the summit; but, to their surprize, they found an eminence still above it, near which lay a narrow way, where the guard sat; but that was possessed by the enemy, and, night coming on, they were obliged to stay where they were. A thick, heavy fog, which happened the next morning, so effectually covered their march, that they surprized the enemy; who, however, proved too nimble for them, and plied their heels so well, that they could not kill one of them. But they took care to sound the trumpet, to give notice to the rest of their own army; at which signal the whole body of light-armed men began to move towards them, and to gain the summit by different ways, some of which were so craggy and steep, that those who were above, were forced to draw the rest up with their pikes; and, after much struggle and toil, joined the detachment of *Agasias*.

Xenophon greatly annoyed.

THE misfortune was, that *Xenophon*, and his heavy-armed rear and sumpter-horses, could not follow them up the steep ascent; but were forced to fetch the same compass that *Agasias* had done: so that the enemy, who were posted on an eminence above the road, kept continually annoying them with huge stones; which obliged his men to march scattered here-and-there, to avoid them; and the pieces which broke from the great stones in the fall, flew with as much force, as if sent out of an engine. However, though night prevented their going farther, they received no other damage than from the noise they made, and the fright it kept them in till the next morning; when they continued their march at break of day. They had not gone far, before they perceived the *Carduchi* on another eminence, which they were likewise obliged to pass over;

over; at the sight of whom the soldiers mutually encouraged each other to advance and attack them; which the Barbarians observing, betook themselves to flight, without shooting an arrow, or throwing a stone at them. They had no sooner gained this hill, but they saw another before them, guarded likewise by the enemy; and which they also resolved to attack. However, for fear any of them should come back to this they were on, and from thence annoy the sumpter-horses as they passed, *Xenophon* thought fit to leave it guarded by a good detachment, which he committed to the care of *Cephisodorus* an Athenian, and *Archagoras* a banished Argive, two trusty captains; whilst he, with the rest of his rear, marched towards the other hill; which he gained in the same manner. There still remained a third, and much steeper, viz. that on which *Agasias*, and his detachment, had surprised the enemy's guard; but this was likewise abandoned by the Barbarians, to the great amazement of the Greeks: but their design was, as they had observed from thence all that had passed before, to fall upon the rear as fast as they could.

THEY did so accordingly; and the brave *Cephisodorus*, with some other officers of equal valour, lost their lives in defence of their post; whilst his colleague *Archagoras*, considering the danger of such a fruitless opposition, leaped down the precipice, followed by the rest of his men, who, in spite of all the opposition of the Barbarians, found means to join *Xenophon's* rear-guard, and acquainted him with what had passed on the tops of the hill. Here that general, seeing the enemy on the opposite eminence, took that opportunity to treat with them by an interpreter, and to demand his dead from them; to which they consented, on condition that he would not burn their villages. Whilst they were upon this treaty, the other part of the army approached, and all moving towards the same place, the enemy made a stand; and, as soon as *Xenophon* was come down the hill, to join the rest, which stood ranged below in battalia, they began their old work of rolling stones upon them, by which one Greek had his legs broke; and *Xenophon*, whose armour-bearer had gone off with his shield, was in no small danger, till an Arcadian, named *Eurylochus*, came, and covered him and himself with his own. At length, after a fatiguing and dangerous march of seven days, through the most dreadful rocks, hills, and dales, and harassed all that time by the Barbarians, they arrived at a most delightful plain, where they found many fine houses to quarter in, and such a great plenty of provisions, especially of wine, that the inhabitants had filled their cisterns with it. Here also they prevailed upon the *Carduchi*, out of whose territories they now were, to deliver up their dead, in

New difficulties ;

The impassable Centrites.

exchange of their prisoners ; and those they buried with all the funeral honours that their present situation would permit.

THE *Armenian* plains, they had now, with so much difficulty, got in sight of, would soon have revived their hopes of seeing once more their beloved country, had not the entrance into them been obstructed by the river *Centrites*, which is two hundred feet wide, and falls into a lake of a vast extent. However, they staid there to refresh themselves, and enjoy that plenty and variety, which the country yielded to them, and began to look upon their former hardships as happily at an end ; but, the next morning, their hopes were dashed again at the sight of an army of horse and foot drawn up on the other side of the river, on an eminence about three or four hundred feet from it, and in battle-array, in order to oppose their crossing it. These were *Armenians*, *Mygdonians*, *Chaldeans*, and other auxiliaries, hired by *Orontas* governor of that province. The only road the *Greeks* could discover led upwards, and seemed to have been made by art ; and, the breadth of the river inducing them to believe it fordable, they tried to pass it there ; but they had not gone far, before they found the water come up to their breasts, whilst the slippery stones at the bottom made them often lose their footing, and their shields and arms caused them to be borne away by the stream ; and, if they tried to carry them on their heads, their bodies lay exposed to the enemy's darts : so that they saw themselves obliged to go back, and encamp on the banks of the river.

Xenophon revives their hopes.

IN this dismal plight, the worst, perhaps, they had yet felt (being hemmed in by an impassable river, and numerous army, on one side, on the other by inaccessible mountains, and behind by a fierce and dreadful enemy) they spent a melancholy night, and a day, being neither able to move forward nor backward, without imminent danger. At length *Xenophon*, who had learned from his master *Socrates*, to strike out hopes from superstition, as well as philosophy, was, in some measure, relieved by a dream, in which he fancied himself in chains, and awoke with the pleasure of seeing them break off of their own accord. He arose immediately, and went to communicate it to *Cheirisophus*, and the rest of the *Greek* chiefs ; who were no less pleased with it, and, in thankfulness, offered some sacrifices to the gods, wherein the victims seemed to confirm the favourableness of the dream. The army was soon after ordered to go to breakfast ; and, whilst *Xenophon* was taking his own, two young soldiers were brought to him ; for, whether eating or sleeping, access was never denied to any that came to communicate any matter of concern to him. These told him, that, whilst they were gone a little way to gather some firing, they perceived two or three persons on the other side of the river,

river, who were hiding some things like bags of cloaths in the cavity of a rock; from which they concluded, they might safely ford over there, especially as the banks on the other side were inaccessible to the enemy's horse; and that they had accordingly passed it, the water not rising above their middle.

Xenophon, highly pleased with the news, immediately ordered a libation to be offered to the gods, who had discovered this passage to him, in confirmation of his dream; and then conducted the two youths to *Cheirisophus*, where it was unanimously resolved, that they should forthwith follow the route which the gods had pointed out to them. This ford was about four stades from the camp, whither the two youths conducted the army, *Cheirisophus*, with the light-armed troops, leading the van, *Xenophon*, with his heavy-armed, bringing up the rear, and the sumpter-horses marching in the middle; and in this order they were to cross the river at the ford. Here they saw the enemy's cavalry on the opposite shore, watching their motions, without being able to annoy them. *Cheirisophus*, who was crowned with a garland of flowers, first pulled off his cloaths, and, taking up his arms, commanded his van to do the same, and to march through the river in columns, some on his right, and others on his left. All this while, the priests were pouring the blood of the victims into the waves, and proclaimed, that they saw nothing but good omens; and the soldiers, and their women, were singing the pæan in a kind of chorus, whilst they were entering into the river.

In the mean time, *Xenophon* and his rear, instead of following them in the same tract, made a feint, as if he designed to cross it at the place below, where they had lately attempted it; which had the desired effect on the enemy's cavalry on the other side, who fearing to be thereby surrounded by the Greeks, abandoned their posts, and fled towards the road that led from the river into the country. Whereupon *Cheirisophus*, who with his van had gained the shore, sent *Lycius* and *Æschines*, with the horse and targeteers under their command, in pursuit of them, who cried, as they went up the hill, *We will not be left behind, but will march up with you in a body.* At the same time *Cheirisophus*, instead of going after them, marched, with the rest of his men, along the river-side, to the other body of the enemy, who seeing themselves abandoned by their cavalry, soon quitted the eminence that commanded the river, and fled. *Xenophon* perceiving, from the other side, how well his stratagem had succeeded, returned in all haste to the army that was passing over; but, by this time, they beheld some *Carduchian* troops descending into the plain, as if designing to fall upon the rear: upon which he ordered his men to face about, and divided them into several small bodies of twenty-five

five men each, in order to march against them, while the hindmost men of every file posted themselves along the banks of the river.

THE *Carduchi* seeing the rear so thinned, by the departure of those who escorted the baggage, came down the faster upon them, singing as they marched; which being perceived by *Cheirisophus*, who knew that all was secure on his side, he sent some of his targeteers and slingers back to his assistance. *Xenophon* no sooner observed their coming down towards him, than he sent them orders not to enter into the river, but to range themselves in two files, at a small distance from it; and that, when they saw him begin to pass with his men, they should come forward, in the water, on each side, opposite to him, with their bows bent, and their slings pointed against the enemy, as if they designed to cross over to them, but not to advance far into the water. He next charged his own men not to quit their ranks, in crossing of the river, and not to fall upon the *Carduchi* till the trumpet gave the signal; after which he ordered the sumpter-horses, the women, and other retinue, to pass over. By this time the *Carduchi* being come near enough, began to discharge their bows and slings at the rest; but, as they had only been used to fight the enemy in the mountains, where they could retreat as fast as they pleased, they found themselves now so much at a loss how to engage them on the plain, that they were put to the rout almost upon the first blowing of the trumpet: so that, after they were all got safe across the river, they could still see them flying, with the same swiftness. The *Greek* army now united again about noon, and in an inhabited plain marched five parasangs more, in order to reach a town where was a stately palace belonging to the satrap, and where most of the houses were adorned with turrets. Here they found a plentiful supply of all things; and in two days more, or ten parasangs, they were got above the head of the *Tigris*; and in three more, or fifteen parasangs, came to the river *Teleboas* (U), which, though not large, had many handsome villages along its banks, which furnished them with plenty of provisions.

Put the
enemy to
flight.

Get into a
fertile
plain.

THIS country was called the *Western Armenia*, and was governed by *Teribazus*, a satrap, in such favour with the king,

(U) We know but little of this river, its course, or any thing else, except that it is placed by our author, and the *Byzantine* geographer, near the spring-head of the *Tigris*, and runs through a fertile and delightful plain (25). The reader may see, by the map, that it crosses all the country of *Armenia*, and falls, at length, into the *Euphrates*, a little above the city of *Zeugma*.

(25) *Idem, ibid. Steph. de urb. in voc.*

that,

that, when present, he was the only person allowed to lift him upon his horse. He had formed a treacherous design to intrap and destroy them; the better to conceal which, he met them, at the head of a troop of horse, and desired a conference with their chiefs: which being agreed to, he told them, that he was willing to grant them a free passage, and necessary provisions, in case they engaged to abstain from all hostilities: upon which a league was immediately concluded, and sworn to, between them. *Treat with the treacherous Teribazus.*

From thence they marched about fifteen parasangs more in three days, *Teribazus* marching at about the distance of ten stades from them, and came, at length, to a royal palace, surrounded with many villages, abounding with provisions, and where a deep snow that fell in the night (W) obliged them to take their quarters in the adjacent villages, which supplied them with all things in great plenty, and even with victims, and wine of an exquisite flavour and taste. Here they received intelligence from some of their straggling men, that there was an army encamped at some distance from them, which they had discovered by the light of the fires that were kindled about it: upon which the chiefs immediately convened; and judging it unsafe for their troops to be at such distance from each other, resolved to have them joined, and encamped abroad; but a fresh quantity of snow had fallen so deep on that night, that on the morrow *Xenophon*, who was commonly one of the earliest abroad, could not perceive where the soldiers lay; and both they, and the sumpter-horses, were so benumbed with cold, that they could hardly be got upon their feet. *Xenophon*, though half-naked, immediately took an hatchet in his hand, and, with it cutting boughs from the trees, some of the rest followed his example; upon which they all got up, and, making large fires, anointed themselves with such oils and drugs as they had, or could get, till they were quite recovered from their numbness; and, it being now found too dangerous to suffer them to lie longer in the open air, they were again sent to their former quarters in the villages. The chiefs dispatched a detachment, under the conduct of *Democrates of Temenus*, a

(W) Altho' it may appear matter of wonder, that this country, which lieth between the thirty-seventh and fortieth degrees of latitude, should be liable to such excessive frosts and snows, yet it is no more than what all authors, both antient and modern, affirm, particularly *M. Tournefort*, who hath been an eye-witness of it; and hath endeavoured to account for the snow lying on those high hills near ten months in the year. The reader may see it in that author's eighteenth letter, or in *Spelman's* note on *Xenophon*, on this place, where a further light is given to that fact, from other writers.

faithful and fit person for such an expedition, to the mountains, whence their stragglers had seen the fires, and who, at his return, assured them, that he had not perceived any; but told them, that he had brought a prisoner with him, who said he belonged to *Teribazus's* army, and acquainted them, that the satraps were preparing to attack them at a defile in the mountains; and, being asked what forces they had, answered, that, besides their own army, they had some mercenary troops of *Chalybians* and *Toachians*.

Secure an
important
pass, and
put the
Persians
to flight.

UPON this report, the *Greek* chiefs resolved to secure that pass as soon as they could; and, leaving the camp under the care of *Sophænetus*, took their prisoner for their guide, and moved forward towards the place. As soon as they got over the mountains, and perceived *Teribazus's* camp, the targeteers, who were then foremost, gave a great shout, and ran towards it, without staying for the heavy-armed; which so alarmed the Barbarians, that they immediately left it, and betook themselves to such a precipitate flight, that but few of them were killed, and only about twenty horses taken. They found in *Teribazus's* tent beds with silver feet, and drinking cups, together with some prisoners, who called themselves his bakers and cup-bearers; all which they seized, and carried off. Immediately after which, they sounded a retreat, and marched directly to their former camp, to prevent the Barbarians attacking it, and arrived at it on the same day. On the next morning, they marched, with all the haste they could, to gain the pass before-mentioned, ere the enemy could have time to rally, and set forward, with several guides, through very deep snows, which did not a little obstruct their march; and having, on the same day, passed the defile where *Teribazus* designed to have attacked them, they encamped. From thence they made three days marches through a desert, and came near the head of the *Euphrates*, which they forded with ease, the water not rising above their middle: after which they went fifteen parasangs, through deep snows, in three days, the last of which proved the most grievous, the north wind blowing full in their faces; but, upon their offering up some victims to *Boreas*, the vehemence of it visibly abated. However, the snow was a fathom deep, and the cold so intense, that many of their slaves and horses died, besides thirty of their men. This was, at first, looked upon as some kind of sickness that raged among them; but they soon found out, that there wanted nothing but good warm nourishment to recover them (X). Whilst *Xenophon*

March
through a
desert, and
cross the
Euphra-
tes.

(X) *Xenophon*, who observed great numbers of his men lying on the ground, asked what they ailed, and was answered by some who were better acquainted with the nature of their distemper,

was taking that care upon himself, *Cheirisophus* arrived at a *The van* village about the close of the day, where he found some women *encamps in* drawing water at a well without the walls. These asked him, *a village;* what troops those were, and whither they were going. To whom he answered, by his *Persian* interpreter, that they were sent by the king to the satrap: upon which they replied, that the satrap's palace was about a parasang farther. But, night coming on, he followed them into the village, with all that could come up, and encamped there that night.

XENOPHON, and his rear, who could not keep up with *and Xe-* them, fared much worse, being forced to encamp in the open *nophon in* air, without fire or victuals; insomuch that several of them *the open* died with hunger and cold, and the rest were quite exhausted *air;* and spiritless. Some of them had lost their sight by the glaring *and in* of the snow, and others their hands and feet by the coldness of *great* it. The first were, indeed, relieved by wearing something *distress.* black over their eyes, and the others by keeping their limbs in a constant motion, and by putting off their shoes at night (Y). But the greatest of all evils was their being quite spiritless, and *The* out of heart; insomuch that several of them laid themselves *Greeks* down by the side of a fountain, where the snow was melted *utterly* round, and protested, that they would stir no farther, but die *despirited.* there. *Xenophon*, being informed of this, went forthwith to persuade them to follow the army; and, among other things, told them, that the enemy was just at hand, a detachment of whom had actually surprised some of their horses and baggage; but neither his persuasions nor threats could get any thing from them, except that their lives were at his disposal, and that he might kill them, if he pleased; for they were not able to go

temper, that it was called the *Bulimy*; a disease which, *Galen* tells us, causes a violent craving for victuals, makes men lose the use of their limbs, turn pale, and fall down; while the extremities are numbed, the stomach oppressed, and the pulse is scarcely felt (26); but, being told, that, if any refreshment was presently given to them, they would rise again, he instantly went to the baggage, and got what provisions he could, and divided among those who laboured under the distemper; upon which they soon found themselves able

to get up, and continue their march.

(Y) This, it seems, they were forced to do, because those that slept with them on found the latches pierce their flesh; and their shoes stick close to their feet; for their old ones being worn out, they were forced to make use of what they called carbatines, or sandals, or rather perhaps shoes made of raw hides (27): and these were what so damaged their feet, that they were neither able to stand or go.

(26) Vide Hutchins. et Spelm. not. in *Xenoph.*

(27) Idem, *ibid.*

Barba-
rians put
to flight.

Encamp in
the vil-
lages.

on. His concern, however, lest they should be surprised and cut in pieces by the *Persians*, who were advancing in great numbers, made him try to strike a terror into the Barbarians; and, taking such of his men as had still courage and resolution enough left to follow him, he marched, and attacked them, as they were quarreling about some booty they had taken; causing the invalids all the while to strike their pikes against their shields, and to shout with all their might; which so alarmed the enemy, that they threw themselves into the valley through the snow, and were heard of no more.

XENOPHON, with the rest of his little victorious body, returned to his invalids, and promised, that they should receive some relief by the next morning; but, before he had moved four stades forward, he found new ones in the same dismal plight, lying on the snow, starved with cold and hunger, and without any guard. These he likewise assisted the best he could; and, as soon as they were able to rise, they acquainted him, that the van-guard did not move forward; and, being informed of their reason for halting, he moved towards them, and, on the next day, according to his promise, sent some of the van-guard to fetch the sick and invalids, who were very numerous: and, by this means, the whole army was reunited, to their no small joy. It being the opinion of their chiefs, that they might be quartered in the villages, *Cheirisophus* staid with his van in that they were in, and the rest were distributed in those in the neighbourhood, where, to their no small comfort, they found plenty of all provisions, and spent seven whole days in such feasting and jollity, as, they thought, made them ample amends for all the fatigues and hardships they had undergone (Z).

(Z) The houses here were, it seems, built after a different form than they had hitherto seen, and were all under-ground. The entrance into them was like the mouth of a spacious well, at which they went down by a ladder, into the apartments below, which they found very large, and filled with goats, sheep, cows, fowls, with their young, &c. but those had a particular entrance dug for them, and had all of them their proper food and fodder stored in with them. Here they likewise found plenty of wheat, barley, pulse, beer in

jars, in which the malt was still floating upon the brim, with reeds of different sizes, and without joints: these last any that were dry put to their mouths, and sucked the liquor with them, which was very strong, if not diluted with water, and exceeding pleasant to those that were used to it. Our author calls it, *ἰσχυρὸν κριθῶν*, literally, barley-wine; such, as *Herodotus* (28) tells us, the *Egyptians* used instead of wine; and the invention of which is attributed to *Osiris*, or the *Egyptian Bacchus* (29).

(28) *Euterpe*.

(29) *Bibl. l. i.*

XENOPHON having, by his singular moderation and generosity, gained the affection of the bailiff of the village, that officer not only discovered to them a large reserve of wine hid underground, which proved very acceptable to the soldiers, but presented some very fine horses (A) to the subaltern officers; and engaged likewise to be their guide, till they arrived at another nation; which he accordingly did during the three first days journey, and would probably have gone farther, had he not taken some disgust at *Cheirisophus*, who struck him for not leading them to some villages, rather than through an uninhabited plain; whereupon he disappeared that very night. However, one main service he did them from their first marching, by teaching them to tie bags to their horses feet, to prevent their sinking into the snow, which, before that, they did up to their bellies. This ill treatment of the bailiff caused a great difference between *Cheirisophus* and *Xenophon*, though probably the only one they had during their whole march. They had taken a son of the bailiff's as a pledge for his fidelity, who being now left behind, in charge of *Episthenes*, that commander took such a liking to the youth, that he obliged him to go with him into Greece.

A fresh supply.

A difference between Cheirisophus and Xenophon.

AFTER a route of seven days, in which they marched five parasangs a day, they crossed the river *Phasis* (B), which is about an hundred feet broad; and from thence, after ten para-

Cross the Phasis.

(A) These horses were of so excellent a breed, that the whole country, which they were told was called *Armenia*, paid their tribute to the king in them. They were less, indeed, than those of *Persia*, but had more mettle, were finer shaped, and more fleet of foot. *Xenophon*, taking the bailiff with him to the village of the vanquished, visited every quarter, where his own men were in the height of feasting and mirth; the tables were covered with lamb, kid, pork, veal, fowl, and plenty of bread, some of wheat, and others of barley. When they came to that of *Cheirisophus*, they found them in the same jovial way, crowned with

garlands made of hay, and attended by *Armenian* boys, in *Persian* dresses: so that there was nothing to be seen through the whole *Greek* army but feasting and jollity, during their stay there.

(B) So our author calls it, *Φάσιν ποταμόν* but it cannot be supposed to be that which falls into the *Euxine* sea, and famed for its breed of pheasants; but rather, as most moderns think, the *Araxes*, which crosses *Armenia* from west to east, and falls into the *Caspian* sea (30), whose impetuous course is so boldly described by *Virgil*, *Pontem indignatus Araxes* (31).

(30) See de Lisle's map, at the beginning of this appendix; *Retraite des* 10,000; *Spelman*, &c. (31) *Æneid*. l. viii.

fangs more, they perceived an high mountain before them, the
 passage over which was guarded by troops, whom they found
 afterwards to be *Chalybians*, *Taochians*, and *Phasians*. *Cheiriso-*
sophus, who still led the van, seeing them thus advantageously
 posted, made an halt, till the companies were advanced to the
 front, and drawn up in a line; and, as soon as the rear was
 come up, he assembled the captains, and spoke to them to this
 effect: "You see, that the Barbarians are possessed of the pass
 " over the mountain; and we must now consider, whilst the
 " soldiers are taking some refreshment, whether we had best
 " attempt the passage to-day, or put it off till to-morrow."
 " My advice (says *Cleanor*) is to attack the enemy as soon
 " as we have dined, lest our delay should increase their confi-
 " dence, and give them time to get fresh assistance." *Xeno-*
phon was of his opinion, that, if they must needs fight the
 enemy, they ought to lose no time: "But (added he) might
 " we not go over the mountain without striking a stroke? It
 " appears to be above sixty stades in length, and the enemy
 " only guards one part of it: might not we therefore find out
 " some other ascent, which, though more difficult, may yet
 " be less dangerous? The surest way for an army, seems to
 " me to be that where it hath no foe to encounter; and that
 " may be done by stealing a march in the night, and taking
 " a good compass about." Then, addressing himself to *Cheiriso-*
sophus, with a smile, "The *Lacedæmonians* (said he) are na-
 " turally made for such enterprizes, and the best among you
 " inured, from their childhood, to such furtive exploits: so
 " that, instead of a dishonour, you reckon it a duty to steal
 " those things which the law hath not debarred you from.
 " And, in order to teach you to steal with greater dexterity
 " and secrecy, your laws have provided, that those who are
 " caught in the fact shall be whipped. This is therefore the
 " time for you to shew how far your education hath improved
 " you; and to take care, that our stealing this march be not
 " discovered, and we made to smart for it." To this *Cheiriso-*
sophus replied, in the same gay humour, "That the theft
 " now in question being of a public, and not of a private na-
 " ture, the *Athenians*, especially those that enjoy the greatest
 " dignities, are much more expert at it, who can rob the
 " public treasury, notwithstanding the danger they run. So
 " that this will be a fit opportunity for you to display the
 " effects of your education." They both, upon the whole,
 agreed to *Xenophon's* proposal, who rightly concluded, from
 some large cattle which the guides had discovered on the top,
 that the mountain was far from inaccessible: whereupon it was
 resolved, that a detachment should be dispatched that very
 night, to climb up to, and take possession of it: which was ac-
 cordingly

Xeno-
phon's
pleasant
advice.

Cheiriso-
sophus's
smart an-
swer.

cordingly done; and *Xenophon* offered to be one of them; but *Climb up*
Cheirisophus, unwilling that he should leave the care of his *the hill*.
 rear, other chiefs were nominated to that enterprize, viz.
Aristonymus, *Aristæus*, and *Nicomachus*, at the head of the
 light-armed, who were ordered, as soon as they had gained
 the top, to give notice of it, by lighting of fires. After this
 they adjourned to their dinner; which done, *Cheirisophus* led
 the whole army within ten stades of the enemy, as if he de-
 signed to march that way.

THE enemy no sooner perceived the detachment possessed
 of that post, than they began to light several fires, and con-
 tinued under arms all that night; and, as soon as it began to
 be day-light, *Cheirisophus*, at the head of his van, marched di-
 rectly to that pass which was guarded by them, whilst those
 who had gained the top came down to assist him in the attack. *Gain the*
 The Barbarians, finding themselves charged on both sides, *ascent*.
 faced them, and made a stouter defence than usual; neither
 did they give ground till they lost a good number of their men;
 so that the ground was covered with their broad shields, which
 the *Greeks* not thinking worth taking up, cut into small pieces.
 As soon as these had gained the ascent, and offered the usual
 sacrifices, they reared a trophy on the place, and marched down
 into the plain, where they found villages well stored with all
 sorts of provisions. From thence they marched into the country *Come into*
 of the *Taochians*, making thirty parasangs in five days; but *the coun-*
 began, at length, to find, that their provisions were like to *try of the*
 fail; for the *Taochians*, who inhabited in rocks and caves, had *Taochi-*
 conveyed their cattle and other victuals thither: so that there *ans*.
 was no coming at any fresh ones, without attacking them in
 those high and almost inaccessible places. *Cheirisophus*, soon
 after perceiving several of those Barbarians, men and women,
 on an eminence, sent a detachment through a defile which
 he supposed led thither, but which, being surrounded with pre-
 cipices, could not be attacked on all sides at once. The com-
 panies climbed up one after another, but were terribly annoyed *Annoyed*
 with the large stones that were rolled down the hill, and broke *by them*,
 the ribs, arms, and legs, of the soldiers.

XENOPHON coming up with his rear in the lucky minute,
Cheirisophus shewed him the danger and difficulty of gaining
 that height, without which they must not expect to find any
 fresh supply of provisions: upon which *Xenophon* asked him,
 what those Barbarians would do after they had flung down all
 the stones they had. "Till then (said he) one part of the
 " ascent, which seems about one hundred feet in length, hath
 " groups of pine-trees on both sides, behind which our men
 " may shelter themselves from their stones; and, when these
 " cease, the rest, which is not above fifty feet, must be
 " climbed

Their furious despair.

Route through several barbarous countries.

“climbed with double expedition.” As he spoke to men resolved to gain the mountain, or die, there was no small emulation between the commanding officers, who should get first up to the top; and, after much struggle between them, *Eurylochus* passed by the rest, and had the glory of the action; for, as soon as he had reached the place, they left off throwing stones from above; and, instead of that, men, women, and children, flung themselves down headlong with such fury, that *Æneas*, a *Stymphalian*, shocked at the dreadful spectacle, having unhappily endeavoured to stop one of these furious creatures from following the rest, was dragged himself down the precipice, and both of them were dashed in pieces. The *Greeks* made few prisoners, but carried off a great number of sheep, oxen, and asses; and then continued their route into the country of the *Chalybians* (C), and made fifty parasangs in seven days march; for, being so terribly harassed by them, and having no other provisions than what they took from the *Taschians*, they were glad to make all possible haste out of their country. At the end of the seven days, they came to the river *Harpagus*, which they found to be four hundred feet wide, falling into the *Araxes* lately mentioned. After they had passed it, they marched through some parts of the country of the *Scythians*; and, in four days march, or twenty parasangs, arrived at some villages, where they halted three days, to get a fresh supply of provisions.

AFTER this seasonable refreshment, they came, in four days march, or twenty parasangs, to a large and well inhabited city, called *Gymnias*. Here they were met by a mes-

(C) These, which *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Chalcideans* (32), were the most valiant people the *Greeks* till then had met with. They were fierce and warlike, and, equally able to engage them on the plains as on the mountains, followed them all the way through their country, and terribly annoyed them in their march, and often came to close engagement with them.

We are much in the dark about them; and can only observe here, that they were a different nation from those which *Xenophon* mentions in the sequel

(33)

They wore linen corslets that reached below their navel, and, instead of tassels, thick twisted cords: they wore also greaves and helmets; and, at their girdle, hung a short falchion, not unlike those of the *Lacedæmonians*, with which having cut the throats of those they conquered, they afterwards cut off their heads, and carried them in triumph. They commonly began to sing and dance as soon as they were perceived by the enemy. Their pikes were fifteen cubits long, and with only one point.

(32) *Bibl. l. xiv.*

(33) *Lib. v.*

senger from the governor of the country, who offered to conduct them through the country of his enemies; and promised, in five days, to bring them to a place from whence they should see the sea; and, in case he did not, consented to be put to death. He conducted them accordingly; and, all the way they went desired them to lay all waste with fire and sword; by which they found, that he came rather with that view than out of friendship to them. They arrived, on the fifth day, at the holy mountain called *Teches*, where, as soon as the vanguard had gained the top, and were got in full view of the sea, they set up such shouts, as made *Xenophon* and his rear-guard conclude, that they had been attacked by some fresh enemy. He was then engaged with some Barbarians, who had fallen on his rear, to revenge the havock they had made thro' their country: these *Xenophon* soon put to flight; but, finding the shouts of the vanguard to grow still louder, he made what haste he could to *Cheirisophus's* assistance; and, upon his coming nearer, heard them distinctly cry out, *thalatta! thalatta!* that is, *the sea! the sea!* This not only dispelled their fears, but made them move forward with uncommon eagerness, till, the whole army being joined on the top of the mountains, the chiefs and soldiers fell embracing and congratulating each other with tears of joy. Here they began to rear an high monument of stones, by whose order is not known, upon which they placed a great number of shields, made of raw ox-hides, and taken from the enemy, in memory of this day, the happiest they had met with in all their long march. Their next care was to shew their gratitude to their guide, whom they dismissed with thanks, and a considerable present (D), after he had shewed them the village where they were to quarter next, and the road that led into the country of the *Macronians*, thro' which they afterwards passed, making ten parasangs in three days.

*Come in
view of
the sea.*

*Erect a
trophy on
the mount.*

BUT, from the first day's march they saw themselves strangely hemmed between a ridge of high mountains on one side, and a river on the other; on the opposite banks of which they beheld the *Macronians*, well armed, and ranged in battle-array, ready to obstruct their passage, and throwing large stones at them, which, though they could not reach them, yet shewed the uncommon eagerness they were in to attack and destroy them. The river, which was the boundary be-

*Opposed by
the Ma-
cronians.*

(D) Which consisted of a horse, a silver cup, a *Persian* garment, and ten *darics*; all which were taken out of the public stock: besides which, he desired the soldiers to give him some of their rings; which many of them did: and their guide set out for his own home that very evening.

Make a
treaty
with
them.

Come to
Colchis.

Form a
new dispo-
sition.

tween the two nations, had its banks lined with trees, not large indeed, but growing almost close to each other; and these they immediately cut down, that they might the sooner get from that place. There happened to be a targeteer in *Xenophon's* rear, who came up to him, and acquainted him, that, having been sold to the *Athenians* from his youth, and ignorant of his native country, he had some notion, that he was of *Macronian* extract; and therefore begged, that he might be allowed to confer with them: which being granted, he asked them, why they drew themselves up in a hostile manner. To which they replied, Because you come to invade our country. Upon this the general ordered him to tell them, that they had no such design; but that, having made war against the *Persian* king, they only desired a friendly passage through their territories, in their return home. Being asked, whether the *Greeks* would give them sufficient security for that, they answered, That they were ready both to give and take it. Upon which a treaty was immediately concluded and ratified between them (E); and the *Macronians* came, in a friendly manner, to them; helped them to cut down the trees, to facilitate their passage over; and, having supplied them with plenty of provisions, conducted them, in three days march, to the *Colchian* mountains (F).

ONE of them, that lay before their way, though large, yet appearing to them far from being inaccessible, they immediately resolved to attempt it by their phalanxes, because they saw it defended by the *Colchians*: but the difficulty which *Xenophon* foresaw would attend it in some of those ascents, where the line must be broken, which might dishearten their men, made him propose a new disposition; which was to make the

(E) The ceremony of this ratification, our author tells us, was done by an exchange of spears, the *Macronians* sending one of theirs to them, and receiving one of the *Greeks* in its stead; which was their method of pledging their faith (34).

(F) We have hitherto followed our author through vast countries, the greatest part of whose inhabitants are scarcely known to us but by his history, and begin now to tread upon classic

ground, as a late author rightly terms it (35), where almost every river, mountain, and city, hath been signalized by the actions of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and more particularly in their writings. This *Colchian* region, among some others, we have given an account of in a former volume, as it had been rendered famous, from early ages, for the *Argonautic* expedition (36). The rest will come in course.

(34) *Ibid.* l. iv. ad fin.
vol. vi. p. 217. et seq.

(35) *Spelman in eund. ibid.*

(36) *Vide supra,*

heavy.

heavy-armed march in separate columns of one hundred men each; by which means they might gain the top by different roads, without incommoding one another, or exposing themselves too far, and thence pour down their forces upon the Barbarians, and surround them on all sides; and if any of the columns should be annoyed by the enemy, the other might come to its assistance; and the summit being once gained by any of them, they should not fail to put them to flight, as they had hitherto done.

His proposal was readily agreed to by all the chiefs, and put in execution, and eighty companies of heavy-armed, of one hundred men each, were immediately formed, whilst the light-armed were disposed of on the wings and centre: after which *Xenophon*, marching through their ranks, from the right to the left, encouraged them with these words: "The enemy you see before you, gentlemen, are the only obstacle we have now left to encounter, in our return to the place whither we have been so long hastening; and them, if we can, we ought even to eat alive." Upon which the soldiers betook themselves to their usual vows, and to the singing of the *paean*, and began their march. *Cheirisophus* and *Xenophon* advanced, at the head of the targeteers, who extended beyond the enemy's line; and these, seeing them coming up, marched forward to receive them, some filing in haste to the right, and some to the left, and left a void space in the centre. This being observed by the *Arcadians*, commanded by *Æschines*, they no longer doubted but they fled from them; and, hastening their march with all speed, were the first who gained the summit. They were soon followed by the targeteers, commanded by *Gleanor*; upon which the enemy began to give ground, and betook themselves to flight, some by one way and some by another; which gave the *Greeks* an opportunity of encamping themselves in several villages full of all sorts of provisions.

AND here it was, that the soldiers, finding great plenty of honey, of exquisite taste and flavour, but exceeding heady, eat it in such quantities, that they were all seized with a giddiness, some wallowing upon the ground like men dead drunk, others being seized with a kind of phrensy, according as they had eat more or less of it (G), inso much that the ground seemed

(G) This disorderly effect is, in some measure, accounted for by *Pliny* (37), and farther explained by *Tournefort*, who was upon the spot (38); the former of whom says, that this honey is called *mænomenon*, from its causing a kind of madness; and adds, that it is gathered by the bees from the flower of a plant called

(37) *Plin. nat. hist. l. xxi. c. 13.*(38) *Letter xix.*

seemed then like a field of battle covered with dying men, every symptom appearing mortal to those who beheld them. These symptoms, however, went off in about twenty-four hours, generally venting themselves in a violent vomiting and purging; which weakened them so much, that for several days they could scarce stand upon their feet, tho' they had all recovered their senses by the next day: at length they recovered their strength likewise; and, having made seven parasangs in two days march, they arrived on the third at *Trebizond*, a city situate on the south-coast of the *Euxine* sea (H); and found themselves, at length, in a place of safety, after their long and glorious march. The *Trebizontines* furnished them, all the time of their stay, which was about a month, with all sorts of provisions, and presented them with oxen, and other victims, and with plenty of meal and wine.

Arrive at
Trebizond.

Gymnic
games ce-
lebrated.

HERE the *Greek* chiefs made it one of their first cares to pay their thanks and vows to the gods, to whom they ascribed all their surprising success, and who had inspired them with that courage which had enabled them to overcome such series of obstacles and misfortunes. The gymnic games, which succeeded their sacrifices, augmented the joy as well as magnificence of the solemnity; and these were celebrated on the mountain on which they were encamped, which had a declivity towards the sea-side, and the barrier was placed near the altar where they had sacrificed (I). The whole was conducted with no less

rhododendros. The latter describes two flowers he hath seen there, which he supposes to be of the same nature, if not the very same, because the people of the country look upon the honey gathered from them to produce the effects mentioned by *Xenophon*.

(H) This famed city, antiently called *Trapezus*, and since *Trebizond* (and once the metropolis of a small and short-lived, though famed, empire, of which we shall have occasion to speak in some of the subsequent volumes), is supposed to have been a colony of the *Sinopians*, though in the country of the *Colchi-*

ans; but was only a station for ships to ride at anchor in, till the emperor *Adrian* built a port on the east side of it (39). It is now called, by the *Turks*, *Platanæ*, and hath been much neglected ever since it came into their hands (40).

(I) These games, which were committed to the conduct of *Dracontius*, a *Spartan* exile, consisted of several races, one of them run by boys, most of them their prisoners; the next by sixty *Cretans*, mounted on their cars, and running in front; others were of single horses, which ran to the sea-side, and turning there, came up again to the altar:

(39) *Vid. Arrian. peripl. pont. Euxin.*

(40) *Tournefort, letter xvi. et al.*

less emulation and dexterity in the actors, than satisfaction to the spectators &c.

THESE diversions and feasting being over, the chiefs called a general assembly, in order to deliberate which way they should steer next, when an old soldier stood up, and spoke to the following effect: "For my part, I am already so tired *An old soldier's bold speech.*
 " with getting ready my arms and baggage, with marching,
 " fighting, and watching, that I heartily desire, since we
 " are come to the sea, to take the advantage of it, and sail
 " homeward, as *Ulysses* did, and get to my country sleeping,
 " and at my ease." His plain and blunt speech was applauded with an universal shout; and all of them there present expressed the same desire. Upon which *Cheirisophus* told them, that, *Cheirisophus's advice.*
 his friend *Anaxibius* being admiral of the *Spartan* fleet, he would readily go, if they desired it, and engage him to send him back, with a sufficient number of vessels to transport them to their several homes; so that they had nothing to do but to wait his return, which he promised should be very speedy. His proposal was unanimously agreed to; and he was accordingly deputed, and set sail immediately. As soon as he was gone, *Xenophon* spoke to them about providing for their safety, *Xenophon's advice.*
 and a supply of necessaries for the army; which last he told them the city of *Trebizond* was neither able to furnish, nor they in a condition to purchase, their cash being now almost exhausted. He therefore advised them to make some inroads into the country, during their stay, but by no means to venture out without guides, and a good escort, and not to suffer themselves to straggle from each other, in pursuit of plunder, lest they should fall a prey to the enemy. He farther proposed, that none should be allowed to go upon these expeditions, without express commission from their chiefs; and that those that went should signify the places where they intended to make their inroads, that they might, in case of need, be succoured and assisted by those that staid behind. These, and some other wise regulations, he offered to the general assembly for their approbation, which were unanimously agreed to by

& XENOPHON, ubi supra, in fin. l. iv.

many of them rolled down the steep descent, but, upon their return, could hardly keep up a foot-pace. To these they added wrestling, boxing, and other martial as well as athletic exercises; all which afforded no small delight to their generous hosts the *Trebizontines* (41).

(41) *Xenoph. ubi supra, in fin. l. iv. De his lud. vide etiam Potter archæol. Græc. l. ii. c. 21. Burnettii dissertat. et al.*

all the soldiers (K); after which they nominated such as should set forward into the enemy's country, whilst the rest were ordered to keep strong guards about the camp, to prevent any reprisals from them ^b.

THE next thing he offered to their consideration was, that, in case *Cheirisophus* should not be able to bring a sufficient number of vessels, it was highly requisite they should secure some more from thence: "For (says he), if we are already supplied with them when he arrives, we shall have the greater number to transport us; and, if he comes without any, we shall make use of those we have secured." He therefore advised to make sure of all the vessels that arrived at *Trebizond*, to set a guard on them, and maintain the mariners at the public charge. This being also agreed to, the last thing he proposed, in order to provide against all events, was, to oblige the inhabitants of the maritime towns, that lay in their route, to repair the roads, that, in case they should not have a sufficient number of ships, the rest of the army might march with more ease, the roads being at that time so bad, as to be, in many places, hardly passable; and this, said he, they will be ready enough to do, either out of fear, or desire to be rid of us. But this last proposal was rejected by the whole soldiery, who had no mind to go by land: nevertheless *Xenophon*, without putting it to the vote, sent immediate word to those cities, that the *Greek* army would shortly march through their territories; and that, if the roads proved good, they would the sooner leave their country.

Xenophon orders the roads to be repaired.

WHILST they were getting some ships from the *Trebizontines*, against whom it would have been the highest ingratitude to commit hostilities, *Xenophon* led out one half of the army against the *Drilians*, leaving the rest to guard the camp, because the *Colchians* were encamped in great numbers

^b Idem *ibid.* l. v.

(K) As we have, by this time, brought the *Greek* army out of all their difficulties and dangers, we shall, in the sequel, content ourselves with giving our readers a short account of the most material transactions which happened to them till their retreat was completed, without entering into that minute detail which our author hath, and which we think not so necessary as it was whilst they travelled through the countries of powerful and inveterate enemies, thro' deserts, and over inaccessible mountains; and were forced to fight their way through, under all imaginable disadvantages; and where it was necessary to give a full view of the wisdom, conduct, and bravery, by which they extricated themselves out of them.

on an opposite eminence. The guides did not conduct them to such places where provisions were easy to be got, as being in friendship with them, but to some other of those territories, by whose inhabitants they had been ill treated, who were some of the fiercest and most warlike, and where they could get nothing but by dint of fighting, and climbing up inaccessible hills. Besides, the *Drilians* had set fire to all the places that were easy of access; so that they found only some oxen, hogs, and *Plunder* small cattle, that had escaped the fire. They attempted like-*the Dri-* wise a place, which was stiled their metropolis; but which *lians.* proved so strong, and well defended, that they met with a severe repulse, and were dreadfully galled by the enemy in their *Meet with* retreat. *Xenophon*, however, being assured, that the place *a stout re-* was well stored with provisions and plunder, resolved upon *pulse;* taking it; and with great labour, difficulty, and the bravery of his men, gained it; but was surpris'd to find in it an impregnable citadel; from which the garison sallied out, and wounded a great number of his *Greeks*. They harass'd them still more *Harass'd* in their retreat through the streets of the place: so that he *in their* found no better expedient to secure it, than by setting the *retreat,* houses, ramparts, tower, and fort, on fire, to keep the enemy employed. They were in no less danger the next day, when they took the road down the steep hills with the plunder they had taken; and *Xenophon* was again forced to use all the policy he was master of, to avoid the ambushes and pursuit of the enemy: so that it was with the greatest difficulty and danger, as well as some loss, that they got safe to their camp with the few provisions they had.

ALL this while, neither *Cheirisophus* returned, nor were the ships they had secured sufficient to transport them. Not being, therefore, able to subsist longer there, they resolved to *Divide* divide the army, and to put on board the vessels all the sick, *their ar-* wounded, women, and soldiers, whilst the remainder took *my.* their march along the sea-coast; and, after three days, the roads having been mended, arrived at *Cerasus*, a colony of the *Sinopians* in *Colchis*, where they disposed of their slaves, and made a distribution of the money to the men, the generals reserving only the tenth part for an offering to the *Delphic* *Apollo*, and the *Ephesian Diana*. Here also their little fleet being arrived, they resolved to review the remainder of their army; and found, that, of between ten or eleven thousand men, of which it consisted when they accompanied *Cyrus* to *Babylon*, they had still eight thousand left, after all the many combats, snows, sicknesses, and other disasters, they had undergone during so long and dangerous a march.

HERE having staid ten days to refresh themselves, one part pursued their course by sea, and the other by land; and these
last

Ally with last arrived at the confines of the *Mosynæcians* (L), where *Xenophon*, taking advantage of a war which they were then waging with their neighbours, about a strong city, which they called their metropolis (the citadel of which, which side soever had possession of, was always looked upon to have the command over all the rest, but which, he was told, their enemies had unjustly seized upon), chose to enter into a friendly alliance with them, rather than to engage the whole nation, and assisted them in taking that place, and to defeat those who opposed them. In this encounter, the enemy's king, who commanded in one of the wooden towers situate on an eminence, chose to be burnt, with all that were in it, rather than yield. The *Greeks* found great plenty of provisions in the city (M); and, having well refreshed themselves, they went forward, after having resigned the place to those *Mosynæcians*, who had assisted them in taking it; and, as they advanced, found most of the other towns abandoned, or ready to surrender. These stood at about eight stades, more or less, asunder; and yet so

(L) Signifying the same as *Turricolæ*, which name the *Greeks* gave them, on account of their living in towers (42), which *Pomponius Mela* tells us were made of wood (43). They inhabited along the coasts of the *Euxine* sea, and were more stout and barbarous than any of the nations they had gone through. They had shields made of white ox-hides, with the hair on, and shaped like an ivy-leaf; they held a spear six cubits long, in their right-hand, with a point on the upper-part, and a round ball at the bottom, all of the same wood. They wore thin vests, which did not reach quite to their knees; their helmets were made of leather, from the middle of which arose a tuft of hair, braided to a point, like a tiara; and their battle-axes were made of iron.

So proud and fierce they were, that, when one of the *Greek* chiefs was sent to inquire of

them, whether they would let them pass through their country as friends or enemies, they answered, they were ready for either. However, as they were then at war with their neighbours, *Xenophon*, by his address, and promise to assist them in it, easily brought them to a friendly treaty, in which they also promised to assist and conduct them.

(M) Among them the bread, our author was told, was baked the year before, the new corn being laid up in straw; they likewise found dolphins cut in pieces, and pickled in jars, and others filled with the fat of it, which they used instead of oil. Their garrets were filled with chestnuts, which they boiled, and eat, instead of bread; and, in their cellars was a sort of wine, which, when unmixed, was so rough, that it tasted sour, but being dashed with water, became very palatable (44).

(42) *Vide Dion. perieget. v. 776. Eustat. Diod. Sic. bibl. l. xiv. situ orb. l. i. c. 19.*

(44) *Xenoph. ubi supra, l. v.*

(43) *De*

hollow and mountainous was the country, that they could call to each other, and be heard. The nations thus subdued were remarkably savage and brutal (N). The *Greeks* were eight days in marching through their country, and that of the *Mosynæcians*, whom they had assisted, and came at last into the country of the *Chalybians* (O); which being very barren, they hastened to get through it, and crossed that of the *Tibarenians*, which is more fertile and champaign, and whose inhabitants met them with presents, in token of hospitality, and arrived at the city of *Cotyora* (P), where they staid no less than forty days. They had now traveled, in their retreat from the field of battle near *Babylon*, to this city, in one hundred and twenty-two marches, six hundred and twenty parasangs, or eighteen hundred stades, in about eight months (Q).

Arrive at
Cotyora.

THE

(N) They were, according to our author, but one remove from brutes; lazy and libidinous to the highest degree. There they saw the children of the wealthier sort, white and fair, and so fatted with boiled chestnuts, that they were near as thick as long; their backs were painted with divers colours, and their fore-parts embossed with various flowers. The men expressed a great desire to make public use of the women which the *Greeks* had with them; for it was, it seems, their custom to do that only in public which others do in private, and in private to behave as if they were in public; which is no more than what *Strabo* says (45) of the *Irish*, and *Julius Cæsar* of the antient *Britons* (46). They talked, laughed, and danced by themselves, as if in company, and were diverting others instead of themselves.

(O) These were subject to the *Mosynæcians*, and lived mostly by their iron manufacture;

from whence they have the name of *Chalybians*. *Strabo* was of opinion, that they were the same with the *Alyzonians*, mentioned by *Homer* (47); and that the poet either writ *Chalybes*, or that the inhabitants were originally called *Alybians*. If so, by what *Homer* writes of them, they seem to have been as famed for their silver as they were at that time for their iron mines.

As for the *Tibarenians*, *Xenophon* tells us, the *Greeks*, having a design to plunder their country, suspended the accepting of their presents till the gods were consulted, who declared against their intended hostilities; upon which they marched, in a friendly manner, to *Cotyora*.

(P) This was a *Greek* city, and a colony of the *Sinopians*, tho', in *Arrian's* time, it was dwindled into a small village (48).

(Q) This is *Xenophon's* own account of it; but which is looked upon as imperfect in both respects; as the reader may see by what we have said in our first

(45) *Geogr. l. iv.* (46) *Bell. Gall. l. vi.* (47) *Geogr. l. xii.* (48) *Peripl. pont. Euxin.*

Refused
entrance.

Sinopians
complain
against
them.

THE *Cotyorans*, who had heard of all the exploits performed by the *Greeks* in this glorious retreat, and could not but look upon them with a jealous eye, refused to admit their sick within their walls, or even to supply them with provisions; so that they were obliged to get admittance for the former by force, and, for the other, to make excursions into some of their territories, and those of the *Paphlagonians*. But, whilst they were busied in sacrificing to the gods, and celebrating their usual games, they received an embassy from *Sinope*, the then most powerful city in northern *Asia*, complaining of the injury done to their colony of *Cotyora*, and particularly of their forcing the inhabitants to receive their sick. *Hecatonymus*, who was the chief speaker, and wanted neither address nor eloquence, intermixed his harangue with soothing and threatening expressions; and as he, on the one hand, congratulated their success and valour, so, on the other, he plainly told them, that, unless they forbore all further hostilities, the

note to this appendix, and by the authors there quoted, to whom we shall refer our readers. Interpreters have likewise varied about the true amount of the parasangs and stades, reckoned at the end of his last book, particularly Mr. *Hutchinson*, who computes it to be three thousand three hundred and thirty-one *English* miles, reckoning eight stades to a mile. He might, indeed, have said *Greek* miles, and then his account would have been right; but it is plain, from Mr. *Arbutnot*, that that comes vastly short of the *English* mile. Mr. *Spelman* hath rectified that

account, in his last note on *Xenophon*, and makes the whole to amount only to three thousand three hundred five and an half *English* miles. The reader may see his calculation in the place above-quoted, as well as that of the parasangs, in his twenty-first note to the first book.

The time likewise of the expedition, viz. in the third year of the ninety-fourth *Olympiad*, and the length of it, viz. twenty-five months, may be seen fairly stated, if not fully proved, as we think, in the geographical dissertation formerly mentioned. The latter of them stands thus:

	Months.
From <i>Ephesus</i> to the battle	7
From the battle to their arrival at <i>Cotyora</i>	8
To their joining <i>Seuthes</i> (in a moderate computation)	6
Served under <i>Seuthes</i>	2
From leaving him to join <i>Thymbrio</i> , must be } near	2
	25

The reader may see his reasons for both (which we are obliged to omit, in a work like

this) in the curious piece above-mentioned, p. 67, & seq.

Sinopians

Sinopians would be obliged to return them, and call in *Corylas*, the *Paphlagonians*, and other allied nations, to their assistance against them. To this *Xenophon* answered, with his usual openness, to this effect: “We are come hither, well satisfied with having preserved our persons, and our arms, after so long and dangerous a march, seeing we could not fight our way through, and bring our booty with us. We have offered no violence to any but Barbarians, and have always forborn it where-ever we have met with any *Greek* colonies. The guides, which the *Trebizuntines* have furnished us with, can witness how strictly we have observed the laws of hospitality towards that city; and we have done the same even with those Barbarians who have granted us a free passage, as long as any provisions could be bought with money; and, if we have behaved in a different manner towards the *Cotyrians*, you ought to lay the blame of it to that inhumanity they shewed, in shutting up their gates against us, and refusing to supply us with provisions, which, they told us, they did in obedience to the *Sinopian* governor’s orders. All the hostility we have committed against them, hath been only the forcing our sick and wounded into their city, and setting a guard upon that gate, to secure their return to our army. The rest of us you see encamped in the open air, and equally ready to return a kindness, or resent an injury. And, as for your threats, we, who have encountered so many fierce and warlike nations in our retreat, cannot be at a loss how to defend ourselves against *Corylas* and his *Paphlagonians*; and, as we are informed that he wants to make himself master of your city, and the maritime towns, it will be easy for us to make him our friend, by assisting him in his designs, if you give us cause so to do.”

THIS speech so alarmed the rest of the ambassadors, who plainly perceived by it how impossible it would be either to overawe or overcome the *Greek* chiefs, that they unanimously disclaimed that of their orator, as far at least as related to the threatenings which *Xenophon* was so justly offended at; and declared, that they were sent not to declare war, but to offer their friendship, and, with it, all the services in their power, to them; that, if the *Greeks* designed to come to *Sinope*, they should meet with a kind reception there; and that, till then, they should be supplied with every thing by the *Cotyrians*. Upon this, there was nothing to be seen but tokens of hospitality and friendship on both sides, and such a mutual confidence, as quite removed all further jealousies; and the rest of the day was spent in feasting and mirth.

His address to them.

The Greeks resolve to go home by sea.

By that time they had staid forty days before *Cotyora*, *Xenophon* became impatient to wait any longer for *Cheirisophus*, of whom they had not heard any thing since his departure. He therefore resolved to make use of the good understanding between him and the *Sinopians* to engage them to furnish him with transport-ships; and, having called an assembly, in which those embassadors were admitted, he addressed himself to them, and desired them, as they were *Greeks*, to give them the best advice they could about their return into *Greece*. He was immediately answered by *Hecatonymus*, That they were ready to give them the best and most friendly advice, without any regard to their own private interest: that tho' he clearly foresaw to what inconvenience it would put the *Sinopian* state to furnish them with a sufficient number of ships to transport such a considerable body of men; yet, forasmuch as their route by land was so hazardous and difficult, both on account of the vast ridges of mountains they must go over, and the great number of warlike forces they must encounter with, by whose help *Corylas* had been enabled to shake off the *Persian* yoke; to say nothing of the great rivers, where their passage might be easily obstructed, particularly the *Iris*, *Halis*, *Thermodon*, and *Parthenius*, he was fully of opinion, that their going by sea was by far the safer and quicker way, since the *Sinopian* vessels would be able to land them, in a few days, at the port of *Heraclaea*; where you will have it in your option, said he, to continue your route either by sea or land; and, if you choose the first, there you will find a sufficient number of vessels for that purpose. The *Greek* chiefs could hardly forbear thinking his advice more partial in favour of *Corylas* than he pretended. However, upon mature consideration, they agreed to it, upon this condition, that the *Sinopians* should provide them a sufficient number of vessels for the whole army; for that they were fully determined to force their passage through any road, rather than suffer their army to be divided.

THIS resolution was immediately dispatched to *Sinope* by proper deputies of their own; and, whilst they were waiting for their return, *Xenophon*, who, like a true patriot and philosopher, was still meditating something for the good or honour of his country, had laid the project of establishing a *Greek* colony, on the *Euxine* coast, of his targeteers, archers, and slingers, who, by long experience, were become such excellent warriors, that they would easily maintain themselves against any opposition, enlarge their territories, and settle themselves into a kind of republic, of which his master *Socrates* should be the lawgiver. Before he communicated his design to any of the chiefs, he desired the augur *Silanus* to consult the gods about it; but he, who made a sordid trade of his office,

and was in haste to carry his wealth into *Greece* (R), as the only place where he could enjoy it in safety, instead of consulting the gods, betrayed the whole secret to the *Greek* army; Xenophon upon which both chiefs and soldiers, at least the far greater part of them, not only declared against it, but accused *Xenophon* of project of having some sinister design of sacrificing them to his ambition. They carried their resentment so far, as to alarm the *Sinopian* colony, ^{settling a} and *Heraclea* merchants with it, particularly *Timasion* the ^{trayed, and} *Dardanian*, and *Thorax* the *Bæotian*, who had already prevailed upon those two cities to send them vessels for their departure; and a good number of the *Greeks* had engaged to follow them: so that the army was upon the point of being divided, had not *Xenophon*, by his reasoning and eloquence, dissipated their fears, and restored a mutual harmony among them. “That I often sacrificed to the gods (said he to them ^{His de-} in a general assembly) is no secret to you; and they are my ^{fence to} witnesses, that I only do it to obtain their direction, and ^{the army,} your safety, that I may happily see you all at the end of your labours. But, since you will not think yourselves so till you arrive in your native country, I am willing to desist from my design, which I only formed from a concern that your present wants gave me, and that such as were willing might possess themselves of some place of rest, whilst the rest were at liberty to pursue their march homewards: and since ^{and advice} I find, that the *Heracleans* and *Sinopians* are sending us ^{about the} a supply of ships, and that *Timasion* and *Thorax* have promised ^{march.} you your pay from the beginning of the next month (S), I shall

(R) This diviner, among other advantages he had reaped by his art, had received a reward of three thousand *darics*, or ten talents, from *Cyrus*, for having foretold to him, that the king would not fight him within ten days; which happened accordingly. We have given an account of that *Persian* coin in a former volume (49); those readers who want a fuller may consult *Mr. Spelman* (50) upon it.

This was the motive that induced that juggler to wish himself in *Greece* in such haste, where he only thought he could be in safe possession of his large booty.

(S) As we are forced to pass by many minute particulars, to avoid running into too great a length, we shall only observe from *Xenophon*, that those two discontented chiefs, in order to draw the soldiery into their design, had engaged to pay them a *cyzicene* per month, on condition, that they agreed to sail away by the beginning of the next month; which many of them had agreed to. The reader may see a fuller account of their cabals in our author; as likewise an account of that *Athenian* coin, in his learned translator (51). All we shall say of it is, that, according

(49) See vol. v. p. 129, & seq.

(50) *Expedit.* l. i. p. 8. not. 11.

(51) *Idem*, l. v. vol. ii. p. 51. not. 34.

“ shall look upon it as an advantage to be thus safely con-
 “ ducted to the place of our desire, and paid for being preserved
 “ in our way thither. Only remember, that our success and
 “ safety will chiefly depend upon our strict union; whereas
 “ your suffering yourselves to be divided will only expose you
 “ to continual dangers and want. My opinion therefore is, that
 “ we not only hasten to *Greece*, but that, if any one of us
 “ be found to stay behind, or endeavouring to desert his com-
 “ panions, before we are arrived at a place of safety, he be
 “ punished as an offender.” He concluded with putting the
 motion to the vote; upon which it was agreed to by every
 one, except *Silanus*; who opposed it, under pretence that every
 one ought to be at liberty to retire whithersoever he pleased;
 but he was like to have paid dear for his indiscretion, and was
 threatened to be punished as a deserter, if ever he attempted
 to make his escape.

Corylas's
message.

THEIR long stay at *Cotyora*, during which the men
 could no longer subsist but by the plunder they got from the
Paphlagonians, caused at length so much ill blood, and so
 many reprisals, that *Corylas* was forced to send some embassa-
 dors to acquaint their chiefs, that, as he did not design any in-
 jury to their army, so neither would he suffer any from them.
Xenophon, who was then very much taken up with the em-
 barkation, caused them to be received with all the marks of
 friendship and civility; and, after a magnificent entertainment,
 and some shews and exercises, which, however, gave them
 more pain than pleasure (T), they went away very well satis-
 fied

to *Demosthenes*, it was worth
 twenty-eight *Attic* drachmas, or
 eighteen shillings and one penny
 sterling; and that it had a wo-
 man's head on one side, probably
 that of *Cybele*, and on the other
 that of a lion, both handsomely
 struck. As for this method of
 paying the soldiers monthly, we
 find it from several passages of
Xenophon, and other authors, to
 have been practised among the
Greeks, and other nations.

(T) There was, in particu-
 lar, a martial dance exhibited
 before them, in which two *Thra-
 cians* appeared leaping and jump-
 ing, at an extraordinary height,

with their arms, at the sound of
 the flutes; and in the height of
 their agility, one of them struck
 the other with his sword, in
 such manner, that the spectators
 thought him dead; and, having
 stripped him of his armour,
 marched off in triumph: pre-
 sently after which, the supposed
 slain was carried off, unhurt.
 There were several other dances
 shewn, of the same nature, which
 the reader may see described in
 our author (52), which greatly
 amazed the *Paphlagonians*; but
 that which gave them the greatest
 delight was that of a courtesan
 belonging to an *Arcadian*, who

(52) *Xenoph. ubi sup. l. vi. sub init.*

appeared

fied with their reception, with the answer they received, and with their peaceable and honourable dismissal: after which, the *Greeks*, having received the promised vessels from *Hera-clea* and *Sinope*, embarked, and set sail, with a favourable ^{The} wind; and the next day anchored at *Harmene*, a port not ^{Greeks} far from *Sinope*, where they received from the inhabitants ^{embark} a present of three thousand measures of flour, and a pro- ^{for Har-} portionable quantity of wine. Hither also arrived *Cheirifophus*, who, after so long a stay, had been able to obtain of the *Lacedæmonian* admiral only a few galleys, some fruitless praises, and the promise of *Lacedæmonian* pay to as many as would come and serve under him.

By this time the soldiers, who found themselves on the eve of entering their beloved country, began to regret, that they had no more booty to carry home with them, and to form a ^{Resolve} design to supply that defect, by the spoils of some opulent town; ^{upon a la-} and, in order to do it with greater safety and success, resolved ^{crative} to confer the supreme authority on one of their chiefs, which would render their deliberations more secret, and the execution of them more easy and effectual. *Xenophon*, on account of his singular virtues and sagacity, was unanimously nominated to it; but he, being afraid lest any thing should happen ^{expedition,} that might sully all his former glory, modestly refused it; ^{Xeno-} and, among other reasons he gave for it, one was, that, as ^{declines to} *Cheirifophus* had hitherto been chief of these expeditions, it ^{embark} would be unjust to choose an officer of another nation over his ^{in it,} head, and would, in all likelihood, expose the *Athenians* to the resentment of the *Lacedæmonians*. His refusal was so far from being relished by them, that they plainly told him, it was high time to set aside all such regard for those new upstarts, who now domineered it over all *Greece*: and a merry *Arcadian* chief added, in a pleasant tone: "At this rate the *Lacedæmonians* will be the only ones fit for the place of honour: so that we shall not dare to make a feast without sending for a symposiarch to *Sparta* (U)." His raillery was much ap-

appeared in an elegant martial dress, and danced the *pyrrhic*, with her shield in one hand, and spear in the other, with such agility, comeliness, and regularity, that the ambassadors could not forbear asking, whether these *Greek* women had borne a share in charging the enemy's troops? To which they were answered, That they drove the *Persian* king out of their camp.

(U) The *Greeks* called the person that was chosen to be president of a feast, *symposiarch*; and the keenness of this sarcasm consists in the unsuitness of a *Lacedæmonian* for such an office, considering the *Spartan* plainness of living, and their aversion to luxury; of which we have given an account, in a former section (53).

(53) See before, p. 11. & seqq.

Cheiriso-
phus
chosen in
his stead.

Encamp on
the Lycus.

An uproar
in the ar-
my.

Divided
into three
bodies.

plauded by the army, and *Xenophon* still more pressed to accept of the offer : upon which he was forced to tell them, that he had, according to his constant custom, consulted the gods by sacrifices ; and that they had absolutely forbid him to do it. So that they were, with some difficulty, prevailed upon to choose *Cheirisophus* for it ; who not only gladly accepted it, but promised to make no farther use of his authority, than what would contribute to the success of their enterprize.

THE wind proving favourable, their little fleet set sail along the coast once famed for the *Argonautic* expedition, and still retaining the name of *Jason* ; along which they observed the mouths of the *Thermodon*, *Halys*, *Parthenius*, &c. and landed in the peninsula called *Acherusia*, near the city of *Heraclea*.

Here they encamped on the banks of the *Lycus*, and received considerable tokens of hospitality from that city, consisting of three thousand bushels of wheat, two thousand barrels of wine, one hundred sheep, and twenty oxen : and as they deliberated, whether they should continue their navigation, or proceed by land, being by this time grown more greedy after plunder, as well as more heady and ungovernable, they resolved to send to extort of the *Heracleans* the sum of ten thousand *cyzicens* ; and, in spite of all that *Cheirisophus* could say to the contrary, sent four subalterns to demand it, with a commanding air. The magistrates were not a little surprised at it ; but, according to their usual subtilty, having promised them to go and consult about it, ordered, with the utmost expedition and secrecy, every thing that was valuable in the country to be brought into the city ; which was no sooner done than they ordered the gates of it to be shut : presently after the walls appeared covered with armed men, ready for defence ; and the *Greek* deputies were dismissed, without any other answer.

Upon their return the *Greek* army fell into the utmost confusion and uproar, and treated all their chiefs with the bitterest invectives, and even *Xenophon*, by name, as the main obstructors of their wealth and glory : and the *Achaëans* and *Arcadians*, having protested that they would not return into *Greece* with empty hands, abandoned *Cheirisophus*, and chose ten chiefs of their own nation.

PRESENTLY after the army was divided into three bodies, the *Arcadians* and *Achaëans* embarked, to the number of about four thousand five hundred, on the transports which the *Heracleans* had furnished them with ; and *Cheirisophus* and *Xenophon* led the other two bodies, which consisted of two thousand men each. The *Arcadians* sailed to *Calpe*, a sea-port, situate between *Heraclea* and *Byzantium*, lodged for that night in the neighbouring villages, about fifty stades distance from the sea, and by the next morning went about their plunder,

and brought home a good number of cattle, and some prisoners. The *Thracians*, who inhabited this part of *Bithynia*, and who were neither used to, nor provided against such inroads, had abandoned the country at their first arrival; but, being themselves accustomed to live upon plunder, soon rallied their forces, and fell furiously upon the *Arcadians*, who, for want of light-armed infantry, continued their march in a kind of close phalanx, without opening or breaking their ranks, till they came cross a valley, where the *Thracians* so harassed them on both sides, that they were intirely defeated, and a great number of them slain, particularly one of their leaders, called *Sinicles*, with all his men. Flushed with this success, the *Thracians* fell on another body of them, of which eight only escaped; but this did not hinder the rest from rallying, tho' some with more difficulty than others. All this while the *Thracians* made such loud shoutings at their success, that their number hourly increased; and next morning, by break of day, went and attacked the *Greeks*, and surrounded the eminence on which they had lodged themselves. Their archers and cavalry made several heavy discharges on them, without receiving one shot from them; for, as soon as the *Greeks* moved one way to repulse them, they immediately faced about, and gave way, whilst the others, on the other side, attacked them behind. At length, the *Greeks* no longer able to bear such violent and frequent onsets, began to treat of a peace; but, when they came to insist upon having hostages, the *Thracians* refused to give any; which put a stop to the treaty.

In this dismal condition we must leave the *Arcadians*, to take a view of the other two bodies; that is, those of *Cheiriso-phus* and *Xenophon*. The former, being in a bad state of health, had kept his march along the sea-coast, and, at length, safely arrived at the port of *Calpe*; and *Xenophon*, having provided himself with ships, landed on the confines of *Thrace*, upon the territory of *Heraclea*. His cavalry, which was upon the scout, having intercepted some passengers, brought them to him; and these informed him of the dismal condition the *Arcadians* were in. He immediately resolved to go to their assistance; and, in order to dispose his soldiers to second him in his generous design, addressed them to this effect:

“ You hear that part of the *Arcadians* are slain, and the rest closely besieged upon an hill; and if these be destroyed, our hopes of seeing our country are at an end, seeing the *Thracians* are so numerous and successful against us. Let us therefore immediately march to their relief: can we do a more glorious thing than to save our countrymen, and secure our own safety? Perhaps the gods have suffered those rash and perfidious men to fall into these disasters, for hav-

Cheiriso-phus lands at Calpe, and Xenophon on the Thracian confines.

Xenophon's speech.

*Marches
to assist the
Arcadians.*

*The army
joined at
Calpe.*

*Cheiriso-
phus's
death.*

*The army
in great
streights,
and Xeno-
phon su-
spect.*

*His ad-
vice.*

“ ing presumed to depend upon their own prudence against their
“ warnings ; and reserved to us, who intirely depend on their
“ guidance and protection, the honour of saving them. Fol-
“ low therefore your leaders, and take care to obey the orders
“ you receive from them.” This said, he marched at their
head, through the enemy's country, ordering his men to set
all on fire where-ever they passed ; and encamped that night
within forty stades of the *Thracian* camp. The next morn-
ing *Timasion*, and his cavalry, were ordered to march towards
them along with the guides ; but, when they came to the field
of battle, they found neither the *Arcadians* nor the enemy, but
only some of the plunder, as sheep and oxen, with some old
men and women, who told them, that the *Thracians* had aban-
doned the place the night before, and the *Arcadians* had re-
treated that morning by break of day ; but, which way they
were gone, they knew not. *Xenophon* was immediately in-
formed of this, and marched directly for the port of *Calpe*,
where he found the *Arcadians* just arrived ; and soon after
them came in also *Cheirisophus*, with his two thousand men.
The army being thus happily reunited, nothing was seen for a
while, but the most hearty congratulations on all hands : after
which they set about burying their dead ; and as for those that
could not be found, they erected a large cenotaph to their me-
mory, and crowned it with garlands, after the *Grecian* manner.
On the next day they held a general assembly, at which it was
unanimously agreed, that whoever, for the future, proposed
to divide the army, should be put to death : and *Cheirisophus*
having lost his life by a medicine which he took in a fever, the
assembly chose *Neon* the *Asinaean* to succeed him.

By this time the army being without ships, and on the point
of wanting provisions, *Xenophon* proposed their marching by
land ; but, upon consulting their victims, they met with no-
thing but sinister omens, one at the heels of another, till, at
length, the soldiers began to suspect some foul play ; and that
Xenophon was at the bottom of it, and was still bent on his
old project of settling a colony there : so that, to clear him-
self, he was forced to publish through the army, that all per-
sons might be admitted to view the victims, and to invite all
the skilful priests to come and assist at them. On the next day
there was an extraordinary concourse of both, and a great num-
ber of victims was offered, with more than ordinary solemnity.
This was repeated three times, and not one promising omen
to be found, but every thing seeming to threaten some direful
disaster. Upon this *Xenophon* addressed himself to the army,
and proposed, that, since the gods had declared against their
departure, they should now consult them about a supply of
provisions, since their own were almost spent ; and was im-
mediately

mediately answered by a soldier, that he was informed, by a ship come the day before from *Byzantium*, that *Cleander*, governor of that city, was coming with transports and galleys: so that the gods, without doubt, directed them to stay for him. All the rest declaring themselves to be of the same mind, they now only consulted the gods about a fresh supply of provisions; but here likewise the victims proved ominous. The next day, having no oxen left for sacrifice, they were obliged to buy some from a cart; but these proved no more favourable than the former. Upon which *Xenophon* concluded, that they foreboded some danger in the attempt of going in quest of new plunder; whilst *Neon* was of opinion, that, in their present situation, they ought to listen to nothing but to the irresistible voice of necessity. The whole army hereupon were divided, some making a mere jest not only of the ceremony of inspecting the victims, but of divination in general; whilst the priests and poets, and most of the philosophers, argued very strenuously for both. *The chiefs divided.*

At length *Neon*, being informed by an *Heracleian*, that *Neon's* there were some villages near them where they might get some fresh supplies, ordered a proclamation to be made, that those who had a mind might go in quest of provisions, there being a guide ready to conduct them: upon which two thousand went out of the camp, armed and equipped for that expedition; but their ill success was a fresh proof against the incredulous, which *Xenophon* did not pass by without due animadversion; for *Pharnabazus*, who was governor of *Phrygia*, sent a strong detachment of horse against them, who killed about five hundred *Greeks*, and put the rest to flight; and these, having rallied, retired to a neighbouring hill. *Xenophon* no sooner heard of this defeat, than he put himself at the head of the choice of his army (X), and marched to their rescue; and had the good success to bring them back safe to the camp, about sun-set: they had scarcely eat their supper before the *Bithynians*, coming up through the neighbouring thickets, surprised the advanced guard, killed some, and pursued the rest to the camp. The alarmed *Greeks* immediately ran to their arms; but, not thinking it safe to leave their camp in the night, for fear of ambushes, contented themselves with continuing upon the watch, and reinforcing the outguards, till the next morning. *Alarmed by the Bithynians.*

THEY decamped by break of day, and marched to a place of greater strength, where they fortified themselves with palisades. *Intrench themselves*

(X) That is, according to *Xenophon*, with only such as were not above fifty years of age (54).

(54) See before, note (S).

*A fresh
supply.*

*March a-
gainst the
enemy.*

*Xeno-
phon's
speech to
the army.*

lisadoes and a trench, which reached quite through the neck of land that led to the promontory; and this they had done by noon. At the same time arrived a vessel from *Heraclea*, with fresh supplies of meal, barley, cattle, and wine. By the next morning *Xenophon*, having offered the usual sacrifices, found the victims more favourable; about which time the priest, having likewise observed an eagle on the lucky side, called out to him, to lead on. They passed the trench with great eagerness, to retrieve their last defeat; and only *Neon*, and those who were above forty-five years of age, remained to guard the camp. After marching fifteen stadia, they came to the bodies of their slain, which they buried as they went on; and about mid-day they began to perceive the enemy's army, which consisted of several bodies of horse and foot, and formed but one intire phalanx. At sight of them the *Greeks* were inspired with fresh courage; and the victims proving still favourable, *Xenophon*, among other proper dispositions of his army, detached three companies of two hundred men each, to support the main body, that, as soon as they had broken the phalanx, the enemy might intangle themselves between those three bodies; after which he proposed marching immediately against them.

THE *Greek* chiefs led on the van; but, before they could come at the valley where the *Persians* were posted, they were to cross a pretty thick and difficult copse, or valley (Y): upon which they made an halt, to consult whether it was proper to march through it. *Xenophon*, who led the rear, wondering at their halting, went instantly forward; and, having heard their reason for it, spoke to them, to this effect: "You know, that
" I never willingly fought dangers for you, but rather consulted
" your safety even more than your glory; but, in this present
" situation, we cannot go back without danger of being pur-
" sued, and having our rear cut off. Is it not, therefore,
" more safe to attack them, with our arms to cover us, than to
" see them pursue us when we are defenceless, and when our
" flight will inspirit the most cowardly among them? As for
" me, I had rather fall on with half the number of forces, than
" give way with twice as many: and, I believe, you think

(Y) The *Greek* word, *βάσις*, rendered a valley, because *Xenophon* speaks afterwards of a bridge over it, which can, in any sense, be applied to a wood; and is accordingly rendered by *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson*, by *salvus*, and by *D'Ablancourt* and *Pagi*, *un bocage épais*, a thick copse, or thicket: but Mr. *Spelman* thinks it ought rather to be

“ with

“ with me, that if we attack them, they will not have cou-
 “ rage to stand, though, if we retire, they will not refuse to
 “ pursue us. I cannot but look upon the thicket we are to
 “ cross as an advantage worth contending for, because it will
 “ make us engage with greater bravery, when we see no hope
 “ of safety but in victory. As for the enemy, I am glad they
 “ have an open country, and will not be at a loss for variety
 “ of ways to fly from us; for I scarcely believe they will stand
 “ our first onset: neither is this thicket more difficult or
 “ dreadful than many we have passed; and if it was, will it
 “ not be more so, if we do not overcome their horse? And
 “ will not the mountains we have traversed be still more diffi-
 “ cult to repass, with such a number of targeteers at our
 “ heels? But should we, by flight, be able to gain the *Euxine*
 “ sea, what will it avail us, seeing we have neither provisions
 “ nor vessels to waft us off? Had we not, therefore, better
 “ attack them now we have taken some refreshment, than to
 “ be attacked by them to-morrow morning when we are fast-
 “ ing? The sacrifices are favourable, the omens happy; let
 “ us not, therefore, give the enemy time to sup and encamp
 “ where they please.”

THIS speech so animated the chiefs, that, with one con-
 sent, they desired him to put himself at their head; which he
 presently did; and, having inspirited his vanguard with re-
 minding them of the many battles they had gained, and what
 those ought to expect who turned their backs, now they were
 happily got to the gates of *Greece*, the words given were,
Jupiter the preserver, and *Hercules the conductor*; and, after
 they had crossed the wood, or valley, he disposed them in form
 of a phalanx, and placed the targeteers upon their wings, or-
 dering the pikemen to carry their pikes on their right shoulders
 till the trumpet sounded, and then to present them, and move
 gently on. The onset was resolute on both sides; and the
 targeteers were so eager for it, that, instead of waiting for the
 signal, they rushed at once upon the *Persian* cavalry and *Bi-*
thynian infantry; and met with a stout repulse, and gave way:
 but, as soon as the signal was given, and the *Greek* phalanx
 began to advance towards them at the sound of their martial
 instruments, and to present their pikes, they immediately
 broke their ranks, and were put to flight. *Timasion*, at the
 head of some *Greek* cavalry, pursued them, and slew a good
 number of runaways of their left wing: upon which their right
 quickly rallied, and posted themselves on an eminence; but, see-
 ing the *Greeks* come full speed to dislodge them, they abandoned
 it, and fled. As soon as the *Greeks* had got possession of the
 post, they could perceive the Barbarian infantry rallying them-
 selves, and going to join the *Persian* cavalry: upon which it

*Defeat the
 Persians.*

was immediately resolved to fall upon them ; which was done with such speed and bravery, that the enemy were seized with a panic ; and the cavalry ran into a neighbouring forest for shelter.

Erect a trophy.

NIGHT drawing on, the *Greeks* did not think fit to pursue them thither ; but took the advantage of the remainder of light they had to erect a trophy : after which, they returned to their camp, which was about sixty stades distance. After this signal defeat, the *Bithynians* abandoned the whole country to the *Greeks*, who found an immense booty in it, notwithstanding the care the inhabitants had taken to remove their best effects ; all which they conveyed to the camp, and divided among them, together with a large supply of all sorts of provisions. They now abounded with every thing, and waited for nothing but the return of *Cleander*, with the expected transports. They were

Cleander brings but two galleys.

not a little surprised to see him come with only two galleys, which were sent rather to discover the intentions of the chiefs, than to do them any real service. However, he was received with all the deference that was then paid to the *Lacedæmonians*, who, since the taking the city of *Athens*, had assumed a sovereignty over all the other *Grecian* states. He had in his company the infamous *Dexippus*, who had lately carried off a fifty-oar galley from *Trebizond* ; and as he always sought after spoil more than glory, he desired the plunder might be committed to his charge : to which *Cleander* readily agreed.

Raises an uproar in the army.

THIS occasioned new disturbances in the army ; for *Dexippus*, having refused some soldiers their share of the sheep, under pretence that they belonged to the public, was carrying one of them before *Cleander*, in order to have him punished, accusing him of threatening to carry off the sheep by force. *Agasias*, who was *Xenophon's* intimate friend, met them ; and, as the prisoner served in his company, he ordered him to be set liberty. Upon which, several other soldiers, being exasperated against *Dexippus*, began to vent their rage by throwing stones at him, and calling him many opprobrious names ; insomuch that not only *Dexippus* and his attendants, but even *Cleander*, were obliged to retire. *Xenophon* did all he could to dissipate their fears, and appease the tumult ; but *Cleander*, as governor of *Byzantium*, took upon him the sole cognizance and decision of the affair, and threatened to send orders to the *Bithynian* towns to treat them as enemies, if they did not submit to his sentence.

THE army did not seem indeed much intimidated by his threats ; but *Xenophon*, who foresaw the ill consequence of exasperating him, summoned the army together, and, in a speech, set before them the danger of letting him depart in anger, seeing the *Lacedæmonians*, who were now masters of all *Greece*, had

had it in their power to shut up all the Grecian cities against them: "For (said he) he may shut up that of *Byzantium* Xenophon's
 "against us, and cause all the rest to follow his example, and, phon's
 "at the same time, send such a character of us to *Anaxibius* speech to
 "their admiral, that it will be difficult for us either to sail them.
 "hence, or remain here. I therefore am of opinion, that
 "not only *Agasias*, and the soldier he released, but even my-
 "self, by whose orders, *Cleander* says, *Agasias* acted, or any
 "other he shall complain against, be forthwith sent to him,
 "to be tried." Hereupon *Agasias* rose up, and, having
 cleared *Xenophon* from the imputation, and himself of having
 acted any thing unbecoming his character against the traitor
Dexippus, offered himself to go and be tried by *Cleander*; and
 only begged of them, that they would order a number of their
 generals to accompany him, that, if he omitted any thing,
 they might speak in his behalf. This being granted, they, to- *Agasias,*
 gether with the soldier, went to *Cleander*, before whom the *and others,*
 whole affair was fairly stated. Both *Agasias* and the soldier *deliver*
 easily exculpated themselves, in the opinion of the generals, *up them-*
 though *Cleander* assumed an air of resentment. But, whilst *selves to*
 he was at dinner, *Xenophon*, who feared the worst from him, *Cleander.*
 advised the army to depute some proper persons to intercede for
 them; and they appointed him, with some other generals,
 particularly *Dracontius* the *Lacedæmonian*, to plead in their
 behalf.

XENOPHON accordingly addressed him to this effect: *Xeno-*
 "The men you demanded, O *Cleander*, are now before you; *phon*
 "and the army not only makes you master of their fate, but *pleads for*
 "of its own. However, we presume to conjure you to spare *them.*
 "them, on account of their signa' services; in return of
 "which favour, we promise, that, if you shall think fit to
 "be our general, we will convince you how obedient we shall
 "be to your commands; in which case, we desire you will
 "bring to trial *Dexippus*, and such as have incurred your
 "displeasure, and reward every one according to his merit."
 His speech had the desired effect; and *Cleander*, swearing by *Cleander*
Castor and *Pollux*, not only engaged to release the two men, *reconciled.*
 but to come over himself to them, and, if the gods favoured
 them, to bring them into *Greece*. "Your discourse (added
 "he) is very different from the report I have heard of some
 "of you, that you were endeavouring to render the army dis-
 "affected to the *Lacedæmonians*." His answer was highly
 applauded by the *Greek* generals, who returned with the two
 men. As for *Cleander*, he contracted an intimate friendship
 with *Xenophon*, offered sacrifices for their happy return into
Greece, and, after having observed the good order and disci-
 pline observed by the army, became more desirous than ever
 of commanding them. He accordingly offered up victims for

three days successively; but, finding them contrary to his wishes, he called the generals together, and said, "The victims will not permit me to conduct the army; but let not that discourage you, for it looks as if that honour was reserved for you. Go on therefore, and depend upon meeting with the best reception at *Byzantium*. I am able to give you." The soldiers having presented him with the sheep that belonged to the public, he only accepted of them to return them again, and set sail presently after; and the army, having sold the corn they had with them, marched through *Bitynia*. But, as they could meet with nothing on the road to carry into the territories of their friends, they resolved to march back one day and a night, which furnished them with a good number of slaves and cattle; and, after six days march, arrived at *Chrysopolis* (Z), where they staid seven days to sell their booty^a.

The army
go after
plunder.
Arrive at
Chryso-
polis,
and at
Byzan-
tium.

Over-
reached by
the Lace-
dæmo-
nian ad-
miral.

THEY were now preparing to cross the *Bosporus*, in order to enter *Byzantium*; but *Pharnabazus*, who was then in that city, and was scarcely recovered from the panic which they had thrown him into, had taken care to inspire the *Lacedæmonians*, as well as their admiral, with such jealousies about them, that they were, with great difficulty, admitted into the city; and had likewise engaged them to dispatch the whole *Greek* army as fast as possible into *Greece*, not thinking himself safe so long as they continued in the neighbourhood of *Asia*. The admiral accordingly sent for their generals to *Byzantium*, and there promised, that, if the *Greeks* came over, they should have pay; and *Cleander*, when they were arrived, caused it to be proclaimed, that he would review them, and order provisions to be found them for their march; but, instead of paying them, *Anaxibius* ordered them to march out of the town with their arms and baggage, as if he designed to muster and dismiss them; at which the soldiers expressed no small discontent and reluctance, because they had no money to buy provisions on their route. However, they obeyed, and were no sooner got out of the city, with *Xenophon* and the other generals at their head, than the gates were immediately shut. Here the gene-

^a XENOPH. ubi sup. ad fin. l. vi.

(Z) A small city in *Chalcedonia*, situate on the *Thracian Bosporus*, and once famed for being the place where the *Athenians*, when in possession of it, caused the vessels that sailed through the *Bosporus* into the *Euxine* sea, to pay toll (55). It was dwindled into a village, in *Strabo's* time, and is now, by the *Turks*, called *Scutari*; and, tho' divided from *Constantinople* by the *Bosporus*, is yet looked upon as a suburb of that metropolis. We shall have further occasion to speak of it in the *Turkish* history.

(55) *Xenoph.* ubi sup. l. vi.

als were told by *Anaxibius*, that they might now proceed on their march, and supply themselves with provisions from the *Thracian* villages, where they would find plenty, and then continue their route into the *Chersonesus*, where *Gniscus* was ordered to pay them.

THE foldiers, being acquainted with this piece of *Lacedæmonian* treachery, failed not to resent it as it deserved, and ran forthwith to their arms. Immediately the city-gates were assaulted with hatchets, and other instruments, by some; others hastened to the sea, and got over the mole into the town; whilst a third party, who had tarried behind when the army marched out, broke the bars, and set the gates open; upon which those without rushed in, and ran through the streets, as if they had taken the place by assault. The inhabitants, seeing this, fled, some to their houses, others to the ships, expecting every minute to be plundered and undone. *Eteonicus*, who had the care of the gates, fled likewise to the citadel, and the admiral to his fleet in a fishing-boat; and, not thinking the citadel's garison to be strong enough to oppose them, sent likewise for that of *Chalcedon* to their assistance. *Xenophon*, who saw the tumult, and dreaded the consequence of their plundering that metropolis, made all possible haste to gather together the foldiers; who did not then stay till he spoke, but told him, That he had now a fair opportunity of making his and their fortunes, by making himself master of the city, galleys, money, and people. To this he only answered, for the present, That he would follow their advice: But, added he, if this is your desire, place yourselves in your ranks immediately, and handle your arms. He caused the other chiefs to give the like orders to the rest; who readily obeyed: and, being ranged in proper order, and silence commanded, he spoke to this effect to them:

“ I AM not at all surpris'd at your resentment for being so basely imposed upon; but, if we wreak our revenge, not only on the *Lacedæmonians*, who have done it, but on the city, which is altogether innocent, consider what must be the consequence of it: the former will declare us the enemies of *Sparta*, and its allies; and what hath lately happened in *Greece* will easily tell us what we are to expect. When *Athens* declared against that republic, we had then four hundred galleys, either in our sea-ports or arsenals; we had vast sums in our treasury, besides a yearly income of no less than one thousand talents, payable by our citizens and foreigners; our dominions extended a great way, particularly over the islands of the *Ægean* sea, as also over several rich cities on the coasts of *Greece* and *Asia*: notwithstanding all which advantages, we were, as you all know, subdued by the *Lacedæmonians*: and what have we not to fear from their power,

" power, now they are united with the *Acheans*, and have
 " raised it on the ruins of *Athens*, and its allies? Shall we
 " now bring all the *Greeks* upon us, who are not yet out of the
 " reach of the Barbarians, and especially of the *Persians*, our
 " most inveterate foes? Should all these join forces against
 " us, are we in a condition to withstand them? For heaven's
 " sake, let us not go mad, and perish with dishonour, by be-
 " ing declared enemies to our parents, friends, and relations;
 " for these all live in the cities that will wage war against us;
 " and not without reason, if, after we have declined seizing
 " on any of the towns of the Barbarians we have vanquished,
 " we should now plunder the very first city of *Greece* we are
 " arrived at. As for myself, may I be buried ten thousand
 " fathom deep, before I see you guilty of such a deed! If
 " you are *Greeks*, I advise you to try, by your obedience to
 " the masters of *Greece*, to obtain justice. Should they even
 " refuse it, we ought not, wronged as we are, to deprive our-
 " selves of the possibility of returning home: rather let us de-
 " pute some proper persons to assure *Anaxibius*, that we did
 " not enter the town with any hostile views, but to obtain
 " what hath been promised to us: and, if we fail in this, let
 " him see, that we are ready to leave it again, not because
 " we have been over-reached, but because we are willing to
 " obey."

His advice was immediately followed; and proper officers
 deputed to the admiral, who promised, that they should have
 no cause to repent of their submission; and that he would send
 forthwith an account of it to *Sparta*, to the end that orders
 might be given from thence, that they might be supplied with
 every thing on their march, and meet with the kinder recep-
 tion in their country. Upon this, the army readily marched
 out of *Byzantium*; after which, *Anaxibius* caused it to be pro-
 claimed through the city, that, if any soldier was found
 tarrying in it, he should be sold for a slave.

WHAT farther relates to the remainder of the *Greek* army,
 the differences among their generals, and the various ways
 which each took, according to his different views and interest,
 being foreign to our present design, we shall omit here, for
 fear of drawing to too great a length, though *Xenophon* hath
 left us a diffuse account of it in the last book of his retreat.
 We have hitherto followed them through their greatest diffi-
 culties and dangers, and through all the countries of their ene-
 mies, into the territories of their friends; whence, some em-
 barking on merchant-vessels, arrived safe at their respective
 homes, whilst others entered themselves into foreign service.
 Of these last was *Xenophon*, who, being earnestly invited by
Seuthes king of *Thrace*, then at war with his rebellious subjects,
 chose to enter into his service, with as many of his men as
 were

The
 Greeks
 march out
 of the city.

Xeno-
 phon goes
 to serve
 under Seu-
 thes.

were willing to follow him. The ill returns he and they met with from that ungrateful prince, notwithstanding all his vast promises to them, will be seen in its proper place. All that we shall say of it here, by way of conclusion to this appendix, and to *Xenophon's* glorious life and actions, is, that *Seuthes* not only broke his word with him, but became his enemy, and would even have stripped him, and his troops, of all the spoils they had brought from *Persia*.

A MAN of *Xenophon's* character could not, without just indignation, behold such perfidy and injustice; so that, being quite sick of the *Thracian* court and service, he left his soldiers to the care and command of *Thimbro* the *Lacedæmonian* general, who was sent against *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*, to deliver the *Asiatic* cities from the *Persian* yoke. He next crossed over to *Lampsacus* (A), where the *Phliasian* priest *Euclides*, who came to congratulate him on his safe return, took the liberty to ask him, how much gold he had brought with him. *Xenophon* readily answered, with an oath, that he *His po-* had not enough left to carry him home (for the *Athenians* had *verty* not yet banished him), unless he sold his horse and equipage. The *Lampsacians*, however, sent him the usual presents, in token of hospitality; and, upon his offering sacrifices, the priest was convinced of his poverty, and he was actually forced to sell his horse for fifty *darics*.

FROM *Lampsacus* they went to *Ophrynion*, and thence on the next day to *Troas*; and, passing over mount *Ida*, came to *Antandrus*; and thence coasting along the *Lydian* sea, came to the plains of *Thebes*. They passed next through *Adramyttium* and *Certonium*, to the plain of *Caicus*; and thence reached to *Pergamus*, a city in *Mysia*. Here *Xenophon* was informed, that *Assidates*, a rich *Persian* satrap, lay encamped in the plain, and might be easily surprised, with all his wealth. He marched that very night, with some of his faithful friends, and about six hundred men, and attacked him about midnight; but the *Persian* having been reinforced from several parts, they were repulsed for this time: they made, however, a safe retreat; and, on the next day, began a more successful attempt against him, in some villages, near the walls of *Parthenium*, where he took him, with his wife, children, horses, and all his riches, *Takes a* and then returned to *Pergamos*. By this time, *Xenophon* had *Persian* no reason to complain any longer of his poverty, the *Lacedæ-satrap,* *monian* and other generals, as well as the soldiers, having *and his* unanimously agreed to select for him not only horses, but yokes *wealth.*

(A) This, and the other cities mentioned after it, having been described in some of the foregoing sections, we refer our readers to them, as well as to the map at the head of this appendix, for their situation.

of oxen, and other things : so that he had it now in his power as he words it ^b, to oblige a friend.

*Retires to
private
life.*

THIMBRO, being by this time arrived, took upon him the command of the army, and joined that of *Xenophon* to the rest of the *Greek* forces, and pursued his war against the two *Persian* satraps ; and *Xenophon* retired, with a design to spend the remainder of his days in solitude and privacy ; wherein he took care to preserve that glory which he had acquired at the head of the army. The city of *Athens* having condemned him to banishment for having served under *Cyrus*, he had, for some time, followed the famed *Agefilaus* king of *Sparta*, and was treated by him with all the marks of esteem and friendship ; but, after having served some campaigns under him, he retired to the city of *Sciluns*, where he wrote his history, and philosophical works ; and continued a zealous votary to the gods, who had brought him safe through so many perils.

ONE part of the spoils he had gained he bestowed in building a noble temple to *Diana*, after the model of that of *Ephesus*. The statue of that goddess was of ebony, and exactly like the golden one at *Ephesus*, and was to be seen in *Pausanias's* time. The temple was built in the midst of a forest, watered by the river *Hellene* ; and, at the entrance of it were inscribed these words, *Territory consecrated to Diana*. He likewise ordered annual sacrifices to her ; and, on the day appointed for that festival, the tenths of the product of that territory were offered to the goddess ; and the rest was performed with the greatest ceremony, a vast concourse of people attending ; the edifice being on the high road between *Sparta* and *Olympia*, and about twenty stades from the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. So that this grand feast, which was also preceded with a general hunting of the *Sciluntines*, and other neighbouring towns, and with other marks of joy, seems designed by its founder as a perpetual monument of this glorious retreat. His sons usually assisted at the hunting ; and it was on their account, that he wrote his two treatises of hunting and horsemanship ; in which he endeavours to inculcate the beauty and virtue of making our delights subservient to religion, of which all his writings shew his heart to have been full.

THUS ended this noble expedition, which our author concludes in the following words : “ The whole of the way, both
“ of the expedition and retreat, consisted of two hundred and
“ fifteen days march, of eleven hundred and fifty-five para-
“ fangs, and of thirty-four thousand six hundred and fifty
“ stades ; and the time employed in both, of a year and three
“ months c.”

^a Lib. vii. ad fin.

^c Ibid. in fin.

of oxen, and other things: so that he had it now in his power as he would it, to oblige a friend.

Themistocles, being by this time arrived, took upon him the command of the army, and joined that of Xerxes to the rest of the Greek forces, and pursued his war against the two Persians with a design to spend the remainder of his days in solitude and privacy; wherein he took care to preserve that glory which he had acquired at the head of the army. The city of Athens having condemned him to banishment for having served under Cyrus, he had, for some time, followed the famous Agellus king of Sparta, and was treated by him with all the marks of esteem and friendship; but, after having served some campaigns under him, he retired to the city of Athens, where he wrote his history, and philosophical works, and continued a zealous votary to the gods, who had brought him into the world to many perils.

One part of the spoils he had gained he bestowed in building a noble temple to Minerva, after the model of that of Ephesus. The statue of that goddess was of ebony, and exactly like the goddess of Ephesus, and was to be sent in Pausanias's time. The temple was built in the midst of a forest, watered by the river Ilissus; and, at the entrance of it were ministered three women, Pausanias's contemporary, as Plutarch the likewise ordered annual sacrifices to her; and, on the day appointed for that festival, the robes of the priestess of this territory were offered to the goddess; and the rest was partitioned with the greatest ceremony, a vast multitude of people attending; the edifice being on the high road between Sparta and Athens, and about twenty stades from the temple of Apollo Olympian. So that this great temple, which was also preceded with a general burning of the sacrifices, and other neighbouring towns, and with other marks of joy, seems designed by its founder as a perpetual monument of his glorious retreat. His sons usually assisted at the burning; and it was on their account, that he wrote his two treatises of hunting and horsemanship, in which he endeavours to illustrate the beauty and virtue of making our delights subservient to religion, of which all his writings shew his heart to have been full.

Thus ended this noble expedition, which our author concludes in the following words: "The whole of the war, both of the expedition and retreat, consisted of two hundred and

thirty days, and thirty nights; but their disagreement in the circumstances of the story has made some writers doubt the truth of it.

(1) *Val. Max.* l. ix. c. 8.

(2) *Pomp. Mala.* l. ii. c. 7.

S E C T. V.

Of the islands of Sicily, Crete, Samos, Rhodes, &c. to their becoming subject to the Romans.

The history of Sicily.

THIS great and fruitful island was antiently known by the ^{Names} names of *Sicania*, *Sicilia*, and *Trinacria* or *Triquetra*. The two former were borrowed from the *Sicani* and *Siculi*, who peopled a considerable part of the country; and the latter from its triangular figure, formed by the three famous promontories of *Pelorum*, *Pachynum*, and *Lilybæum* (A). Cape *Pelorum* is now called by the natives *Capo di Faro*, or *Capo della torre di Faro* (B). This promontory faces *Italy*, from which it is divided by the streights of *Messina*, reaching from the tower of the *Faro*, which is the most northern part of the island, to the *Capo dell' armi*, or the *Cape of arms*, the most southern part of *Calabria*. These streights, by the *Latins* called *Fretum Siculum*, by the *Italians*, *il Faro di Messina*, and by us the *Fare of Messina*, are, according to *Pliny*^a, *Strabo*^b, and other geographers, between twelve and fifteen miles in the broadest place, and in the narrowest about a mile and an half; insomuch that, when *Messina* was taken by the *Carthaginians*, many of the inhabitants are said to have saved themselves by swimming to the opposite coasts of *Italy*. This narrowness gave rise to an opinion, which once obtained among the antients; viz. that *Sicily* was originally joined to the continent of *Italy* by an isthmus, which was, in process of time, worn away

^a PLIN. l. iv. c. 6.^b STRAB. l. v. p. 177.

(A) *Terra tribus scopulis vastum procurrit in æquor;
Trinacris a positu nomen adepta loci.*

(B) It took its antient name, if we believe *Valerius Maximus* (1), and *Pomponius Mela* (2), from the pilot *Pelorus*, who was killed by *Hannibal*. The *Carthaginian*, seeing his ship brought into the streights of *Sicily*, and fancying, that the pilot designed to deliver her up to the *Romans*, put him to death; but, being afterwards convinced of his innocence, he erected a statue to him on the promontory, which, from that time, was called *Pelorum*, *Pelorus*, and *Peloris*. This fact is related by the above-mentioned historians; but their disagreement in the circumstances of the story has made some writers doubt the truth of it.

(1) *Val. Max.* l. ix. c. 8.(2) *Pomp. Mela*, l. ii. c. 7.

by

by the fury of the waves, and the violence of earthquakes (C); but the most judicious among the antients look upon this pretended separation as fabulous, and speak of it as a thing that is only said to have happened ^h (D). The *Fare of Messina* is famous for the rapidity of its currents, and the flowing and ebbing of the sea, which is very irregular, and sometimes rushes in with such violence, that the ships, riding at anchor, are in danger. The famous *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, so much celebrated by the poets, are at the north entrance into the streights. The former is a rock on the coast of *Italy*; the latter a whirlpool on the side of *Sicily*. The passage between these two was, in antient times, reckoned very dangerous ⁱ. The other two promontories are, *Pachynum* facing *Greece*, and *Lilybæum* over-against *Afric*. The former is now known by the name of *Capo Passaro*; and the latter by that of *Capo di Marsella*, or *Capo di Boeo* (E).

WE

^h MELA, l. i. c. 2. STRAB. l. v. NECA, epist. 79, &c.

ⁱ FLORUS, l. i. c. 4. SE-

(C) *Pliny* (2), with his usual credulity, speaks of this separation as a thing not to be questioned. A modern writer (3), of no mean character, goes farther, and even pretends to ascertain the time of this memorable event, telling us, that it happened in the reign of *Acastus*, the son of *Æolus*, who was raised to the throne by the

Siculi, about the time that the *Israelites* were delivered from the *Egyptian* bondage. He owns himself indebted for this remarkable discovery to *Eustathius*, in his observations on *Dionysius Periegetes* (4).

(D) Some of the poets speak of it, with the same reserve:

————— *Zancle quoque juncta fuisse*
Dicitur Italiæ, donec confinia pontus
Abstulit, & media tellurem reppulit unda (5).

And *Virgil*:

Hæc loca, vi quondam & vasta convulsa ruina
(Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)
Dissiluisse ferunt; cum protinus utraque tellus
Una foret, venit medio vi pontus, & undis
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque & urbes
Litore diductas angusto interluit æstu (6).

(E) *Ælian*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Valerius Maximus*, tell us, that one to whom they gave the surname of *Strabo*, had such an ex-

traordinary sight, that, from a watch-tower on the promontory *Lilybæum*, he discovered a fleet sailing out of the port of *Car-*

(2) *Plin.* l. iii. c. 8.
in *Perieget.* ver. 475.
Æneid. l. iii. ver. 414.

(3) *Tanaquil. Faber.* l. i. epist. 14.
(5) *Ovid. metamorph.* l. xv. v. 290.

(4) *Eustath.*
(6) *Virg.*

ibage,

THIS island lies between the 35th deg. 40 min. and the 38th deg. 30 min. of north latitude, extending in longitude from 35 to 39 degrees. Its greatest length, from *Pelorum* to *Lilybæum*, is two hundred miles: its breadth, from *Pachynum* to the city of *Cephalædium*, now *Cefalu*, an hundred and eighty; and the whole circuit of the island six hundred.

WE need not inlarge on its fertility, it being well known, that *Sicily* was antiently called the granary of *Rome*, and that, to this day, whatever desirable things nature has frugally bestowed here-and-there on other countries, are found in this, as in their original seminary.

THE most remarkable cities, on the eastern coast of *Sicily*, which faces *Greece*, and extends from *Pelorum* to *Pachynum*, are, *Messana*, on the streights of *Sicily*, over-against *Rhegium* in *Italy*. This city was formerly called *Zancle*; which appellation some derive from the old *Sicilian* word *zanclos*, signifying an *hook*, the shore, on which it was built, being of that shape ^k. Others think, that it was so called from one *Zancclus*, who reigned in that part of the island ^l. But, however that be, this city, according to the chronologists, was founded five hundred and thirty years before the siege of *Troy*, and nine hundred sixty-four before *Romulus* laid the foundations of *Rome*. The inhabitants of this city, being greatly harassed by the pirates of *Cuma*, had recourse to the *Messenians*, a people of *Greece*; who, hastening to the assistance of the *Zancleans*, cleared their coasts, entered into an alliance with the citizens, and settled in their city, which was, from them, by the *Greeks* called *Messene*, and, by the *Latins*, *Messana* ^m. *Pausanias* ⁿ tells us, that *Anaxilas* tyrant of *Rhegium*, having entered into an alliance with the *Messenians* of *Greece* against the *Zancleans*, overthrew their forces, and, with the assistance of his allies, possessed himself of their city, which, in compliment to the *Messenians*, who had assisted him in this expedition, he called *Messene*. This event is mentioned also by *Herodotus* ^o, who ascribes all the glory of it to the *Samians*, the allies of *Anaxilas*, or, as he calls him, *Anaxilaus*. This city was afterwards seized by the *Mamertini*, as we shall relate anon, and made their capital; by which means it became one of the most wealthy and powerful cities of *Sicily*. It was the first town

Cities:

Messana,
now Mes-
sina.

^k DIOD. SIC. l. iv. c. ult. ^l THUCYD. l. vi. p. 413. ^m STRAB. l. vi. p. 185. THUCYD. l. i. ⁿ PAUSAN. in Messen. ^o HERODOT. l. vi. c. 23. & l. vii. c. 28.

thage, and acquainted the *Lilybæans* with their bigness and number; and yet *Carthage* is about one hundred and eighty miles distant from the coast of *Sicily*.

which the *Romans* possessed in the island, being put into their hands by the *Mamertini*.

Tauromi-
nium.

TAUROMINIUM, built on the ruins of the antient city of *Naxos*, which was destroyed by *Dionysius* the tyrant, stood on the declivity of mount *Taurus*. The river *Taurominius* watered the territory of this city^p; and its hills were famous for the excellent grapes they produced. It is now called *Taormina*, and is still a place of some consideration. The coast, on which it stood, was antiently called *Copria*, that is, *dunghil*; because the sea was supposed to discharge there the wrecks of such ships as had been swallowed up by the *Charybdis*^q. The river *Taurominius*, which gave its name to the city, is now called *Cantara*.

Catana.

CATANA stood on a gulf of the *Ionian* sea, called the gulf of *Catana*, and is commended by the antients as one of the richest and most powerful cities of *Sicily*. It was built and peopled by the inhabitants of *Chalcis*, and continued in great splendor for many ages^r; but at last underwent the same fate as most of the other cities in the neighbourhood of mount *Ætna*, having been, in great part, consumed by the eruptions of that mountain, and buried in ruins by the dreadful earthquakes, which have often laid waste the whole neighbouring country. Its territory was watered by the river *Amenes* or *Amenanus*, now called the *Judicello*^s (F).

^p DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. c. 60. & l. xvi. c. 7. ^q STRABO, l. vi. p. 185. ^r THUCYD. l. iii. ^s STRABO, l. v. p. 166.

(F) This city was rebuilt by *Hiero*, who, according to *Strabo* (3), expelled the antient inhabitants about the seventy-sixth *Olympiad*, and by him named *Ætna*. *Pindar* says (4), he built it for his son *Dinomenes*, whom, according to *Philistus* and *Timæus*, quoted by his scholiast he had by the daughter of *Nicocles* of *Syracuse*, and whom, as the same scholiast informs us, he appointed governor and general of the colony he settled there; which being composed of inhabitants from *Gela*, *Megara*, and *Syracuse*, descended originally from *Sparta*, he suffered them to enjoy their liberty, and be governed by the laws of their mother-country, as *Pindar* intimates: but whether these were the laws of *Lycurgus*, is not clear from *Pindar*, tho' some people imagine they were, as the scholiast informs us (5). *Pindar* calls *Dinomenes* the future king of *Ætna*; viz. after the death of his father. But the event did not answer the poet's expectation; for, immediately after the death of *Hiero*, the old inhabitants of *Catana*, who had been expelled by him, returning, fell upon the new possessors, drove them out, and demolished the sepulchre of *Hiero*, as is related by *Strabo* (6).

(3) *Strabo*, l. vi. p. 166. (4) *Pindar*, *Pyth. ode i.* and his scholiast. (5) *Ibid.* (6) *Strabo ubi supra.*

MURGENTIUM, or *Morgantia*, was founded, according to *Murgentium* *Strabo*^t, by the *Morgetæ*, a people of *Italy*, who crossed over into *Sicily* with the *Siculi*, and built this city, at a small distance from the mouth of the *Symæthus*, now *La Jaretta*. *Thucydides*^u, *Scylax*, and *Pliny*^w, place it near the conflux of the *Chrysas*, now the *Dittaino*, and the *Symæthus* (G).

LEONTINI stood about five miles distance from the coast, *Leontini* ten from *Catana*, and twenty from *Syracuse*. It was built by the *Chalcidians*, under the conduct of *Theocles* the *Athenian*, in the first year of the thirteenth *Olympiad*, as *Thucydides* informs us^x. The territory of *Leontini* was watered by the *Lisfus*, which falls into the *Tereas* at the distance of eight furlongs from the city^y. *Leontini* was defended, in the time of *Thucydides*^z, by two strong citadels; the one called the citadel of *Phocea*; the other the citadel of *Bricinnia*. At a small distance from the city was a lake abounding in fish, and about twenty miles in compass. The vapours, arising from the marshes made by the overflowing of the lake, greatly infected the air, which was there deemed very unwholesome; but, to make amends for this, the fields were so fruitful, that, according to *Pliny*, they yielded an hundredfold^a: whence the city of *Leontini* was called by *Tully* the grand magazine of *Sicily*^b. The wines it produced were thought the most delicious of the whole island; but the inhabitants abused this benefit by their intemperance; which gave rise to the proverb, *The people of Leontini are always at their cups*^c. *Dionysius* the tyrant, having made himself master of this city, removed the inhabitants to *Syracuse*. *Polybius* gives a very exact and minute account of *Leontini*, and to him we refer our readers for a more particular description of it^d.

THE city of *Hybla* was built by the *Sicani*, who were driven out by a colony from *Megaris* in *Greece*. These new-comers, having enlarged and beautified the place, gave it the name of their native city^e. The *Hyblæan* honey is, as every one knows, much celebrated by the *Latin* poets (H). *Megaris, or Hybla.*

SYRA-

^t STRABO, l. vi. p. 186.^u THUCYD. l. vi.^w PLIN. l. iii.

c. 8.

^x THUCYD. l. vi.^y POLYB. l. vii.^z THUCYD.

l. v. p. 344.

^a PLIN. l. iii. c. 8.^b CIC. orat. frumen. c. 18.^c ERASM. chiliad.^d POLYB. l. vii.^e STRABO, l. vi. p. 185.

(G) *Faxellus* is therefore mistaken in supposing *Morgantia* to have stood at the mouth of the river *Terias*, called by the natives *Fiume di San Leonardo*. *Stephanus* confounds this city with

another in *Samnium* bearing the same name. There are now no footsteps remaining of either of these cities.

(H) The antient geographers mention three cities in *Sicily*, bearing

Syracuse.

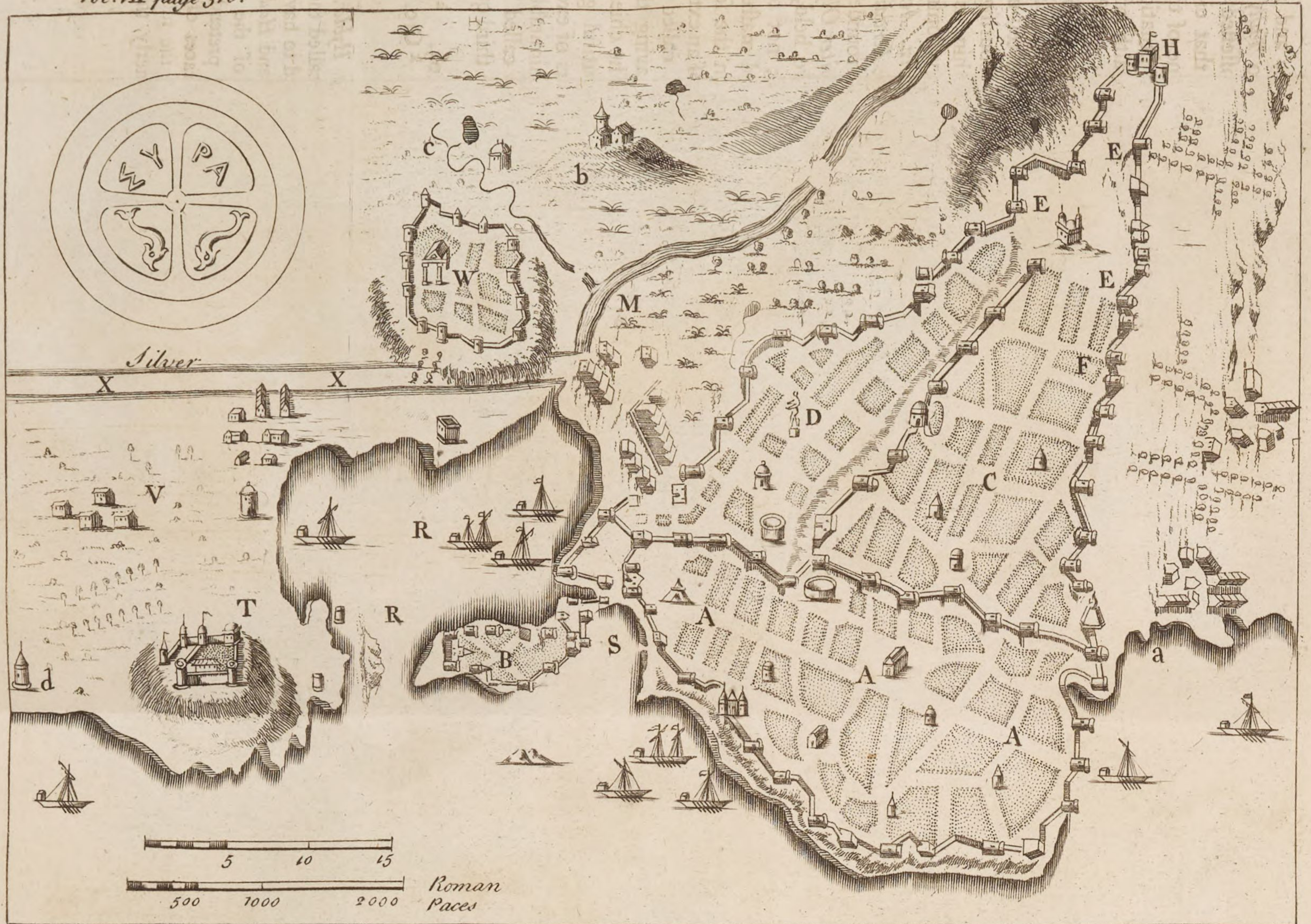
SYRACUSE, once the metropolis of all *Sicily*, and a most flourishing commonwealth, was, according to *Tully* ^f, the greatest and most wealthy of all the cities possessed by the *Greeks*. *Thucydides* equals it to *Athens*, when that city was at the height of its glory ^g; and *Strabo* calls it one of the most famous cities of the world for its advantageous situation, the stateliness of its buildings, and the immense wealth of its inhabitants ^h. It was built, according to *Thucydides* and *Strabo* ⁱ, by *Archias*, one of the *Heraclidæ* who came from *Corinth* into *Sicily*, in the second year of the eleventh *Olympiad*. The abridger of *Stephanus* and *Marcianus* of *Heraclea* tell us, that it borrowed the name of *Syracuse* from a neighbouring marsh called *Syraco*. This stately city contained within its walls, which were eighteen miles in compass, four very considerable cities, as *Strabo* calls them, united into one; viz. *Acradina*, *Tyche*, *Neapolis*, and the *Island*, or *Ortygia*. In *Acradina*, the largest of the four, there was a vast square, surrounded with porticoes, a magnificent temple dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*, the *Prytaneum*, where the public councils were held, and a spacious palace for the administration of justice; not to mention several other buildings, which were deemed masterpieces of architecture ^k. This quarter was situated on the sea-side, and divided from *Neapolis* and *Tyche* by a wall of an extraordinary thickness and height. The second city, called *Tyche*, stood between *Acradina* and the hill *Epipolæ*, having the former on the east, and *Neapolis* on the south. The chief ornaments of this division were, a spacious and beautiful gymnasium, whither the youth resorted to learn all sorts of exercises, and several temples, greatly admired for their inimitable structure, especially that of *Fortune*, by the *Greeks* called *Tyche*; whence this division borrowed its name ^l. The third quarter,

^f *Cic. act. iv. in Verr.* ^g *THUCYD. l. vii. p. 503.* ^h *STRABO, l. vi.* ⁱ *THUCYD. & STRAB. ubi supra.* ^k *Cic. act. iv. in Verr.* ^l *Idem ibid.*

bearing the name of *Hybla*. The city we are here treating of stood on the eastern coast, and gave name to the gulf which the present natives call the gulf of *Augusta*, from the city of *Augusta*, or *Aousta*, on that bay. The second city of *Hybla* was situate on an eminence, in the same place where the small town of *Ragusi* now stands, and was called the *Little Hybla*. The third, which was called the *Great Hybla*, is supposed to have stood between *Catana* and *Hadranum*, in the territory of the present *Paderno*. Some pretend, that there are some traces of it still to be seen, near the mouth of the *Catara*, formerly the *Alabon*, or *Alabis* (7).

(7) *Vide Fazell. in descript. Sicil.*

called



A MAP OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF SYRACUSE.



SYRACUSE BESIEGED BY THE ATHENIANS. I. Blundell Sculp.

called the island, or Ortigia, was joined to the mainland by a bridge. The most remarkable buildings in this part were, the palace of Hiere, which afterwards became the habitation of the Roman pretors, and two magnificent temples, the one dedicated to Diana, and the other to Minerva, the two tutelary goddesses of Syracuse. The last city was called Naxos, or the New city, because built after the other three. The chief ornaments of this city were, a spacious amphitheatre, and two temples of wonderful architecture, consecrated to Ceres, and Liber or Proserpine. The statue of Apollo Twiner, which was afterwards carried to Rome, is celebrated by Virgil, as the most valuable monument in Naxos.

Of these four cities, Ortigia alone is now remaining. There are indeed some footsteps still to be seen of the ancient Syracuse, in the ruins of the porticoes, temples, and palaces, which are described at length by Strabo, to whom we refer the reader. The famous fountain of Arethusa (1) rose in this island; but its spring is now dried up. Near the city stood an hill, called Epipole, exceeding steep, and of very difficult access. When the Athenians besieged Syracuse, this hill was not included with a wall, as in after-ages; but defended by a fort, called Labdum. On Epipole was the famous prison, Taurina, which word properly signifies a quarry. Cicero gives us a minute account of this dreadful prison, which was a cave one hundred and twenty-five paces long, and twenty foot broad, cut out of the rock to an incredible depth. It was the work of Dionysius the tyrant, who caused those to be shut up in it, who had the misfortune to incur his displeasure. The whole city was inclosed with a triple wall, so flanked with towers and castles

rebus Sicul. 7 Taurin. 1 vi. Cic. ad. vi. in Ver. 8 Idem ibid. 9 Cic. ad. iv. in Ver. 10 FARELL. de

(1) The poets, without the least shadow of probability, supposed that Arethusa, a river of Sicily, rolled its waters either through, or under, lines of Virgil.

Extremum punctum, Arethusa, mibi coram habetur. Sic tibi, cum fluit, subterlabat Sicanos. Datis arenae solum non intermissum undam (3) Toy sacred lacour, Arethusa bring To crown my labours, the last I sing. — So may thy silver streams beneath the tide Laved with briny tears, securely glide!

(2) Virgil. Georg. 4. l. 13. (3) Dantes. Inferno. Canto 3.

called the *Island*, or *Ortygia*, was joined to *Acradina*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, by a bridge. The most remarkable buildings in this part were, the palace of *Hiero*, which afterwards became the habitation of the *Roman* prætors, and two magnificent temples, the one dedicated to *Diana*, and the other to *Minerva*, the two tutelary goddesses of *Syracuse*^m. The last city was called *Neapolis*, or the *New city*, because built after the other three. The chief ornaments of this city were, a spacious amphitheatre, and two temples of wonderful architecture, consecrated to *Ceres*, and *Libera* or *Proserpine*. The statue of *Apollo Temnites*, which was afterwards carried to *Rome*, is celebrated by *Tully*, as the most valuable monument in *Neapolis*ⁿ.

OF these four cities *Ortygia* alone is now remaining. There are indeed some footsteps still to be seen of the antient *Syracuse* in the ruins of the porticoes, temples, and palaces, which are described at length by *Fazellus*, to whom we refer the reader^o. The famous fountain of *Arethusa* (I) rose in this island; but its spring is now dried up. Near the city stood an hill, called *Epipolæ*, exceeding steep, and of very difficult access. When the *Athenians* besieged *Syracuse*, this hill was not inclosed with a wall, as in after-ages; but defended by a fort, called *Labdalon*^p. On *Epipolæ* was the famous prison *Latomia*, which word properly signifies a quarry. *Cicero* gives us a minute account of this dreadful prison, which was a cave one hundred and twenty-five paces long, and twenty foot broad, cut out of the rock to an incredible depth. It was the work of *Dionysius* the tyrant, who caused those to be shut up in it, who had the misfortune to incur his displeasure^q. The whole city was invironed with a treble wall, so flanked with towers and castles

^m *Cic. act. iv. in Verr. rebus Sicul.*

ⁿ *Idem ibid.*

^o *FAZELL. de*

^p *THUCYD. l. vi.*

^q *Cic. act. vi. in Verr.*

(I) The poets, without the least shadow of probability, supposed that *Alpheus*, a river of *Elis*, in *Peloponnesus*, rolled its waters either through, or under, the waves of the sea, without mixing with them, as far as the fountain of *Arethusa*; which gave occasion to the following lines of *Virgil*:

Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem.—

Sic tibi, cum fluctus subterlabere Sicanos,

Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam (3)!

Thy sacred succour, *Arethusa*, bring,

To crown my labour; 'tis the last I sing.—

So may thy silver streams beneath the tide,

Unmix'd with briny seas, securely glide!

Dryden.

(3) *Virgil. eclog. x.*

at proper distances, that it was deemed impregnable. It had two harbours at a small distance from each other, being separated only by the island, viz. the great harbour, and the small one, called otherwise *Laccus*: both were surrounded with stately edifices^r. The great harbour was above five thousand paces in circumference, and the entrance of it five hundred paces wide, being formed, on one side, by a point of the island *Ortygia*, and, on the other, by the little island and cape *Plemmyrium*, which was defended by a fort of the same name.

ABOVE *Acradina* was a third port, called the harbour of *Trogilus*. The river *Anapis* ran about a mile and an half distance from the city, and emptied itself into the great harbour. Near the mouth of the river, and about five hundred paces from the city, stood a castle, called *Olympia*, from the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, which was the chief ornament of the place. *Thucydides*, in his description of the city, mentions only these three divisions, viz. the Island, *Acradina*, and *Tyche*: whence it is plain, that *Neapolis* was added after his time^s. *Syracuse* underwent several revolutions, before it was taken by the *Romans*, as we shall have occasion to relate in the sequel of this history; but was always one of the most wealthy and powerful cities of those times: for *Gelon*, who had made himself master of *Syracuse* in the year of *Rome* 260. and the other tyrants his successors, were become formidable both to the *Greeks*, *Africans*, and *Asiatics*. *Dionysius* the younger, who governed this city, kept in constant pay an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, besides a fleet of four hundred sail. It is still a very considerable place, and well peopled, having two harbours, and a great many fine buildings.

Camarina CAMARINA was formerly one of the most wealthy cities of *Sicily*. It stood between the rivers *Oanus* and *Hipparis*, now the *Frascolari* and *Camarana*, near the coast. Nothing now remains of this great city, but some ruins, and the name of *Camarana*, which the natives give to a tower, and a neighbouring marsh. *Camarina* was founded in the forty-fifth *Olympiad*, destroyed by the *Syracusians* in the fifty-seventh, and rebuilt between the eighty-second and eighty-fifth *Olympiad*^t. After many revolutions, it was brought under subjection by the *Romans*, in the first *Punic* war (K). This is the first

^r Cic. act. vi. in Verr. ^s THUCYD. l. vi. ^t Idem ibid.

(K) This city stood near a defence to the city, the inhabitants drained it, contrary to the direction of the oracle which they had consulted. They had with its pestilential exhalations, and occasioned contagious distempers. Hence, though it was scarce finished the work, when

first city of note on the southern coast of *Sicily*, which lies opposite to *Africa*, and extends from cape *Pachynum* to *Lilybæum* ^u.

NEXT to *Camarina* stood *Gela*, a city once of great note, *Gela*. and said, by *Thucydides* ^w, to have been founded by one *Antiphemus*, who had made a descent on the island, being assisted in the enterprize by a body of two hundred *Rhodians* from the city of *Lyndus*. These gave the name of *Lyndus*, their native city, to their new habitation. Some years after, a body of *Cretans*, under the conduct of one *Entimus*, landing in this part of the island, joined the *Rhodians*, and, together with them, peopled the city. In process of time, the name of *Lyndus* was changed for that of the river *Gela*, called at present *Fiume di Terra Nova*, which watered the neighbouring territory ^x. This city is commonly thought to have stood at the mouth of the *Gela*, where *Terra Nova* now stands; but some place it in the neighbourhood of the present *Alicata* ^y.

AGRIGENTUM, or *Agragas*, was once a city of great note, *Agrigentum*. and no less famous for its buildings than *Syracuse* itself. It is said by *Thucydides* ^z to have been founded by the inhabitants of *Gela*, under the conduct of the duumviri *Aristo* and *Pistillus*, about the fiftieth *Olympiad*. It stood between the rivers *Agragas* and *Hypsa*, of which the former is now called *Fiume di Gergenti*, and *Fiume di San Biaggio*; the latter *Fiume Drago*. We may judge of the situation and splendor of the ancient *Agrigentum*, from the description which *Polybius* gives us of it: “It exceeds (says he) most cities in *Sicily* for its fortifications, beautiful appearance, and magnificent buildings. It stands an hundred and eighteen furlongs distance from the sea; but can conveniently import by water all sorts of provisions. It is, by reason of its situation and fortifications, one of the strongest places in the island. Its walls are built upon a rock, which, by art, is become inaccessible. The

^u STRABO, l. vi. p. 187. & PIND. Olymp. ode v. ^w THUCYD. ibid. ^x PLIN. l. iii. c. 8. ^y Vide FAZELL. de rebus Sic. ^z THUCYD. ubi supra. & PIND. Olymp. ode ii.

the *Syracusians*, attacking them in order to avoid a less (4). The on that side, took their city by assault, and utterly destroyed it. marsh was the same with the present *Lago di Camarina*. *Ptolemy* is certainly mistaken, in placing the city of *Camarina*, ten miles distance from the sea; and contradicts therein all the ancient geographers.

(4) *Antholog. Græc. & Erasmi. chiliad.*

“ river, from which it takes its name, covers it to the south,
 “ and the *Hypsa* to the west: to the east it is defended by a
 “ fortress built on the brink of a precipice, which serves in-
 “ stead of a ditch ^a.” Among other remarkable buildings in
 it, there were three temples, greatly commended by the an-
 tients; viz. the temple of *Minerva*, the temple of *Jupiter*
Olympius, and that of *Jupiter Atabyris*, so called from a moun-
 tain in the island of *Rhodes*, where that god was worshiped;
 for *Agrigentum*, as we have observed above, was built by the
 inhabitants of *Gela*, who were composed of *Rhodians* and *Cre-*
tans. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the citadel called *Om-*
phace, which stood at a little distance from the mouth of *Agra-*
gas, was much more antient than the city itself ^b. The temple
 of *Jupiter Olympius* was one of the most magnificent in *Sicily*.
 It was, according to *Diodorus* ^c, three hundred and forty feet
 in length, threescore in breadth, and in height an hundred
 and twenty. This writer highly extols the beauty and size of
 the columns, which supported the building, the admirable
 structure of the porticoes, and the exquisite taste, with which
 the bas-reliefs and paintings were performed; and adds, that
 the last hand was never put to that stately edifice. We shall
 have occasion hereafter to speak of the immense and almost
 incredible wealth of the *Agrigentines*.

Heraclea
Minoa.

HERACLEA MINOA, so called, according to *Diodorus* ^d,
 because built by *Minos* king of *Crete*, stood on the banks of
 the *Halycus*, now the *Platani*, not far from the place which
 the natives call *Castel Bianco*. Some writers tell us, that this
 city was built before the *Cretans* arrived in *Sicily*, and was
 called *Macara*; which name was, by the *Cretans*, who seized
 on the place, changed into that of *Minoa*, in honour of their
 king *Minos*. *Diodorus* is not very coherent with himself in
 the account he gives of it; for, in one place ^e, he tells us,
 that it was built by *Minos*; and in another ^f, that it was founded
 by the *Cretans*, after their king's death. The *Cretans* were
 driven out by the *Selinuntii*, and these, in their turn, by a
 colony of *Lacedæmonians*, under the command of one of the
Heracidae, from whom it borrowed the name *Heraclea*.
 There are still extant some medals, with the name of this city,
 and the figure of *Hercules*, from whom the leader of the *Lace-*
dæmonians pretended to be descended.

Selinus.

SELINUS was formerly a city of great note, and is ranked by
 the antients among the chief cities of *Sicily*. *Ptolemy* places it
 between the river *Mazara* and the promontory *Lilybæum*; but
 herein he differs from all the antient historians and geographers,

^a POLYB. l. vii. ^b DIOD. l. xiii. ^c Idem ibid. ^d Idem,
 l. xvi. ^e DIOD. l. xvi. ^f Idem, l. iv.

who speak of it as standing between the *Mazara* and the *Hypsa*. *Strabo* ^g tells us, that it was built by the inhabitants of *Megara* in *Sicily*, under the command of one *Pammilus*, about an hundred years after the foundation of their own city. *Thucydides* seems to allude to their origin, when he calls them *Selinuntians* of *Megara* ^h (L). *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, that near *Selinus* was a marsh, which, with its pestilential vapours, infected the whole neighbourhood; to prevent which evil, *Empedocles* turned the streams of the two rivers *Selinus* and *Hypsa* into the marsh, and by that means carried off the stagnating waters. The same author adds, that the citizens, in gratitude for so great a benefit, ordered divine honours to be paid *Empedocles*, and sacrifices to be offered to *Æsculapius*. The city borrowed its name from the river *Selinus*, and the river from the great quantity of smallage, called in *Greek* *selinon*, which grew on its banks. The river *Selinus* is supposed to be the present *Madiuni*, and the city the place now called by the natives *Terra delle Pulci* ⁱ. These are the most noted cities on the southern coast, which faces *Africa*. On that which lies over-against *Italy*, and is called by *Ptolemy* the western, but ought to be called rather the northern coast, were the following cities.

LILYBÆUM, which gave name to the cape, was, according to *Tully* ^l, one of the strongest and most considerable cities of *Sicily*. There is nothing now remaining of it, but the ruins of some aqueducts and temples, though it was standing in

^g STRABO, l. vi. p. 174.
ubi supra.

^h THUCYD. l. vii.

ⁱ FAZELL.

^l CIC. act. v. in Verr.

(L) They had great quarrels with the inhabitants of *Segesta* about their frontiers, which kindled a bloody war between the two cities. The *Segestani*, being overpowered by their adversaries, had recourse to *Hannibal*, the son of *Gisco*, who was then in *Sicily*, at the head of an hundred thousand men. The *Carthaginian* did not let slip so fair an opportunity of punishing the *Selinuntians*, for the insults they had offered his father; for *Gisco* being banished *Carthage*, had taken refuge in *Selinus*, and perished there for want, the inhabitants refusing to afford him any relief, while he was in the utmost distress. *Selinus* not being able to hold out against so formidable an army, was taken and rased; and most of the citizens inhumanly massacred, without regard to sex or age. Some time after, *Hermocrates*, the father-in-law of *Dionysius* the elder, being expelled *Syracuse*, joined the remains of the *Selinuntii*, who had escaped the rage of the *Carthaginians*, and repaired the city, which was subsisting in the second *Punic* war, but in *Strabo's* time quite deserted (8).

(8) *Strabo*, ubi supra.

Strabo's time ^m. The city of *Marsala*, or *Marfella*, whence the cape is now called *Capo di Marfella*, is supposed to have been built out of its ruins. *Lilybæum* had a port, which was a safe retreat for ships even in *Julius Cæsar's* time ⁿ. The *Romans* indeed attempted several times to stop it up in their wars with *Carthage*; but their attempts proved unsuccessful, the heaps of stones which they threw into it being too weak to resist the violence of the seas and the storms. The *Carthaginians*, as *Diodorus* informs us ^o, laid the foundations of *Lilybæum*, after they had been driven from *Motya* by *Dionysius* the tyrant; and, according to the same writer ^p, *Motya* was taken by the tyrant the fourth year of the ninety-fifth olympiad. But *Diodorus* herein contradicts himself, as he has but too often the misfortune to do; for he tells us elsewhere ^q, that it was besieged by the *Carthaginians* in the eighty-first Olympiad, that is about fifty-two years before. The sepulchre of the sibyl of *Cumæ* was formerly to be seen near this city ^r. *Diodorus* ^s speaks of a well near *Lilybæum*, whereof the waters inspired all those who drank them with a prophetic enthusiasm; whence the inhabitants paid a particular worship to *Apollo*.

Drepanum.

DREPANUM, now *Trapani*, antiently a famous mart with a safe harbour, was so called from the Greek word *drepanos*, signifying a sickle, such being the shape of the shore on which it stood. It was inclosed with strong walls, and fortified by *Hamilcar*, *Hannibal's* father, who kept it a considerable time, and made it the seat of war against the *Romans*, till, by an order from *Carthage*, he concluded a peace with *Lutatius*. Near *Drepanum* was the little island of *Columbaria*, which the inhabitants now call *La Columbara*. In *Drepanum* died *Anchises*, if *Virgil* is to be credited ^t.

Eryx.

ERYX stood on the top of an hill, bearing the same name, at a small distance from the sea, and the place now called *Trepano del Monte*. The city borrowed its name from the mountain, and the mountain, as is supposed, from *Eryx* the son of *Venus*, who is said to have been killed there by *Hercules* (M).

SEGESTA,

^m STRABO, l. vi. p. 177. ⁿ HIRTIUS de bell. Afric. ^o DIOD. Sic. l. xxii. ^p Idem, l. xiv. ^q Idem, l. xi. ^r SOLIN. c. 11. ^s ISIDOR. de origin. l. viii. c. 8. ^t DIOD. ubi supra. ^u VIRG. Æneid. l. iii. ver. 707.

(M) *Mela* says (2), that *Æneas* mountain, in honour of his mother *Venus*. It is certain, that

(2) *Mela*, l. ii.

the

SEGESTA, called by the Greek writers *Egesta*, and sometimes *Acesta*, stood at a small distance from mount *Eryx*, and, according to an antient tradition, was built by *Æneas*, when he was by a storm driven on the coast of *Sicily*. Some writers add, that *Egestus*, or, as *Virgil* calls him, *Acestes*, was left in possession of the city, by the founder, on his setting sail for *Italy*; and that from him it was called *Egesta*, till it became subject to the *Romans*, who, out of superstition, changed the name of *Egesta* into that of *Segesta* (N). Others say, that it was built by *Egestus*, before *Æneas* came into *Italy*; and some are of opinion, that it was founded by one *Elymus* a *Trojan*, whence the inhabitants of this district were called *Elymi* *. Their territory was watered by the *Scamander* and the *Simois*, two names given these rivers by the *Trojans*, in memory of those in their native country; the former is now *Il fiume di San Bartolomeo*, and the latter a rivulet without name (O).

PANORMUS,

* STRABO, l. vii. ex APOLLODORO, & CIC. act. vi. in Verr.

the votaries of this goddess came in crouds, from all parts of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, to make their offerings to her in this place; whence she was stiled *Venus Erycina*. *Eryx* was the seat of king *Acestes*, who so kindly entertained *Æneas*, and his wandering *Trojans*. *Hamilear*, in the first year of the first *Punic* war, rased the antient city of *Eryx*, and repaired *Drepanum* with materials brought from thence.

It was soon after rebuilt; for we find it to have been the last city which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*, and delivered up to the *Romans*, at the end of the same war. In *Strabo's* time it was almost quite deserted, few people resorting to the temple after the *Romans* had built a magnificent one to *Venus Erycina*, at a small distance from the gate *Collina* (4).

(N) The *Romans*, says *Pompo-*

nus *Festus* (5), changed the name of *Egesta* into that of *Segesta*, by adding to it the letter S. This change was wholly founded on superstition; for the word *Egesta* is the same, all but one letter, as *Egestas*, which signifies, in *Latin*, poverty, or want; and such names as imported any such thing affected the superstitious *Romans*, who thought them omens of some danger threatening the person who pronounced them. Upon the like groundless prejudice, they changed the name of the city, which was first called *Maleventum*, into that of *Beneventum*.

(O) This city was taken by *Agathocles* tyrant of *Syracuse*, by whose cruel command all the inhabitants were put to the sword, and even the antient name of the place changed into that of *Dicæopolis*, which it did not long retain. *Tully* tells us, that it was ruined by the *Carthaginians* be-

(4) *Strabo*, l. vi. p. 188.

(5) *Pomp. Fest. in Segesta.*

Panormus

PANORMUS, now *Palermo*, and the capital of *Sicily*, was built by the *Phœnicians* some time before the arrival of any *Greeks* in the island. Its territory was watered by the *Orethus*, and the *Leutherus*; the former is now called *Amiraglio*, and the latter *Baiaria*. In the neighbourhood of this city stood antiently a strong fortress, called *Erēta*; which name was common to it with the hill, which the natives call *Monte Pelegrino*.

Himera.

HIMERA was built by the inhabitants of *Zancle* or *Mes-sina*, and utterly ruined by the *Carthaginians* ². It was afterwards rebuilt, and called by the *Romans* *Thermæ Himera*, from the hot baths in its neighbourhood. *Tully* speaks of this city as one of the most considerable in *Sicily* ³. *Himera* was the birth-place of the famous poet *Stesichorus* (P). The city borrowed its name from the river *Himera*, now *Fiume di Termini*, which washed its walls (Q). In the reign of *Augustus* it was made a *Roman* colony, as appears from some medals ^b.

Alæsa.

ALÆSA, or *Halæsa*, was a very antient city of *Sicily*, and stood, as *Fazellus* conjectures, near the place where the city of *Caronia* stands at present, on the river *Alæsus*, or *Fiume di Casonia*. Near *Alæsa* was a fountain, which, as *Solinus* would make us believe, used, at the sound of a flute, to bubble up so that it could not be kept within the basin ^c.

Agathyrna.

AGATHYRNA, which *Strabo* ^d calls *Agathyrsum*, and *Antoninus's* itinerary *Agatinum*, was, according to *Diodorus*, founded in the time of the *Trojan* war. Some think that it stood near

THUCYD. l. vi. ² DIOD. l. xiii. c. 67. ³ CIC. act. ii. in Verr. ^b FAZELL. de reb. Sic. ^c SOLINUS, c. ii. ^d STRAB. l. vi. c. 184.

fore the reign of *Agathocles*. If therefore *Diodorus's* account be true, it must have been rebuilt. According to *Strabo's* description of it, it stood near the place where the town of *Barbara* was built many ages after, at a small distance from *Castel a Mare*.

(P) *Tully* tells us, that, among the ruins of the old city, two statues were dug up, which were deemed masterpieces of art; the one representing the city itself, under the figure of a woman, and the other a stooping old man, with an hook in his hand, supposed to be *Stesichorus*. (Q) There were two rivers in *Sicily* bearing this name, one running northward; and this is the river which gave the name to the city; the other runs southward, and falls into the *African* sea. The former is now called *Fiume di Termini*, and the latter *Il Salsi*, or *Salso*; which name agrees with what the antients say of it, viz. that its waters had a salt taste, which they contracted by flowing through salt mines.

the

the place now called *San Marco*, at a small distance from the promontory, which the *Sicilians* call *Cape d'Orlando*.

THESE are the chief cities we find mentioned by the antient geographers on the coast of *Sicily*. Among the inland cities, the following are the most remarkable.

ADRANUM, now *Aderno*, at the foot of mount *Ætna*, near *Adra* a river formerly bearing the same name as it does at present, now being called *Fiume d'Aderno*. This city was built, according to *Diodorus* ^e, by *Dionysius* the elder, and was famous for the temple of *Adranus*, the tutelary god of the *Siculi*. Thither the inhabitants of the island, and foreigners, flocked, at stated times of the year, to make their offerings, and implore the protection of the deity of the place. *Ælian* tells us, that a thousand large mastiffs were constantly kept here, and that they were endowed with a particular instinct, which led them to fawn upon such as brought presents to the temple, and to conduct drunken persons home in the night, while they fell furiously on thieves, and tore them in pieces ^f. *Centuripe*, formerly one of the richest cities in *Sicily*, is now but a small village, called by the natives *Centorbe*. It stood, according to *Strabo* ^g, at the foot of mount *Ætna*, not far from the river *Symæthus*, now *La Faresta*.

ENNA stood on an eminence in the middle of *Sicily*, as *Enna*. *Strabo* ^h informs us; whence it was called, according to *Diodorus* ⁱ, the navel of *Sicily*. It was one of the strongest places in the island, and remarkable for its beautiful plains, fruitful soil, and the many lakes and springs which watered its territory. A modern writer derives the name of *Enna* from the word *Ennaam*, which, in the *Phœnician* language, signifies a fountain of pleasure ^k; the waters of this place being highly commended by the antients for their limpidity and wholesomeness. We are told by *Diodorus* ^l, that *Ceres* was born in this district; and that she first taught the inhabitants of *Enna* the art of agriculture. *Diodorus* adds, that the rape of *Proserpine* by *Pluto* happened near *Enna*, while the young goddess was gathering flowers in a neighbouring meadow. This opinion obtained among the *Ennæans*, who shewed a large cavern, which opened of itself, as they believed, to make the god a way to his infernal kingdom: hence the worship which the *Sicilians* paid these two divinities; the magnificent temple which *Gelo* erected to *Ceres* in this city; and the solemn festival, which the *Syracusians* annually celebrated near the fountain *Cyane*, supposed to have sprung up when the earth opened

^e DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. c. 38.

l. vi. p. 185.

^k BOCHAR. phal. l. ii. c. 3.

^f ÆLIAN. l. iii.

^h Idem ibid.

ⁱ DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 3.

^l DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 3.

under *Pluto's* feet. The temple of *Ceres* was resorted to from all parts of *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Asia*, and was deemed one of the richest in *Sicily*. The antient city of *Enna* is supposed to have stood where *Castro Janni* now stands.

Engyum. ENGYUM, or *Enguyum*, stood near mount *Maurus*, which the inhabitants call *Mandonia*, near the springs of *Alæsus*. *Cicero*^m speaks of *Engyum* as one of the most considerable cities of *Sicily*. It was founded by the *Cretans*, and was famous for a temple dedicated to *Ceres*, in which, it was constantly affirmed, certain goddesses, called the *Mothers*, appeared from time to time. This temple was, according to *Plutarch*, built by the *Cretans*, and dedicated to the goddesses styled the *Mothers* (R). That writer adds, that in the temple were lodged javelins and brazen helmets, which had been consecrated to the goddesses of the place by *Meriones* and *Ulysses*.

THESE were the chief cities of *Sicily* in the ages we are to write of: the others we shall describe in our notes, as we shall have occasion to speak of them in the sequel of the history.

Mount-
ains.
Ætna.

ÆTNA, now mount *Gibel*, or, in one word, *Mangibello*, is the highest in *Sicily*, and famous for its frequent and dreadful eruptions, which have often destroyed the country to a great distance. It is said to be eight miles in height, and seventeen in circumference. The lower parts are very fruitful, the middle shaded with woods, and the top covered with snow great part of the year, notwithstanding the flames and hot cinders it frequently throws up (S). The fire, which is continually burning in the bowels of this mountain, made the poets place here the forges of the *Cyclopes* under the direction of *Vulcan*, and the prison of the giants who rebelled against *Jupiter*. These fictions the vulgar soon took for truths, and looked on mount *Ætna* as the residence of *Vulcan*, and the

^m Cic. act. iii. in Verr.

(R) The Pagans gave the father. *Cicero* speaks of a famous temple erected in the city of *Engium* to *Cybele*, who was styled the *Great Mother* (6).
like manner, the god, whose (S) This is excellently expressed by *Silius Italicus* in the often invoked by the name of following lines:

*Summo cana jugo cobibet (mirabile dictu!)
Vicinam flammis glaciem, æternoque rigore
Ardentes horrent scopuli: stat vertice celsi
Collis hyems, calidaque nivem tegit atra favilla* (7).

(6) Cic. act. iii. in Verr.

(7) Sil. Ital. l. xiv. v. 571.

seat of his empire. Upon this supposition they erected a temple to him on the hill, in which was kept, as *Ælian* informs us ⁿ, a perpetual fire, as in the temple of *Vesta*, this element being a symbol of *Vulcan* (T). Next to *Ætna*, in height and compass, is mount *Eryx*, which we have spoken of above.

THE principal rivers were the *Terius*, now *La Favetta*, Rivers. the *Himera*, rising on mount *Modenia*, and falling into the *African* sea; it is now called *Salso* for the reasons we have hinted above; the *Halycus*, called by the present inhabitants, *Il Platani*; it rises at a little distance from the small town of *Halce*, antiently *Halyciæ*, and discharges itself into the *Sicilian* sea, near the ruins of *Heraclea*, about eighteen miles west of *Agrigentum*; the *Anapus*, which rises near *Bussena*, waters the territory of *Syracuse*, and empties itself into the *Sicilian* sea, &c.

No country has produced men more famed for learning than *Sicily*; but we need not enlarge on this subject, it being well known, that *Æschylus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Empedocles*, *Gorgias*, *Euclid*, *Archimedes*, *Epicharmus*, *Theocritus*, &c. were natives of this island.

THE *Æolian* islands lie off the north coast of *Sicily*, in the *Æolian* or *Tyrrhenian* or *Tuscan* sea. They were so called from an island, *Æolus*, who is supposed to have reigned there. They are also known by the name of the *Vulcanian* islands, because some of them vomited out flames like mount *Ætna*, and *Vulcan* was the tutelary god of all such places; for the same reason they were called by the *Greeks* *Hephestiades*. *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, *Mela*, and *Pliny*, count seven of them, viz. *Lipara*, *Hiera*, *Strongylæ*, *Euonymos*, *Didyme*, *Ericusa*, and *Phœnicusa*. *Lipara*, now *Lipari*, is the best peopled, and the largest of

ⁿ *ÆLIAN*. l. xi. de animal.

(T) Any extraordinary eruption was looked upon by the *Romans* as ominous, and two very dreadful ones are said to have happened, the one not long before the breaking out of the servile war in *Sicily*, and the other soon after the death of *Julius Cæsar*, both portending the bloody wars that ensued. The most remarkable conflagrations we read of since those times were in the years of the *Christian æra* 1169, 1329, 1408, 1444, 1447,

1536, 1554. by the last of which *Catania* and the neighbouring countries were very near being utterly destroyed; as they were also in 1669. But we must refer the readers for the cause of those eruptions, and a particular account of them, to *Thucydides* (l. iii. sub fin.) to *Pindar*, in his first *Pythian* ode, written soon after the second mentioned by *Thucydides*; and also *Fazellus*, *Cluverius*, and *Leontinus*, in his *pyrologia typographica*.

the

the *Æolian* islands, being eighteen miles in compass. It is said to have borrowed its name from *Liparus* the son of *Ausen*, who reigned in this island^o. The soil is very fruitful, and the country furnished with great plenty of alum, sulphur, and bitumen. It has many medicinal baths, which were formerly much frequented; whence it had the name of *Thermessa*. *Strongylæ*, now *Strombolo*, is about ten miles in compass, and the soil no less fruitful than that of *Lipari*; but the whole country is frequently laid waste by the flames which a mountain in the island throws out. The other islands are no ways considerable, most of them being uninhabited, and mere rocks. *Ptolemy* reckons up fifteen of these islands; but it is evident he includes in that number several other little islands, which are too far distant from the *Æolian* islands, to be comprehended under that denomination. They are distant about forty miles from the north coast of *Sicily*, and fifty from the nearest part of the farther *Calabria*.

The islands Ægates. THE islands called *Ægates* or *Ægades*, lie north of cape *Lilybæum*, and are three in number, viz. *Phorbantia*, or *Buccina*, as *Pliny* calls it, *Ægusa*, or *Capraria*, and *Hiera*, which is also called *Maritima*. The first is now called *Levenzo*, the second *Favignana*, and the third *Maretano*.

The inhabitants. THE *Cyclopes* and *Læstrigones* were, according to *Justin*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Thucydides*, the first inhabitants of *Sicily*. They are said to have settled in the territory of *Leontium*, and the countries in the neighbourhood of mount *Ætna*; but of their origin we know nothing, except what we are told by the poets. That there were formerly *Cyclopes*, or giants, some moderns have endeavoured to prove from the remains of some dead bodies of a gigantic size, which have been found in several parts of this island. They pretend, that these giants were descended from *Japhet*, and that they came into *Sicily* after the confusion of languages^p. Their inhumanity towards strangers, and the flames which mount *Ætna*, a part of their territory, was constantly vomiting out, gave occasion to the many fictions of the poets, especially that the *Cyclopes* fed on human flesh, and that they were employed by *Vulcan* to make thunderbolts for *Jupiter*.

The Sicani THE most antient inhabitants after the *Cyclopes*, were the *Sicani*, who, as *Diodorus* informs us^q, called themselves the original inhabitants of the island. But *Thucydides*^r, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*^s, *Philistus* as quoted by *Diodorus*^t, *Soli-*

^o DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 8. ^p Vide THO. FAZELL. decad. i. l. i. c. 7. & MARIAN. VALGUARNERA de primis incolis Siciliæ. ^q DID. SIC. l. v. c. 2. ^r THUCYD. l. vi. ^s DION. HALIC. l. i. ^t DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.

nus u, and the poet *Silius* w, tell us, that they came from a country in *Spain*, watered by the river *Sicanus*, which *Servius* x, upon very weak conjectures, takes to be the *Segra*. Some writers will have them to have been called *Sicani* from the river *Sicanus*; others from their leader, under whose conduct they settled in *Sicily*, and gave their name to the island, which before was called *Trinacria*. *Diodorus* is of opinion, that the *Sicani* were the original inhabitants of *Sicily*, and supports his assertion with the authority of *Timæus*, who wrote the history of *Sicily* from the earliest ages. According to that antient writer, the *Sicanians* at first possessed the whole island, and applied themselves to cultivate and improve the ground in the neighbourhood of mount *Ætna*, the most fruitful part of the island: they built several small towns and villages on the hills to secure themselves against thieves and robbers, and were governed not by one common prince, but each city and district by its own king. Thus they continued to live till *Ætna* began to throw out flames, and lay waste the whole country; and then they abandoned their antient habitations, and retired to the western parts of the island, which they still inhabited in the time of *Thucydides* y. Some *Trojans*, after the destruction of their city, landing in *Sicily*, settled among the *Sicani*, built the cities of *Eryx* and *Egesta*, and became one people with them, taking the general name of *Elymi*, or *Elymæi*. They were afterwards joined by some *Phocenses*, who settled here on their return from the siege of *Troy*.

THE people properly called *Siculi*, or *Sicilians*, came over *The Siculi* into *Sicily*, after the *Sicani* had for many ages enjoyed an undisturbed possession of the whole island. They were, according to *Hellenicus* of *Lesbos*, the antient inhabitants of *Aufonia*, properly so called; but, being driven from thence by the *Opici*, they took refuge in *Sicily*, and settled in that part of the island, which the *Sicani* had forsaken. As they were not contented with the narrow bounds which the *Sicani* allowed them, they began to encroach upon their neighbours; whereupon a bloody battle ensued, in which the *Sicani* were utterly defeated, and confined to a corner of the island. The *Siculi*, now masters of the greater part of the country, changed the antient name of *Sicania* into that of *Sicily* z (H).

ABOUT

u SOLINUS, c. 10. w SIL. ITAL. l. xiv. x SERV. in lib. viii. *Æneid.* y DIOD. & THUCYD. ubi supra. z THUCYD. ubi supra. DION. HALIC. l. i.

(H) *Philistus*, as quoted by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, tells us, that the *Siculi* were originally *Ligures*; and that they opposed *Hercules*, when, on his return from *Spain*, he attempted to

The
Greeks.

ABOUT three hundred years after the arrival of the *Siculi*, the island began to be known to the *Greeks*. Of these the first that went thither were the *Chalcidians* of *Eubœa*, under the conduct of *Thucles*, who built *Naxos*, and a famous altar of *Apollo*, which, as *Thucydides* tells us, was still standing in his time without the city ^a. The year after, which was, according to *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* ^b, the third of the seventeenth *Olympiad*, *Archias* the *Corinthian*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, laid the foundations of *Syracuse*. Seven years after a new colony of *Chalcidians* founded *Leontini* and *Catana*, after having driven out the *Siculi*, who inhabited that tract. About the same time *Lamis*, with a colony from *Megara*, a city of *Achaia*, settled on the river *Pantacius* at a place called *Trotilum*, where his adventurers lived some time in common with the *Chalcidians* of *Leontini*; but, being driven from thence by the *Leontines*, he built the city of *Thapsus*, where he died. Upon his death, the colony left *Thapsus*, and, under the conduct of *Hyblon* king of the *Siculi*, founded *Megara Hyblæa*, where they resided two hundred and forty-five years, till they were driven out by *Gelon* tyrant of *Syracuse*. During their abode at *Megara*, they sent one *Pamilus*, who was come from *Megara* in *Achaia*, their original city, to build *Selinus*. This city was founded about an hundred years after the foundation of *Megara*. *Antiphemus* and *Entimus*, the former a *Rhodian*, the other a *Cretan*, led each a colony of their countrymen, and jointly built the city of *Gela* on a river of the same name, establishing in their new settlement the *Doric* customs, about forty-five years after the founding of *Syracuse*. The inhabitants of *Gela* founded *Agrigentum* an hundred and eight years after their arrival in *Sicily*, and introduced the same customs there. A few years after *Zancle* was built by the pirates of *Cumæ* in *Italy*, but chiefly peopled by the *Chalcidians*, *Samians*, and *Ionians*, who chose rather to seek new

^a THUCYD. ubi supra.

^b DION. HALICAR. l. ii.

cross the *Alps* out of *Gaul* into *Italy*. Notwithstanding their opposition, that great conqueror got safe into *Italy*, subdued the *Ligures*, and, having incorporated them into his army, carried them over into *Sicily*; it being his custom, as the same author acquaints us, to recruit his army with the people he had conquer-

ed; and after they had assisted him in making new conquests, to reward them with new seats (1). The *Phœnicians* likewise settled on the coast, and in the adjacent islands, for the convenience of trade; but, upon the arrival of the *Greeks*, retired into the country of the *Elymi*, in order to be nearer *Carthage* (2).

(1) *Philistus*, apud *Dion. Halicar.* l. i.

(2) *Thucyd.* ubi supra.

settlements, than live under the *Persian* yoke. Some time after *Anaxales*, tyrant of *Rhegium*, drove out the antient proprietors; and, dividing their lands among his followers, called the city *Messana* or *Messene*, which was the name of his native city in *Peloponnesus*. The city of *Himera* was founded by the *Zancleans* under the direction of *Eucleides*, *Simus*, and *Sacon*; but peopled by the *Chalcidians*, and some *Syracusan* exiles, who had been driven out by the contrary faction.

THE *Syracusians* built *Acraë*, *Chasmenæ*, and *Camarina*; the first seventy years, the second ninety, and the third one hundred and thirty-five after the foundation of their own city. This is the account which *Thucydides*, a most judicious and exact writer, gives us of the various nations, whether *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, who settled in *Sicily* ^c (I). *Strabo* counts among the antient inhabitants of *Sicily* the *Morgetes*, who being driven out of *Italy* by the *Oenotrians*, settled in that part of the island, where the antient city of *Morgantium* stood ^d. The *Campani*, who assumed the name of *Mamertini*, that is, *invincible warriors*, and the *Carthaginians*, who settled very early in *Sicily*, ought likewise to be counted among the antient inhabitants of the island; but of these we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of this history.

^c THUCYD. l. vi.

^d STRAB. l. vi. p. 186.

(I) He takes no notice of a colony from *Crete*, which, if *Diodorus* is to be credited, settled in *Sicily* long before the *Greeks* got any footing in that island. According to this writer, *Minos* king of *Crete*, having invaded *Sicily* in pursuit of *Dædalus*, was there treacherously put to death by *Cocalus* king of the *Sicani*. The *Cretans*, who had attended him in this expedition, having lost their leader, and likewise their ships, which were all burnt by *Cocalus*, resolved to settle in the island, and build a city; which they did accordingly, calling it from the name of their king *Minoa*. Some time after the inhabitants of *Minoa*, possessing themselves of a place

strong by nature, in the heart of the country, built there the city of *Engium*. After the destruction of *Troy*, *Merion*, with other *Cretans*, being cast away on the coasts of *Sicily*, were kindly entertained by their countrymen there, and admitted to share all the privileges of their city. Their power being thus increased with their numbers, they began to make frequent inroads into the neighbouring territories, and considerably extended their confines. In process of time they became one of the most wealthy colonies of *Sicily*, and built a most magnificent temple in honour of the *Curetes* or *Corybantes*, called in *Crete* the *Mother Goddesses* (3).

(3) *Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 13.*

The history
of the Si-
cani and
Siculi.

As the authors, who have written the history of Sicily from the earliest times, and to whom both *Diodorus* and *Thucydides* refer us for a more particular account of what they only hint at, have not, to the irreparable loss of the learned world, reached our times, we cannot pretend to give any satisfactory or connected history of those nations that inhabited the island before the arrival of the *Greeks* (K). Of the *Læstrigones* and *Cyclopes* we know nothing but what we read in the poets, which is beneath the dignity of history to take notice of. We

(K) The authors who wrote the history of Sicily from the earliest ages, are *Timæus*, *Philistus*, *Antiochus* of *Syracuse*, *Hipys*, and *Theopompus*. *Timæus* was contemporary with *Plato*, wrote the history of Sicily, and is often quoted and followed by *Diodorus Siculus*. *Philistus* flourished under the two *Dionysius*'s, and wrote a complete history of Sicily from the earliest ages to his time. He was a native of *Naucratis*, but passed great part of his life at *Syracuse*, where he assisted *Dionysius* in the establishing his authority. He married the niece of *Dionysius*, unknown to him; and was on that account banished Sicily. He is often quoted by *Josephus*, and seems to have been an accurate writer (4). *Antiochus* of *Syracuse* is quoted by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, as an author of great credit; he flourished about the 90th *Olympiad*, and wrote the history of Sicily in nine books, which began with the reign of *Cocalus*, and ended with the state of Sicily in the reign of *Darius Nothus* king of *Persia*. *Pausanias* mentions this author in these words; *Antiochus son of Xenophanes, a Syracusan, says in his history of Sicily, &c.* He is also quoted by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who tells us, that he extracted his history from antient and authentic monuments. *Strabo*, *Hesychius*, and *Festus*, seem to pay a great deference to the authority of this writer. *Hipys* flourished either in the reign of *Darius*, or that of *Xerxes*; and was the first who wrote the history of Sicily, which history was afterwards abridged by one *Myes*. He is frequently quoted by *Plutarch*, *Suidas*, the scholiast on *Aratus*, and others. *Theopompus*, a native of the isle of *Chios*, flourished in the reigns of *Artaxerxes Ochus* of *Persia*, and *Philip* the father of *Alexander* of *Macedon*. He was the disciple of *Isocrates*, and, in the opinion of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, far excelled his master. *Athenæus* cites and commends him as a lover of truth, and one who spared no pains in the search of it. Besides many other excellent performances, he wrote the history of *Philip*, the father of *Alexander*, in three books; in one of which he gave an account of the affairs of Sicily from the beginning of the reign of *Dionysius* the elder to the expulsion of *Dionysius* the younger (5). As the works of these authors have not reached us, we are left quite in the dark as to some of the most material points in the history of Sicily.

(4) Vid. *Plut.* in *Dio.* *Diod. Sic.* l. xvi.

(5) *Diod. Sic.* l. xvi.

shall only say that some writers have, not without good grounds, imagined that the *Lastrigones* and *Sicani* were one and the same people^e. As to the *Sicani*, they had at first as many kings as cities; but were in process of time brought under subjection to one common prince. Of all their kings we find two only mentioned in history; viz. *Cocalus* and *Teutus*: all we know of the latter is, that in his time the *Sicani*, being at variance among themselves, were subdued by *Phalaris* tyrant of *Agrigentum*, and *Teutus* himself taken by treachery in *Vessa* his capital^f. *Cocalus* reigned long before him, and was, according to *Diadorus*, contemporary with *Minos* king of *Crete*, who being highly incensed against *Dædalus* for helping his queen *Pasiphae* to satisfy her unnatural lust, equipped a powerfvl fleet, and pursued him into *Sicily*, where *Cocalus* then reigned. Upon his arrival he sent messengers to *Cocalus*, requiring him to deliver up *Dædalus*. The *Sicanian* shewed himself disposed to comply with his request, entertained him very splendidly, and invited him to his palace, where he caused him to be privately stifled in an hot bath. The *Cretans* who had attended him into *Sicily*, raised a stately monument to their deceased king, whose bones were many ages after dug up in laying the foundations of *Agrigentum*, and sent into *Crete* by *Thero* sovereign of that district^g. In the time of the *Peloponnesian* war the *Sicani* sided with the *Lacedæmonians*, and afterwards with *Dionysius* tyrant of *Syracuse* against the *Carthaginians*; but were at last intirely subdued by the latter, and held in subjection till the *Romans*, in the first *Punic* war rescued them from that bondage^h.

THE *Siculi* were in like manner first subject to many, and afterwards to one common prince. *Æalus*, according to *Diadorus*ⁱ and *Justin*^k, was their first king, and succeeded by *Butes*, as *Butas* was by *Eryx*. But the most renowned among their princes was *Ducetius*, who governed the *Siculi* with great wisdom, built the city of *Palicon* (L), and removed that of *Neas*,

^e Vid. REINECCIUS hist. Jul. vol. ii. p. 381. ^f POLYÆN. l. v. ^g DIOD. l. iv. c. 13. PAUSAN. l. vii. EUSEB. in chron. ^h DIOD. l. xiii. & xvi. ⁱ Idem, l. xiii. ^k JUSTIN. l. iv.

(L) The city was so called more for the sacredness of the from a neighbouring temple dedicated to the gods *Palici*, who were supposed to be two twin-brothers, and sons of *Jupiter* by the nymph *Thalia*. The temple was very famous for the wonders that were related of it; but far

oaths that were taken there, the violation of which was said to be always attended with sudden and exemplary punishment. This sacred place was a secure asylum for all persons, who were oppressed by a superior power; and

Neas, the place of his birth, from the hills to the champain country¹. He engaged in a war with the *Syracusians*, by whom he was routed, and, surrendering himself to them, was set at liberty, upon condition that he should leave *Sicily*, and lead a private life at *Corinth* (M). The *Syracusians*,
having

¹ Diod. l. xi.

especially for slaves, who were unjustly abused, or too cruelly treated, by their masters. They continued safe in the temple till such time as they had made their peace by the interposition of mediators chosen by both parties; and there was not a single instance of a master's having forfeited the promise he had made to pardon his slaves; so greatly revered were the gods who presided in the temple, for the severe vengeance they were believed to take on those who violated their oaths (6).

(M) *Ducetius*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, united all the *Siculi*, the inhabitants of *Hybla* excepted, into one body; by which means he became very powerful, and gained several considerable victories over the *Syracusians*, who began to give no small umbrage to the inhabitants of *Sicily*. But after many glorious successes, *Ducetius* was defeated in a pitched battle, and abandoned by the greatest part of his forces. The consternation, into which so sudden and general a desertion threw him, prompted him to take a resolution which nothing but the utmost despair could suggest. He withdrew in the night to *Syracuse*, advanced as far as the great square in the middle of the city; and there, falling prostrate at the foot of the altar, devoted his life and dominions to the mercy

of the *Syracusians* his professed enemies. Such a sight drew the whole city into the square; and the orators endeavoured to inflame the people thus assembled against the suppliant, whom providence had put into their hands, that they might revenge and punish by his death all the injuries he had done the republic. Such speeches incensed the multitude, who were ready to fall upon him even at the foot of the altar; but an assembly being convened, the wisest of the senators represented, that they were not to consider what punishment *Ducetius* might deserve, but how it behoved the *Syracusians* to behave on the occasion; that they ought not to look upon him any longer as an enemy, but as a suppliant, by which character his person was become sacred and inviolable; that it was worthy the goodness natural to the *Syracusians* to exert their clemency even towards those who least deserved it, &c. The people were greatly affected with this speech, and all to a man voted for sparing *Ducetius's* life. However, he was banished *Sicily*, and ordered to reside at *Corinth*, the original city of the *Syracusians*, who took upon them to furnish the exile with all things necessary to support himself suitable to his dignity. *Ducetius* however returned some years after into *Sicily*, under pretence of founding a new colony; and en-

(6) *Diod. Sic. ibid. c. 22.*

having thus got rid of a powerful rival, reduced the whole country of the *Siculi*, except the city of *Trinacria* alone, which refused to admit the *Syracusians* within the walls. This city was at that time the metropolis of the *Siculi*, and its inhabitants were accounted the best warriors of the whole nation. The *Syracusians* therefore, having drawn together all their troops, marched out against the *Trinacrians*, who met them at some distance from their city, and offered them battle. Both armies engaged with the utmost fury, and the victory was long doubtful: but at last the *Trinacrians* were overpowered with numbers, and, thinking it beneath them either to beg quarter, or to fly, were all to a man killed on the spot: such of them as were wounded, preferring death to captivity, dispatched themselves. The *Syracusians*, having gained so complete a victory over a people never before subdued, levelled the city with the ground, sold all the women and children for slaves, and sent the spoils, by way of thanksgiving, to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi* ^m.

THUS were the *Siculi* reduced by the *Syracusians*; but they did not long continue subject to them; for in the war, which not long after broke out between the *Syracusians* and *Athenians* under the conduct of *Nicias*, we find the former soliciting the *Siculi* to join them against a foreign enemy, and to espouse the cause of *Syracuse* as their own. But the *Siculi* were so far from complying with their request, that they sent powerful succours to the *Athenians*, and cut in pieces a body of *Spartans* that were marching to the relief of *Syracuse* ⁿ. In the war, which was soon after kindled between *Carthage* and *Syracuse*, they assisted the *Carthaginians* with an army of twenty thousand men ^o. But, in the war which *Dionysius* the elder made upon the *Carthaginians*, with a design to drive them out of the island, they assisted the *Syracusians* to the utmost of their power. The *Carthaginians* prevailed in this war; and the *Siculi*, notwithstanding the assistance they had lent *Dionysius*, were by him abandoned, and given up to the *Carthaginians*; whose yoke they bore till the time of *Timoleon* the *Corinthian*, who restored most of the cities belonging to the *Siculi* to the full enjoyment of their antient liberties ^p, as we shall have occasion to relate at length in the sequel of this

^m Diod. l. xii.
1. xiv.

ⁿ Idem, ibid.

^o Idem, l. xiii.

^p Idem,

deavoured to deliver his countrymen from the oppression they groaned under, but was prevented by death from accomplishing his design (7).

(7) Diod. Sic. l. xi. & xii.

history. This is what we have been able to gather relating to the first inhabitants of *Sicily*, from the few fragments that are still remaining of the authors, who have written at length on that subject. We shall now proceed to the history of the *Greek colonies in Sicily*, beginning with that of *Syracuse*, the most powerful state and eminent city in the whole island.

S E C T. VI.

The history of Syracuse.

WHAT kind of government first prevailed in the city of *Syracuse*, is not well known. We find one *Polis* mentioned by *Athenæus*^a and *Ælian*^b, as reigning there in the earliest times; whence some have concluded, that the city was first governed by kings. It is certain, that monarchical government, if first introduced, was not of long continuance, being soon changed into a democracy, as is manifest from *Aristotle*^c, *Diodorus Siculus*^d, and *Justin*^e. But, as the history of that republic is, for the space of two hundred years, very obscure and uncertain for want of records, we shall begin with the reign of *Gelon*, in whose time *Syracuse* first made a very considerable figure, and thenceforward furnishes many great and memorable events for the space of above two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under tyrants, and liberty under a popular government, till it was at length reduced by the *Romans*, and made part of their empire.

Gelon.

GELON was born in the city of *Gela*, whence he probably took his name (N). He signalized himself in the wars, which

Hippa-

^a *ATHEN.* l. iii. c. 28.

^b *ÆLIAN.* var. hist. l. xii. c. 31.

^c *ARISTOT.* l. v. polit. c. 4.

^d *DIOD. SIC.* l. xx.

^e *JUSTIN.*

l. xxii.

(N) The first of *Gelon's* ancestors we find mentioned in his history was one *Oecetor*, who was born in the island of *Telus*, but went to settle at *Gela*, whence he was driven with the other inhabitants by *Antiophemes*, and the *Lyndians* of *Rhodes*, when they possessed themselves of that city. In process of time one of his descendants, by name *Telines*, was created by the inhabitants of *Gela* high-priest of the infernal gods. At what time the family returned to *Gela* is not known. *Herodotus* (1) informs us, that *Telines* was the first of the descendants of *Oecetor*, who made

(1) *Herodot.* l. vii. c. 153.

Hippocrates tyrant of *Gela* carried on against the neighbouring states, most of which he reduced, and was very near making himself master of *Syracuse*, after having defeated the *Syracusians* in a battle fought on the banks of the *Helorus*: however, he obliged them to deliver up to *Hippocrates* the city of *Camarina*, which they had ever possessed to that time. After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon*, under pretence of defending the rights of the tyrant's children, his wards, took up arms against his own citizens; and, having overcome them in a battle, seized on the sovereignty for himself. After this success, he undertook to restore some *Syracusians*, who had been expelled the city by the contrary faction. With these exiles he marched from *Casmene* to *Syracuse*, where he was received by the populace with loud acclamations, and put in possession of the city. Being now master of so wealthy a place, he gave the government of *Gela* to his brother *Hiero*, and bent all his thoughts on the beautifying of *Syracuse*, and extending the limits of that state. His first care was to people it well; and therefore, having destroyed the city of *Camarina*, he transferred the inhabitants to *Syracuse*. He had, soon after, some disputes with the *Megareans*, who were supported by all the *Eubæans* that inhabited *Sicily*. But their joint-forces were not able to cope with *Gelon*, who drove them out of the field, took and rased their cities, and transplanted the most wealthy among the inhabitants to his favourite city, allowing them to enjoy the same rights and privileges as the natives. The common people, though they had no part in promoting the war against him, he sold for slaves, obliging those who purchased them, to transport them out of *Sicily*, saying, that it was more easy to govern a thousand men of substance, than one who had nothing to lose^a. By this means the power of *Syracuse* rose in a short time to a very great height; and the friendship of *Gelon* was courted not only by the neighbouring states, but by those of *Greece*, namely of *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*, who jointly sent ambassadors into *Sicily*, inviting him to enter into an alliance with them against *Xerxes* king of *Persia*, who was ready to invade *Greece* with a formidable army.

Year of
the flood
1865.
Bef. Chr.
483.

Seizes on
the sovereignty of
Gela.

Put in possession of
Syracuse.

Becomes
powerful,
and is
courted by
the neighbouring
and other
states.

GELON, it seems, had been, before this time, engaged in a war with the *Carthaginians*, and on that occasion had im-

^a HERODOT. l. vii. c. 153, 154.

any figure; and that, some of the inhabitants of *Gela* being expelled in a sedition, he by the authority of his function brought them back to their native country; for which good office the priesthood was continued in his family.

plored

Upon
what
terms he
offers to
assist the
Greeks
against the
Persians.

His offer
rejected.

His policy
on this oc-
casion.

explored in vain the assistance of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*; for he upbraided the ambassadors with the contempt *Athens* and *Lacedæmon* had shewn him, when he solicited succours from them against the *Carthaginians*. However, he declared at the same time, that he was so far from retaliating such an ungenerous treatment, that, on the contrary, he was ready to supply them with two hundred gallies, twenty thousand men completely armed, two thousand horse, two thousand bow-men, two thousand slingers, two thousand light-horse, and, besides, to furnish the whole *Greek* army with corn during all the time of the war, upon condition they would appoint him commander in chief of all their forces. This proposal was rejected by the ambassadors with indignation, who told him, that, if he was willing to succour *Greece* under the conduct of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, they would willingly enter into a confederacy with him against the common enemy; but, if he disdained to obey their orders, they did not care for his assistance. *Gelon* replied with a great deal of temper, that he could not help thinking he had a better claim to the supreme command than either the *Lacedæmonians* or *Athenians*, since he had a far greater number both of sea and land-forces; but, however, he would abate something of his first pretensions, and be satisfied with the command either of the fleet or the army, and allow them to choose which of the two they liked best. The ambassadors, notwithstanding the streights their respective countries were in, would hearken to no such proposals: whereupon they were commanded by *Gelon* to depart forthwith his dominions ^b.

IN the mean time *Gelon*, being informed that *Xerxes* had crossed the *Hellepont*, and apprehending that the *Greeks* would not be able to resist so formidable a power, dispatched to *Delphi* one *Cadmus*, a person whom he could confide in (O), with rich presents; injoining him to wait the event of a battle; and, in case

^b HERODOT. *ibid.* DIOD. SIC. l. xi. ARISTOT. l. viii. polit. c. 12.

(O) *Cadmus* had been formerly lord of *Cos*, the dominion of which island he had received by inheritance from his ancestors; but because they had usurped that sovereignty, and unjustly deprived the inhabitants of their liberty, *Cadmus* voluntarily resigned his authority, restored the *Coans* to their antient rights and privileges, and retired to the city of *Zancle* in *Sicily*, where he lived a private life. *Gelon*, who was well acquainted with his character, sent him to *Delphi* on this occasion, entrusting him with presents of an immense value. Neither was he deceived in the opinion which he had conceived of his integrity; for *Cad-*

case *Xerxes* should conquer, to present him with the treasure, and pay him homage in his name; but, if the *Greeks* should get the better of the barbarian, to bring back the presents to *Sicily* ^c (P). *Gelon*, it seems, was at this time quite ignorant of the alliance which *Xerxes* had concluded with the *Carthaginians* before he undertook his expedition into *Greece*. By that treaty it was agreed, that, while the *Persians* invaded *Greece*, the *Carthaginians* should fall on those who were of the *Greek* name in *Sicily* and *Italy*, that they might be diverted from assisting one another. Pursuant to this agreement, the *Carthaginians* made vast preparations, with a view to recover the places which they had formerly possessed in *Sicily* (Q). And these preparations are said to have been continued for

^c HERODOT. *ibid.*

mus no sooner heard that the *Persians* had been defeated, and that *Xerxes* was retiring with his forces, than he returned to *Sicily*, and delivered up to *Gelon* the treasures he had entrusted him with, though he might with impunity have appropriated them to himself (2).

(P) The *Sicilian* writers, as *Herodotus* informs us, vary in some particulars of this account, and say, that *Gelon*, having at last prevailed with himself to serve under the *Lacedæmonians*, would have assisted *Greece* in her distress, if his own dominions had not been invaded by the *Carthaginians*. These authors make no mention of any alliance concluded between the *Persians* and *Carthaginians*; but tell us, that the *Carthaginians* were invited into *Sicily* by *Terillus*, who had been tyrant of *Himera*, but dispossessed of his government by *Theron* tyrant of *Agrigentum*; to revenge which injury, at the instigation of *Anaxilas* tyrant of *Rhegium*, who had married his

daughter, he had recourse to the *Carthaginians*, not doubting but they would gladly embrace so favourable an opportunity of invading *Sicily* (3).

(Q) It is not exactly known at what time the *Carthaginians* first carried their arms into *Sicily*; all we are certain of is, that they were possessed of some part of it as early as the first year after the expulsion of king *Tarquin* at *Rome*; for in the time of the first consuls *Brutus* and *Valerius* the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* entered into a treaty, chiefly in relation to navigation and commerce; whereby it was expressly stipulated, among other things, that the *Romans*, who should touch at *Sardinia*, or that part of *Sicily*, which belonged to the *Carthaginians*, should be received there in the same manner as the *Carthaginians* themselves (4). Hence it is manifest, that the *Carthaginians* were already masters of *Sardinia*, and part of *Sicily*. This treaty was concluded about twenty-eight years be-

(2) *Herodot. ibid.*
23, 24.

(3) *Idem ibid.*

(4) *Polyb. l. iii. c. 22,*

Hamilcar
lands in
Sicily, and
lays siege
to Himera

Gelon
marches to
the relief
of the
place.

for three years; during which time *Hamilcar*, the son of *Hanno*, who was charged with the management of it, not only raised what forces he could in *Africa*, but also, with the money sent him by *Xerxes*, hired a great number of mercenaries in *Spain*, *Gaul* and *Italy*; so that his army amounted to three hundred thousand men, and his fleet to two thousand ships of war, and three thousand transports. With this formidable army *Hamilcar* sailed from *Carthage*; and, landing without opposition at *Panormus*, laid siege to *Himera*, a maritime city in that neighbourhood. *Theron* tyrant of *Agri-gentum*, whose daughter *Gelon* had married, was then in possession of *Himera*, having driven from thence *Terillus*, to whom that city of right belonged. The tyrant, seeing his city all on a sudden invested with so numerous an army, dispatched messenger after messenger to his son-in-law, imploring a speedy succour. *Gelon*, upon the first notice he had of the streights *Theron* was in, drew together an army of fifty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and marched with all possible expedition to his relief. *Hamilcar*, on his sitting down before *Himera*, which was a town of great strength, had caused two large camps to be well fortified; in one of which he lodged his land-army; and his ships, which he had caused to be drawn ashore, in the other, placing there all his marines for their defence. *Gelon*, on his arrival at *Himera*, intercepted a courier, carrying letters from the inhabitants of *Selinus*, confederates of the *Carthaginians*, to *Hamilcar*, whereby he understood, that *Hamilcar* was to offer the next morning in the camp of the marines a solemn sacrifice to *Neptune*; and that he had appointed the *Selinuntine* cavalry to join him the same day in the said camp. *Gelon*, taking advantage of this intelligence, drew out an equal number of his own horse, ordering them to advance to the enemy's camp about the time agreed on, as if they were the *Selinuntines*. His orders were put in execution, and the body of cavalry admitted, without the least suspicion, into the camp. *Hamilcar* was then busy in sacrificing, and the greater part of the soldiery attending him

fore *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*; but at the time of that expedition the *Carthaginians* had not a foot of ground in *Sicily*, having been driven out by *Gelon*, as appears from that prince's speech to the *Athenian* and *Spartan* ambassadors related at length by *Hero-*

dotus (5). No wonder then, that the *Carthaginians* readily embraced so favourable an opportunity of recovering their dominions in *Sicily*, and joined in alliance with *Xerxes*, who was an irreconcilable enemy to the whole *Greek* nation.

(5) *Herodot. ubi supra.*

without arms. The *Syracusians*, therefore, without the least And de-
opposition, making up to *Hamilcar*, killed him, pursuant to seats the
their general's orders, cut in pieces most of his marines, and Carthagi-
set fire to the ships. In this critical conjuncture, *Gelon*, who nians with
had notice of the success by a signal given him from the top great
of a neighbouring hill, drew out his army, and attacked the slaughter.
other camp. The *Carthaginians* at first made a gallant resist-
ance; but when news was brought them of their general's
death, and at the same time seeing all their fleet in a blaze,
they had no longer courage to stand their ground, but betook
themselves to a precipitate flight; and then the slaughter was
dreadful. We are told, that no fewer than an hundred and
fifty thousand were killed in the pursuit; the rest retired to
an eminence, where they made head against the enemy; but,
being surrounded on all sides, without any hopes of relief, they
were obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender at discre-
tion; so that of this mighty army, the greatest that had ever
been raised in those western parts, not one single man made
his escape^f. *Herodotus* tells us, that this battle was fought
the same day as that of *Salamis*; but *Diodorus Siculus* will
have the *Carthaginians* to have been defeated the same day that
Leonidas was killed at *Thermopylae* (Q).

AFTER

^f HERODOT. *ibid.* c. 155—158. & DIOD. SIC. *ubi supra.*

(Q) This victory obtained intimates that victory to have
by *Gelon* over the *Carthaginians*, been a naval one. These are
&c. is very differently repre- his words:
sented by *Pindar*, who plainly

Supplex oro, annue, Saturnie, pacifica
Ut in domo Phœ-
nix, Tyrrhenorumq; strepitus se contineat,
Navibus suis lacrymabilem cladem intuitus
Ante Cumas acceptam.

Qualia Syracusiorum a du-
ce victi passi sunt

Velocibus a navibus!

Qui ipsis in mari disjecit juventutem,

Græciam extrahens e gravi

Servitute.

There can be no doubt but over the *Carthaginians*, or to
that the battle and victory, here that gained afterwards by *Hiero*
spoken of, were both naval. (to whom this ode is inscribed)
The only question is, whether over the *Tuscan* pirates near
this passage refers to the above- *Cuma*, mentioned by *Diodorus*
mentioned victory obtained by *Siculus*, l. xi. To determine us to
Gelon and his brothers *Hiero*, &c. apply it to the former, we must ob-
serve,

AFTER the battle *Gelon* amply rewarded all those who had signalized themselves in the action, especially the body of horse,

serve, 1st, That the *Carthaginians* are here joined with the *Tuscans* or *Tyrrhenians*, which was the case when *Gelon*, &c. engaged them; whereas the victory, afterwards won by *Hiero*, was only over the *Tuscan* or *Tyrrhenian* pirates. 2dly, The consequences of this victory are by *Pindar* represented to be no less than the delivering *Greece* from slavery; an expression very applicable to the victory obtained by *Gelon* and his brothers over the joint forces of the *Carthaginians* and *Tuscans*; but very extravagant and unjustifiable, if applied to that gained by *Hiero* over a few pirates. 3dly, This

victory is, in the verses immediately following compared with the two famous victories gained by the *Athenians* and *Spartans* at *Salamis* and *Platæa* over the *Persians*; by virtue of an alliance with whom, the *Carthaginians* at the same time invaded the *Greeks* settled in *Sicily*. 4thly, *Pindar* mentions the sons of *Dinomenes* as partaking in the glory of this victory, which is true of that gained by *Gelon*, &c. in memory of which the scholiast tells us, *Gelon*, who lived well with his brothers, dedicated some golden tripods to *Jupiter*, with the following inscription:

*Hæcæ Gelon, Hieronque, Polyzelus, Thrasybulus,
Sacrârunt tripodas, Dinomenis soboles:
Gentem ubi barbaricam vicere, & milite multo,
Quem dederant, Hellas libera facta sedet.*

By this inscription it appears, that all the sons of *Dinomenes* were concerned in this action; which makes it more proper to apply the words of *Pindar*, *filiis Dinomenis* to this action, than to that of *Hiero* before mentioned, at the time of which *Gelon* was dead.

From all these considerations we think it clear, that *Gelon* and his brethren obtained a naval victory over the *Carthaginians*; which is farther confirmed by the following passage of *Ephorus* a *Sicilian* historian, quoted by the scholiast of *Pindar*, of which this is the substance: "That *Xerxes* having made great preparations to invade *Greece*, there came ambassadors to *Gelon*, desiring him to join his

"forces to the allied army of the *Greeks*;" that at the same time ambassadors were sent from the *Persians* and *Tyrians* to the *Carthaginians*, ordering them to raise all the forces they could, and attack all those in *Sicily*, whom they should find inclined to assist the *Greeks*; and, after they had subdued them, to sail directly to *Peloponnesus*: that each assenting to what was demanded of them, *Hiero* (perhaps it should be *Gelon*) being very eager for assisting the *Greeks*, and the *Carthaginians* being as ready to cooperate with *Xerxes*, the former, *viz.* *Gelon*, got ready a fleet of 200 ships, and an army of two thousand horse, and ten thousand foot; and, having been informed that the *Carthaginian* fleet

horse, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the victory. The greatest part of the spoils, which were of an immense value, he offered

fleet was sailed for Sicily, went out to meet them, engaged and vanquished them; by which victory, continues *Ephorus*, he not only saved Sicily, but all Greece. Here, then, is the direct testimony of an historian, who wrote expressly upon the affairs of Sicily, and lived long before *Diodorus*, confirming what *Pindar*, who lived at the very time of these transactions, says of a naval victory obtained by *Gelon* and his brothers over the *Carthaginians*; of which, however, neither *Diodorus*, nor any other author that we know of, makes any mention, except *Pausanias*, whose words we shall produce presently; for which omission, as well in the modern as the antient historians, we can by no means account, considering that the latter might have learnt this particular from *Ephorus* and others, and the former from *Pindar* and his scholiast, as well as from the words of *Pausanias* (6) above hinted at, which are these: *Prope Sicyonium* (7), *thesaurus est Carthaginiensium--in eo sunt Jupiter ingenti magnitudine, & lintæ lorice tres, Gelonis & Syracusanorum dona, victis classe vel etiam pedestri pugna Pænis*, or, as we think they may be translated, *victis quidem classe atque etiam pedestri pugna Pænis*; here is mention made of two victories, one by land, the other by sea; and this I take to have been the truth of the case. *Gelon* first fought with the *Carthagi-*

nians at sea, routed and dispersed their fleet, and sunk many of their ships; but many, as they well might, out of so large a fleet of ships of war and transports, escaping to Sicily, he afterwards engaged them upon land, and won the victory mentioned by *Diodorus*. This supposition not only reconciles the two different relations given by *Diodorus* and *Ephorus*, but accounts for *Pindar*'s naming, as he does, both *Cuma* and *Himera* as the places of action, and mentioning the battles both of *Salamis* and *Platæa*, the one of which was fought at sea, the other by land; in which light the comparison is just and noble, and the whole passage of *Pindar* clear and intelligible; whereas if there was only one victory, whether by sea or land, there is no reconciling the historians with one another, nor even *Pindar* with himself; and, if we might be indulged in a conjecture, we should imagine, from *Pindar*'s mentioning *Hiero* alone, when he speaks of the naval fight near *Cuma*, and afterwards, when he refers to the land battle fought near the river *Himera*, mentioning all the sons of *Dinomenes*, we should, we say, infer, that *Hiero* alone commanded in the sea-engagement; which may also be one reason why this naval victory is not placed among the actions of *Gelon*; as its having been obscured by the more illustrious and more im-

(6) L. vi. p. 499. Edit. Kubnii Lipsiæ 1696.

(7) This *Thesaurus*, called by *Pausanias* *Thesaurus Carthaginiensium*, was probably one of the temples, which *Gelon* ordered the *Carthaginians* to build. See the following page.

offered to the gods, adorning with them the temples of *Syracuse* and *Himera*. The captives he shared with his allies, who employed them in public works for the common good; and so many were taken, that all *Africa*, as our author says, seemed to have been transplanted into *Sicily*. Some of the private citizens of *Agrigentum*, who had distinguished themselves above the rest, had five hundred apiece. They were all put in irons, and set apart for the public service; and on this occasion it was, that the *Agrigentines* built their famous temple, and made those conduits, which were so much admired by the antients, and called *Pheaces* from one *Pheax*, who was the overseer of the work ^s.

Carthage
in great
consterna-
tion.

Peace con-
cluded, and
upon what
terms.

OF the two thousand ships of war, and three thousand transports, of which the *Carthaginian* fleet consisted, eight ships only, which happened to be out at sea when the camp of the marines was taken, made their escape, and sailed for *Carthage*; but, before they reached that place, they were all cast away, a few men only being saved in a small boat. These, arriving at *Carthage*, brought the dismal news of the intire defeat of their army, and the loss of their fleet. The grief, consternation, and despair, which such an unexpected disaster occasioned in the city, is not to be expressed. As the *Carthaginians*, in all great reverses of fortune, ever lost their courage, and sunk into despair, they looked upon themselves as utterly ruined, expecting every moment to see the victorious army land at *Carthage*. In this fright they immediately dispatched ambassadors into *Sicily*, injoining them to strike up a peace with *Gelon* upon any terms. The ambassadors without delay put to sea; and, landing at *Syracuse*, threw themselves at the conqueror's feet; and, with many tears, begged him to receive their city into favour, and grant them a peace upon what conditions he should think fit to prescribe. *Gelon* heard them with great humanity; and, being touched with compassion, granted them a peace upon the following conditions; viz. that they should pay two thousand talents of silver to defray the expences they had put him to; build two temples, where the articles of the treaty should be lodged, and kept as sacred; and, for the future, abstain from offering human sacrifices. This last article shews the humanity of *Ge-*

^s DIOD. SIC. *ibid.*

portant victory obtained by *Gelon* and his brothers, which put an end to that *Carthaginian* invasion, may have been the occasion of *Pindar's* recording it, in order to preserve the memory of an action, which so much redounded to the honour of *Hiero*, to whom he inscribes his ode.

lon's

lon's temper; and indeed no prince ever gave more instances of good-nature than he, after his authority was once established. Some acts of severity, which he is said to have practised before he was firmly seated on the throne, are generally ascribed to his counsellors, who prompted him to them against the natural bent of his humane temper. The *Carthaginians* did not think this a dear purchase of a peace, which was absolutely necessary for their affairs, and which they hardly durst hope for. They shewed their gratitude to *Demarata*, *Gelon's* wife, who had been chiefly instrumental in procuring them so favourable a peace, by sending her a crown of gold, which was valued at an hundred talents of gold. This crown *Gelon* turned into money, and coined pieces called, from his wife's name, *Demaretia*, each of them being worth ten *Attic* drachmas ^h.

GELON, after the conclusion of the peace, having nothing to fear from *Africa*, resolved to embark his troops, and, passing over into *Greece*, join his countrymen there against the *Persians*. For, upon second thoughts he had changed his mind, and resolved rather to serve under the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, than suffer the barbarians to insult over those of the *Greek* name. But, while all things were in a readiness for this expedition, a messenger from *Corinth* brought him the joyful news of the victory, which the *Greeks* had gained at *Salamis*, and at the same time acquainted him, that *Xerxes*, with a great part of his army, had left *Europe*. Hereupon he disbanded his army, after having commended his soldiers and officers for the forwardness they had shewn to assist their countrymen in *Greece*, and given each of them some token of his favour. He commanded the allies to return to their respective homes, and the mercenaries he quartered in places at a great distance from *Syracuse* his metropolis.

AND now, having no troops within or near the city, he summoned a general assembly of all the inhabitants of *Syracuse*, commanding them to come armed, as if they were to encounter an enemy. When they were met, he himself repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, and there gave them an account of his whole conduct, shewing to what uses he had applied the several sums, with which he had been entrusted, and in what manner he had employed his authority; adding, that he had never any thing else in view but the public welfare; but, however, if he had, through ignorance, done any thing amiss, they were at full liberty to inflict what punishment they thought fit, since they were all well armed, and he without arms or guards to screen himself from their

*Resolves
to assist the
Greeks
against the
Persians.*

*His great
condescen-
sion.*

^h DIOD. SIC. *ibid.*

vengeance. The numerous assembly, struck with so unexpected a speech, and still more with the unusual confidence he reposed in them, answered with loud acclamations, calling him their great benefactor, their deliverer, their king. This last title *Gelon* had ever declined, styling himself only prætor of *Syracuse*; but the *Syracusians* obliged him, before he left the assembly, to accept of it, and with one consent invested him with the supreme authorityⁱ. Their gratitude did not stop here; a decree was passed, without opposition, settling the crown, after his death, on his two brothers, *Hiero* and *Thrasybulus*. And because he had, by coming without arms or guards into the assembly, put his life into their hands, the assembly commanded a statue to be erected, representing him simply in the habit of a citizen, hoping thereby to transmit the memory of so remarkable an action to the latest posterity^k (Q).

The people oblige him to take the title of king.
A statue erected in his honour.
Studies the happiness of his people.

THE *Syracusians* had no cause to repent their having intrusted him with the sovereign power; for he employed the short time he reigned in the truly royal care of making his people happy. He was the first man, as our author observes^l, who became more virtuous by being raised to the throne. Before his power was established, he was, contrary to his natural disposition, obliged to use some severity, as we have mentioned above; but, when the supreme authority was, by the common consent of the citizens, put into his hands, he made it his only study to oblige all, and serve the public to the utmost of his power, without any regard to his private ease or advantage. The first thing he did after his accession to the throne, was to bestow on ten thousand foreigners, who had served under him, all the rights and privileges of the *Syracusan* citizens. This he did with a view to people his capital, to increase the power of the state, and reward the services of so many brave men, who had ex-

ⁱ Diod. Sic. ibid. ^k Idem, ibid. & PLUT. in Timol.
^l Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

(Q) This statue met afterwards with a very singular fate. About an hundred and thirty years after it had been set up, *Timoleon*, having restored the *Syracusians* to their antient liberty, thought it adviseable to sell all the statues of the princes who had governed till that time, in order to erase the least footsteps of tyranny, and at the same time

to relieve the wants of the people. But first he brought them to a tryal, as so many criminals, hearing the depositions and witnessses against them. They were all condemned with one voice, the statue of *Gelon* excepted, which found an eloquent advocate in the sincere gratitude the citizens still retained for so beneficent a prince (1).

(1) *Ælian*. l. xiii. c. 37.

posed their lives for the defence of the city ^m. He was, as *Plutarch* informs us ⁿ, particularly famous for his honesty, truth, and sincerity; for he is said never to have wilfully wronged the meanest of his subjects, and never to have promised a thing which he did not perform (R).

ONE of the chief objects of his attention was the encouraging of agriculture, which he took great pains to make his subjects look upon as an honourable employment. He animated the husbandmen by his presence, and took delight in employing his spare hours in working with them in the fields. His design in so doing was not, says *Plutarch* ^o, merely to render the country rich and fruitful, but to inure his subjects to toils, and by that means preserve them from a thousand disorders, which inevitably attend a soft and indolent life. He was a professed enemy to all luxury, pomp and ostentation; and ever used his utmost endeavours to banish from his dominions all such callings as had a natural tendency to debauch the manners, and enervate the courage of his subjects (S).

^m DION. SIC. *ibid.*

ⁿ PLUT. in apophth.

^o PLUT. *ibid.*

(R) Happening once to be in great want of money for the carrying on of an expedition, and on the other side not caring to load his subjects with extraordinary taxes, he convened the people, laid before them the state of his finances, and desired them to contribute voluntarily what every one could afford, and should think proper. The *Syracusians*, who were not yet well acquainted with *Gelon's* character (for this happened before his victory over the *Carthaginians*), seemed unwilling to be at any expence on account of the expedition for which the money was designed. He therefore intreated them to lend him the necessary sum, assuring them, that, though it was to be employed for the public good, they should be reimbursed as soon as the war was ended. He was then fur-

nished with the money he wanted; which he not only repaid at the time agreed on, but divided great part of the booty, which he got in that expedition, among those who had lent it (2).

(S) From his infancy he shewed a great disinclination to music, which was at that time in great request among the *Greeks*: whence, while he was one day at an entertainment, a lyre being presented, according to a custom that then prevailed, to each of the guests, when it was *Gelon's* turn to play, he, instead of sounding the instrument as the rest had done, caused his horse to be brought, and, mounting him with wonderful agility and grace, shewed that he had learnt a more noble and manly exercise than that of playing on the lyre (3).

(2) *Plut. ibid.*

(3) *Idem ibid.*

The Syra-
cusians
happy un-
der him.

EVER since the defeat of the *Carthaginians* the several cities of *Sicily* enjoyed a profound peace; such as had sided with the enemy were, upon their first application, generously pardoned by the conqueror, and suffered quietly to enjoy their antient liberties. The *Syracusians*, above all others, were happy under the auspicious government of so good and beneficent a prince. Their republic indeed was changed into a monarchy; but the laws, and not the monarch, bore the whole sway. Their properties were as safe, their liberties as extensive, as when they were their own masters, and their city in a far more flourishing condition than ever. Their king assumed no part of the kingly office, but the toils and cares of it, and the satisfaction of procuring happiness to others, which of all satisfactions is the greatest. He was often heard to say, that the *Syracusians*, in placing the crown upon his head, could have no other view than to engage him, by so signal a favour, to defend the state, to preserve order in all things, to protect innocence and justice, and to exhibit by his simple, modest, frugal, and regular life, a pattern of all civil virtues to his subjects. And this design he answered above any prince that ever had swayed a sceptre before him; his whole life being taken up in promoting the worship of the gods, the observance of the laws, and the welfare of his subjects.

His death
and fune-
ral.

BUT his reign was short, heaven only having shewn, we may say, to the world, that those, who in after-ages were to be set over others, might in *Gelon* have a perfect pattern of all the virtues that are becoming the regal station. He died of a dropsy, in the third, or the beginning of the fourth year of his reign (T); and the grief of his subjects for the loss of their common father, and best friend, as they not undeservedly stiled him, was equal to the love and esteem they had always bore him. Even on his death-bed he gave an instance of his respect for the laws: the *Syracusians* had enacted one against the extravagant pomp of funerals; and *Gelon*, always willing to confirm with his example what the people had agreed on, begged his brother *Hiero*, who was to succeed him, to take care, that this law was strictly observed in his funeral. The whole city accompanied the body of their beloved king to the

Beloved
by his sub-
jects.

(T) We date his reign from the decree of the *Syracusians* above spoken of, which was made in the seventy-fifth *Olympiad*. He could not therefore have reigned above three years and a little more, at the longest, since both *Diodorus* and the scholiast of *Pindar's* third *Pythian* ode assure us, that *Hiero* succeeded to the throne of *Syracuse* in the beginning of the seventy-sixth *Olympiad*.

place where it was to be interred, though it was above twenty miles distant from *Syracuse*. The people, in token of their gratitude and affection for so excellent a prince, erected, in the place where he was buried, a magnificent mausoleum, surrounded with nine towers of a surprising height, and exquisite structure, and decreed him those honours, which were then paid to the demigods or heroes. The *Carthaginians* afterwards demolished the mausoleum, and *Agathocles* the towers; but, says our historian, neither violence, envy, nor time, which destroys all other things, could efface the glory of his name, or abolish the memory of his exalted virtues and noble actions, which love and gratitude had engraved in the hearts of his subjects ^P (V).

AFTER *Gelon*'s death, the sceptre continued near twelve years in his family (X). He was succeeded by *Hiero* his eldest brother, who is commended by some of the antients ^q as an excellent prince; and by others represented as a covetous, headstrong, and cruel tyrant ^r. He was extremely jealous of his brother *Polyzelus*, whose great interest and credit among the citizens made him suspect, that he designed to drive him from the throne. He therefore employed only foreigners and mercenaries about him, suffering no *Syracusan* to set foot in his palace. In order to get rid of *Polyzelus*, he resolved to put him at the head of a great army, which he was going to send to the assistance of the *Sybarites* against the *Crotoniates*, hoping he might lose his life in that expedition. But *Polyzelus*, being well apprised of his design, refused the command; which so exasperated the tyrant, that he would have caused him to be put to death, had he not by a timely flight saved himself in the territories of *Theron* king of *Agrigentum*, who had married his daughter. *Hiero* demanded him; but

Hiero.

Year of
the flood

1877.

Bef. Chr.

471.



^P DIOD. SIC. l. xi.
SIC. ubi supra.

^q ÆLIAN. var. hist. l. ix. c. i.

^r DIOD.

(V) *Pliny* tells us out of *Phlistus*, that, when his body was burnt according to the antient custom, a favourite dog of his followed the body of his deceased master to the funeral pile, and, throwing himself into the flame, was with it reduced to ashes (4).

(X) *Hiero* came to the crown in the seventy-sixth *Olympiad*,

died in the seventy-eighth, according to *Pindar* (5), his scholiast, and *Diodorus*; if in the third year of that *Olympiad*, he reigned eleven years, and somewhat more; which, added to the ten months reign of *Thrasylbulus*, makes twelve years; which is another proof of *Gelon*'s dying in the seventy-fifth *Olympiad*.

(4) *Plin.* l. vi. c. 4.

(5) *Pind.* *Olymp.* ode i.

Theron could not by any threats be prevailed on to deliver up his father-in-law, who had taken sanctuary in his dominions. Thus *Diodorus* ^s.

War between the kings of Syracuse and Agrigentum.

The kings reconciled.

Expels the inhabitants of Catana and Naxos

Engaged in another war with the Agrigentines.

THIS gave rise to a war, which lasted many years between the kings of *Syracuse* and *Agrigentum*, and was at last ended in the following manner: The inhabitants of *Himera* being grievously oppressed by their governor *Thrasideus*, the son of *Theron*, and not daring to complain to his father, sent ambassadors to *Hiero*, offering to deliver up to him their city, and join him against his rival *Theron*. But *Hiero*, detesting their treachery, discovered the whole plot to *Theron*, who out of gratitude, offered to conclude a peace upon terms that were highly advantageous to *Hiero*. The conditions were accordingly agreed to by the contending parties, and the two kings reconciled. On this occasion *Theron*, interposing his good offices in behalf of *Polyzelus*, prevailed upon *Hiero* to receive him again into favour. To make the reconciliation between the two kings more lasting, they cemented it with a new alliance, *Hiero* marrying *Theron's* sister; after which there was, during *Theron's* reign, a perfect harmony between the states of *Syracuse* and *Agrigentum* ^t.

HIERO, having thus concluded a peace with the king of *Agrigentum*, turned his arms against the inhabitants of *Catana* and *Naxos*, whom he drove from their country, and in their room settled a colony of *Syracusians* and *Peloponnesians*. This he did with a view to be honoured after his death as the founder of those cities; for all cities paid their founders such honours as were bestowed on heroes. The *Cataneans* and *Naxians* he transplanted to the city of *Leontini*, incorporating them with the antient inhabitants. The same year he obtained a signal victory over the *Hetruscans* of *Tyrrhenia*, who infested the neighbouring coasts, sunk most of their ships, burnt others, and cleared the seas of those pirates ^u. He found himself soon after engaged in a war with the *Agrigentines*, under the conduct of *Thrasideus*, who had succeeded his father *Theron*, but was very unlike that good and generous prince; for, deviating from the path which *Theron* had pointed out to him, he no sooner ascended the throne, but, throwing aside all restraint of the laws, he began to oppress his subjects in a most tyrannical manner. *Hiero*, from the respect he bore to his father's memory, advised him to use his subjects with more humanity, lest they should conspire against him, and drive him from the throne, as one not fit to be entrusted with their lives and fortunes. This wholesome advice so provoked *Thrasideus*, who was of a violent temper,

^s *Dion. Sic. ubi supra.*

^t *Idem ibid.*

^u *Idem ibid.*

that he entered the *Syracusan* territories in an hostile manner, laid waste the country, and even threatened the metropolis with a siege, having under his standard above twenty thousand men. *Hiero*, seeing himself insulted at the very gates of his metropolis, raised an equal number of forces, and marched out against the unjust aggressor. *Thrasideus* did not decline the engagement, which was very bloody, most of the troops on both sides being killed on the spot. But the *Syracusians* *Whom he* carried the day; and *Thrasideus*, out of despair, abdicating *defeats.* the government, fled to the city of *Megara*, where he laid violent hands on himself. Upon his abdication the *Agrigentines* recovered their liberty, and entered into an alliance with *Hiero* *.

HIERO, a little before his death, invited into *Sicily* the sons of *Anaxilas* formerly tyrant of *Rhegium*, and a great friend of his brother *Gelon*; and advised them, as they were come to years of maturity, to take the sovereign power into their own hands, and call to an account *Micythus*, who had been left their guardian. *Hiero*, who had contracted a bad state of health, was very desirous to see the children of his brother's friend in possession of their dominions, before he left the world. The two young men, loaded with rich presents, set out from the court of *Syracuse*; and, arriving at *Rhegium*, commanded *Micythus* to give an account of his administration; which he did in the presence of their friends and relations, no one finding any thing to object to him, but, on the contrary, all admiring and extolling his prudence, his integrity, and justice; for it appeared, that no man had ever discharged a trust with more honesty and disinterestedness. The young princes, repenting the steps they had taken, earnestly pressed him to resume the government, promising to respect him as if he were their father, and pay him a filial obedience till the hour of his death. But *Micythus* could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept their offer, and was equally pressing with them to take the reins of the government into their own hands; which they no sooner consented to do, but *Micythus* took his leave of them, and embarked for *Greece* his native country, being attended to the shore by the whole city, in the utmost grief for so great a loss. He afterwards led a private life at *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, where he was no less esteemed and loved than he had been at *Rhegium* *. Soon after, *Hiero* died at *Catana*, which city he had repeopled, and was there buried with great pomp and magnificence. *Diodorus* tells us in one place, that he reigned only eleven years; and, in another,

* Diop. Sic. ibid. Schol. in PINDAR. * DIOD. SIC. IBID.

that he reigned twelve years and eight months^y. *Aristotle* will have him to have swayed the sceptre only ten years^z. It is certain from *Pindar*, that he died in the seventy-eighth *Olympiad*; if in the third of that *Olympiad*, he reigned eleven years, and somewhat more^a.

THERE is a strange disagreement among authors with relation to *Hiero's* character. *Diodorus* tells us, that he was of a covetous, cruel, and tyrannical temper, and an utter stranger to the candor and sincerity of his brother *Gelon*; that out of jealousy he attempted to make away with his brother *Polyzelus* (Y); and that he oppressed his subjects to such a degree, that they would have deposed him, had they not been restrained by the remembrance of *Gelon's* generosity, and general kindness to all his subjects^b. On the other hand, *Ælian*^c commends him as a just, generous, and good-natured prince; and adds, that the most needy were not more ready to crave, than he was to give; that his generosity knew no bounds; that he was a great admirer of learning, and a bountiful encourager of the learned; that he was a prince of great candour and sincerity; and that he lived in perfect harmony with his brothers, without ever entertaining any sort of jealousy against them. What *Ælian* says elsewhere of him^d, relates only to the rusticity and illiberality of his youth, compared with his knowledge of music, and love of learning and learned men, which he discovered in the latter part of his life. *Pindar*, however, in his first *Olympic* ode, speaks of his skill in music; so that he must have applied himself to it so early as before the seventy-third *Olympiad*, that is, twenty-four years before his death. He fell into a lingering illness, during which his

^y DIOD. SIC. *ibid.* & l. xii.

c. 12.

l. xi.

l. iv. c. 15.

^a See above, p. 549, note (X).

^c ÆLIAN. *var. hist.* l. ix. c. 1.

^z ARISTOT. l. v. *polit.*

^b DIOD. SIC.

^d Idem, *var. hist.*

(Y) If what is said by the scholiast upon *Pindar's* second *Olympic* ode be true, *viz.* that *Polyzelus* married *Demarata*, the widow of his brother *Gelon*, and took upon him the command of the army, &c. *Hiero* had great reason to suspect him, and to deal with him in the manner he did. And truly it seems very probable, that *Polyzelus* was a man of a turbulent and ambitious spirit,

and perhaps that was the reason why he was not included in the settlement of the crown, which by the above-mentioned decree was limited to *Gelon*, *Hiero*, and *Thrasybulus*.

As to the character of *Hiero*, we shall only observe, that *Pindar*, who has inscribed to him no fewer than four odes, *viz.* *Olympic*. ode 1. *Pyth.* ode 1. dated in the 73d *Olympiad*, the second in the

his only delight was to converse with men of learning, whom he invited to his court from all parts, amply rewarding them for the relief their entertaining conversation afforded him. Among these were *Simonides*, *Pindar*, *Æschylus*, *Bacchylides*, and *Epicharmus*, who were not only excellent poets, but also possessed of a great fund of learning, and consulted as the sages of their age. *Simonides*, in particular, had a great ascendant over the king's mind; and the only use he made of it was to inspire him with sentiments worthy of a prince. He frequently conversed with him on philosophical subjects; and in one of these conversations it was that *Hiero*, as we read in *Tully*^e, asked him his opinion of the nature and attributes of the Deity; to which *Simonides* answered, that he must have one day to consider on it; the next day he asked two, and went on increasing in the same proportion: when *Hiero* pressed him to give the reason of these delays, he confessed, that the subject was above his comprehension; and that, the more he dived into it, the more obscure it appeared to him (Z). It is well known, that *Pindar* in his odes bestows the highest encomiums on *Hiero*, not only for the victory he won in the *Olympic* games, but also for his eminent virtues, calling him a prince in whom centred all the great and truly princely qualities. It is certain, that his court was a place of resort for all men of

^e Cic. de nat. deor.

the 78th, the third of an uncertain date, and the fourth by the scholiast, dated the 76th *Olympiad*. *Pindar*, in all these odes, written at different periods of *Hiero*'s life, is very uniform in his praises, and agrees much more with what is said of him by *Ælian*, than with the character given him by *Diodorus*. However, as the praises of a poet, especially of a poet who is paid for his panegyrics, are always susceptible, we shall only take notice, that *Pindar*, with his praises, mixes several admonitions, and pieces of good advice, which, had he known *Hiero* to be so great a tyrant as *Diodorus* represents him, he must have been sensible, would have exposed him and his panegyrics to ridicule, and very much lessened the value of his

praises with *Hiero*, and consequently the reward he might have expected for them.

We must remark here, that *Pindar*, in his first *Olympian* ode, dated in the seventy third *Olympiad*, speaks of *Hiero* as a king; he must therefore have had a kingdom in the life-time of his brother *Gelon*, to whom he did not succeed till the 76th *Olympiad*, 12 years after.

(Z) Several of the sayings of *Hiero*, related by *Plutarch* (6) and *Athenæus* (7), shew, that he profited greatly by the instructions of *Simonides*. Among others, they tell us, that he used often to say, That a king's palace and ears ought to be always open to every man who would speak truth without disguise.

(6) *Plut. in apoph.*

(7) *Athen. l. vi. c. 4.*

Thrasyl-
 bulus.
 Year of
 the flood
 1889.
 Bef. Chr.
 459.

Governs
 tyranni-
 cally.

wit and learning; and that he invited them to it by his ability, courteous treatment, and much more by his liberality. *Ælian* writes, that *Themistocles*, seeing *Hiero* arrive at *Olympia* with a splendid equipage, in order to assist at the games, was for excluding him from that diversion for not having succoured the *Greeks* against the common enemy^f. This motion was commended by all, but seconded by none (A).

Hiero was succeeded by his brother *Thrasylbulus*, a savage and bloody tyrant. He practised all sorts of cruelty on his subjects, fancying, says our author, that he was of a different nature from them, and that he had been set over them only that he might with safety trample them under his feet. All those, who gave him the least disgust, were barbarously murdered; the most wealthy, upon frivolous pretences, either put to death, or condemned to perpetual banishment; and, in short, the city turned into a shambles. Such inhuman proceedings soon grew insupportable to the *Syracusians*, who, entering into an association, took up arms, and declared *Thrasylbulus* an enemy to his country. The tyrant, seeing the whole city in arms, though he kept always in his pay above fifteen thousand mercenaries, attempted at first to appease the tumult with fair words; but, finding that the incensed citizens were not to be imposed upon, he possessed himself of that part of the city which was called *Acradina*, and of the *Island*; and thence made frequent sallies on his adversaries, who were masters of the quarter called *Tyche*. The *Syracusians* sent ambassadors to *Gela*, *Agrigentum*, *Selinus*, *Himera*, and other cities, desiring them to join in the common cause, and send speedy succours to the relief of *Syracuse*, since on the fate of the metropolis depended that of the other cities. Upon this embassy, they all ran to arms; and, joining the *Syracusians*, put them in condition to venture a general engagement, which was attended with the desired

^f *ÆLIAN*. var. hist. l. ix. c. 5.

(A) *Ælian* was probably mistaken, and *Hiero* in all likelihood never went to *Olympia*; for *Plutarch* says, that, *Hiero* having sent his horses to contend at *Olympia*, *Themistocles* was for excluding him. *Plutarch's* account is more likely to be true, because it was not necessary for those who contended in the horse or chariot-races to appear in person; it was sufficient, that their names were entered as owning the chariot and the horses; and because, as this event must have happened in the 76th *Olympiad* at the soonest, *Hiero* was then king of *Syracuse*, and at that time, as appears from *Pindar*, troubled with the stone or gravel; under which circumstances it is not probable that he would have gone to *Olympia*.

success;

success; for the tyrant was intirely defeated, and closely besieged in *Acradina*, whence he sent deputies to capitulate with the people. The only terms he could obtain were, that his life should be spared, on condition he resigned his authority, and retired out of *Sicily*. These he was obliged to comply with; and accordingly, after having divested himself of all power, he withdrew to the city of *Locros* in *Italy*, where he led a private life, after a short reign of ten months. Upon his resignation *Syracuse*, and the other cities that had been subject to him, were declared free, and the popular government every-where re-established and maintained, till the reign of *Dionysius* the tyrant, that is, for the space of fifty-five years.

THE *Syracusians*, being thus restored to their former liberty, called a general assembly, where it was unanimously decreed, that a statue should be erected to *Jupiter* the deliverer, of the size of a colossus; and that, on the anniversary of the happy day they had regained their liberty, solemn games should be exhibited, and four hundred and fifty bulls sacrificed by way of thanksgiving, to the gods, and all the people there with entertained and feasted as on a day of general rejoicing. It was at the same time decreed, that the magistrates, according to antient custom, should be chosen from among the chief citizens; and that none of the strangers, who had been made denizens by *Gelon*, should be admitted to any employment of trust. This decree incensed the foreigners, who could not brook such an odious distinction, after they had been by *Gelon* put upon the same foot with the best of the citizens: having therefore complained in vain of such an hardship, they at last joined together, to the number of seven thousand; and, seizing on *Acradina* and the *Island*, annoyed from thence the other quarters of the town, resolving to obtain by force of arms what they could not get by any other means. They fortified themselves so strongly in their posts, that the *Syracusians*, tho' far superior to them in number, could not dislodge them. Wherefore they determined to shut them up so close on all sides, that no provisions could be carried in, and thus force them by famine either to surrender, or venture an engagement: the besieged chose the latter, and were most of them cut in pieces, after having made a great slaughter of the *Syracusians*. After the example of *Syracuse*, all the other Greek cities in *Sicily* entered into an alliance against the mercenaries and foreigners, who had been enriched with lands and houses by *Gelon*, and drove them from their possessions, and restored the antient proprietors to their estates, and former

^g DIOD. SIC. l. xi. ARISTOT. l. v. polit. c. 10. ^h DIOD. SIC. *ibid.*

habita-

habitations. Thus were all the cities of the island freed from foreigners, and restored to that form of popular government which had prevailed before the reign of *Gelon*ⁱ.

Several
aspire at
the tyrann-
y.

Petalism
introduced
at Syra-
cuse.

Evil con-
sequences
attending
it.

THOUGH the tyrants, and those who were suspected to be their abettors, were thus every-where driven out, yet there lay concealed in the minds of many a secret leaven, as we may call it, of tyranny, which frequently disturbed the harmony of the public peace and tranquillity, and occasioned several tumults and commotions. In *Syracuse* one *Tyndarides*, having gained by his largesses a considerable party among the populace, attempted to assume the sovereign power; but both he and his accomplices were put to death. Their punishment did not deter others from the like attempt; for no sooner had any citizen acquired a considerable fortune, but he began to entertain thoughts of wearing a diadem, and, with that view, to court the favour of the people. To prevent, therefore, the many evils daily arising from thence, and to bring down the aspiring minds of the wealthy citizens, the *Syracusians* were at length forced to make a law not unlike that of the *Athenian* ostracism; for at *Athens* every citizen was to write on a shell the name of the person whom they conceived to be the most likely, on account of his wealth and adherents, to aspire to the crown; so at *Syracuse* they were to write on a leaf the names of such as they apprehended powerful enough to usurp the sovereignty. When the leaves were counted, he, who had most suffrages against him, was, without any further inquiry, banished for five years. This new-contrived method of impairing the estates, and weakening the interest of the overgrown citizens, was called *petalism*, from the *Greek* word *petalon*, which signifies a leaf. This law was attended with many evil consequences; for those, who were most capable of governing the commonwealth, were driven out, and the administration of public affairs committed to the meanest of the people; nay, many of the chief citizens, who were able to do their country great service, fearing to fall under the lash of this law, withdrew from the city, and lived private in the country, not concerning themselves with public affairs. Whence all the employments being filled with men of no merit or experience, the republic was on the brink of ruin, and ready to fall into a state of anarchy and confusion. The law therefore of *petalism*, upon more mature deliberation, was repealed soon after it had been first enacted, and the reins of government again put into the hands of men who knew how to manage them^k.

ⁱ DION. SIC. *ibid.* c. 21.

^k Idem *ibid.* c. 26.

IN the mean time *Ducetius* prince of the *Siculi*, who inhabited the inland parts of the island, having raised a powerful army, laid siege to *Enna*, which he took by storm, and advanced to *Agrigentum*, with a design to drive the *Greeks* from all the cities which had been formerly possessed by his countrymen. The *Agrigentines* went out to meet him; but their army was overthrown, and the city threatened with a siege. Hereupon they had recourse to the *Syracusians*, who sent them a strong reinforcement under the command of one *Bilco*. *Ducetius*, who was then besieging *Motyum*, a strong-hold belonging to the *Agrigentines*, leaving part of his forces before the place, led the rest against the united troops of the *Syracusians* and *Agrigentines*, put them to flight, and, returning before *Motyum*, made himself master of that city. The *Syracusan* general, upon his return, was tried for the loss of his army, for most of the *Syracusians* were cut to pieces in the engagement; and, being convicted of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy, was put to death, and a worthy citizen, whom the historians do not name, invested with the command. This new general was attended with all the success they could wish for, since he intirely defeated the *Siculi*, reduced all their cities, and brought *Ducetius* to such streights, that he was obliged to submit to the *Syracusians*, and throw himself upon their mercy, as we have related above¹.

AFTER the reduction of the *Siculi*, the *Syracusians* became so powerful, that they gave, in some degree, law to the whole island. The *Greek* cities indeed enjoyed a perfect liberty, but at the same time acknowledged *Syracuse* as their metropolis. If that wealthy city had been contented with the respect which all the *Greek* colonies in *Sicily* willingly paid her as the most able to protect them against any foreign invasion, the island would have enjoyed a lasting tranquillity; but she began by degrees to assume the authority of a sovereign over cities that were no less free than herself, which gave rise to the wars which we are now to relate. She began with the *Leontines*; and invading, on what pretence we know not, their territory, laid waste that fruitful country, and reduced the city of *Leontini* to great streights. The inhabitants, not being able to make head against the superior forces of the *Syracusians*, had recourse to the *Athenians*, from whom they were originally descended; for the *Leontines* came from *Chalcis*, which was an *Athenian* colony. On this occasion they employed one *Gorgias*, the most famous orator of his time, and who is said to

¹ Diop. Sic. ibid,

The Athenians attempt the conquest of Sicily.
Year of the flood
1922.
Bef. Chr.
426.

have been the first that taught the rules of rhetoric (B). But there needed no great eloquence to persuade the *Athenians* to concern themselves with the affairs of *Sicily*. Ever since the time of *Pericles* they had meditated the conquest of that island. *Pericles* indeed had always endeavoured to check them in this ambitious project, remonstrating, that, by living in peace, and contenting themselves with the conquests they had already made, without engaging in hazardous enterprizes, they would raise their city to a flourishing condition. The authority he had at that time over the people, though it kept them from invading *Sicily*, yet could not suppress the desire they had to conquer it. At the times we are now writing of, they were masters at sea, and every-where successful; they had many confederates, a numerous army, experienced commanders, and in ready money above ten thousand talents. With these advantages they did not doubt but they should be able to overcome the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom they were then at war, and at the same time reduce the island of *Sicily*. This, and not the specious oratory of *Gorgias*, was what induced them to espouse the cause of the oppressed *Leontines*. Accordingly they sent without delay an hundred sail of ships well manned, under the command of *Lachetes* and *Chabrias*, injoining them to make a descent on the territories of *Syracuse*. These, arriving at *Rhegium*, were there joined by an hundred more from the *Athenian* colonies. With this reinforcement they ravaged the *Æolian* islands, which were at that time in confederacy with *Syracuse*, and, defeating the *Myleans* as they were marching to join the *Syracusians*, took their city, and committed great devastations in the enemy's country. Encouraged with this success, the *Athenians* sent forty ships more to reinforce their squadron, which now consisted of two hundred and fifty sail. But in the mean time the *Leontines*, being sensible that the *Athenians* aimed at nothing less than the sovereignty of the whole island, concluded a separate peace with the *Syracusians*, and were all made free of *Syracuse*. The *Athenians*, being by this agreement disappointed in their hopes of conquering *Sicily*, vented their rage, according to the custom of popular governments, upon those who had commanded in an expedition that had not been at-

(B) *Gorgias*, arriving at *Athens*, in which he displayed so much eloquence, that the *Athenians*, though themselves a nation remarkably learned and polite, were struck with admiration at the beauties and charms of his oratory (8).

(8) See vol. vi. p. 451

tended

tended with all the success, which they expected from it. *Pythodorus* and *Sophocles* were banished, and *Eurymedon* was sentenced to pay an heavy fine. The *Athenians* were at that time, which was the sixth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, so blinded by their prosperity, that they believed no power was able to resist themⁿ.

ABOUT ten years after broke out the most memorable war *War be-* that had ever to that time been waged in *Sicily*. It was occa- *tween the* sioned by a dispute arising between the inhabitants of *Egesta* *Syracu-* and *Selinus*, concerning their borders. The territories of the *fians and* two cities were divided by a river, which the *Selinuntines* *Athenians* crossed, and possessed themselves of the lands lying next to *Year of* it, pretending that they had formerly belonged to them. This *the flood* provoked the *Egestines*, who, after having endeavoured in *1932.* vain to recover their property by fair means, took up arms, *Bef. Chr.* and drove out the intruders by force. The *Selinuntines*, on *416.* the other hand, unwilling to part with those lands, though they could not make good their claim to them, raised an army, entered the territories of the *Egestines* in an hostile manner, and laid waste the whole country. The *Egestines* took up arms in their own defence, but were intirely defeated, and forced to shelter themselves within their walls. In this condition they sent ambassadors to solicit succours from *Agrigentum*, *Syracuse*, and even from *Carthage*; but none of these states would concern themselves with their disputes. It was therefore at last resolved in their general assembly, that ambassadors should be sent to *Athens*, to implore the assistance of that republic, and withal to promise, that they, in their turn, would help the *Athenians* to the utmost of their power whenever they should stand in need of their assistance. Their ambassadors arriving at *Athens*, represented, among other things, that, should they be abandoned, the *Syracusians*, who underhand supported the *Selinuntines*, would not fail to possess themselves of their city, and by degrees become masters of the whole island; in which case they would be able to send powerful succours to the *Lacedæmonians*, who were their founders. The *Athenians* were overjoyed to have a new opportunity of meddling with the affairs of *Sicily*. However, they thought it adviseable first to send deputies into *Sicily*, to inquire into the state of the island, and particularly of the *Egestines*; for they had promised to pay all the troops that should be sent to their assistance.

UPON the arrival of the ambassadors, the *Egestines*, having *The Athe-* borrowed from the neighbouring nations a great many gold *nians im-* and silver vessels, made a vain shew of them to the *Athenians*, *posed upon* by the *Ege-* *stines.*

^m *Diop. Sic. l. xii. c. 7.*

Nicias opposes the invading Sicily.

The Athenians resolve to invade Sicily.

Raise forces, and equip a fleet.

telling them, that they had gold and silver enough to defray the whole charges of the war. When the ambassadors were returned to *Athens*, and the great wealth of the *Egestines* noised abroad, an assembly of the people was called to deliberate on the war which was to be waged in *Sicily*. *Nicias*, a man of no small authority among the people, argued with great prudence against the war, shewing that it was impossible to contend with the *Lacedæmonians*, and at the same time send so great a force, as would be necessary, into *Sicily*: that it was a kind of madness to entertain thoughts of subduing so powerful an island, when they had not yet been able to reduce *Greece*; that they ought first to humble the enemies they had at their doors, before they went in search of others at a distance, &c. Many other things he said, which were well suited to the occasion, and are related at length by *Thucydides*ⁿ and *Diodorus*^o; but the contrary opinion, which was supported by *Alcibiades*, the most eloquent speaker at that time in *Athens*, prevailed by a great majority. It being now determined to pursue this wild enterprize at all events, *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Lamachus*, were appointed to command the fleet, with full power, not only to succour *Egesta*, but to regulate affairs in *Sicily* in such a manner as they judged best for the interest of the republic. This commission *Nicias* accepted much against his will, being firmly persuaded, that it could not be attended with success, and dreading to have *Alcibiades* for his colleague. But the *Athenians* could not be prevailed upon to commit the whole management of the war to *Alcibiades*; judging wisely, that his ardour and intrepidity wanted to be tempered with the wariness and prudence of *Nicias*^p.

Nicias, not daring openly to oppose any longer an expedition, on which all *Athens* was so violently bent, endeavoured to do it indirectly by starting a great many difficulties, drawn from the vast charges the republic must be at in carrying it on. But all he could allege, instead of cooling the ardour of the people, served only to inflame it the more. Nay, an *Athenian*, standing up in the assembly, and addressing *Nicias*, desired him not to shift off or delay the business any longer, but declare there, before them all, what forces he would have the *Athenians* decree him. *Nicias* answered, that he could not exactly tell, before he advised with his fellow-commanders; but, as far as he could judge, an hundred galleys, and five thousand land-forces, at least, would be requisite. Hereupon full power was unanimously granted him to raise

ⁿ THUCYD. l. vi.
& DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.

^o DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.

^p THUCYD.

what forces, and fit out what ships he thought necessary ; and accordingly the levies were carried on at *Athens*, and the confederate cities, with such success and expedition, that in a few days the number of troops he had required was raised, and the galleys manned and equipped. When all things were ready for their departure, the officers, before they went on board, had a private conference with the senate concerning the administration of affairs in *Sicily* ; for they did not at all doubt, but they should reduce the island. In this conference it was determined, that the *Syracusians*, and the *Selinuntines* their allies, should be carried away, and sold for slaves, and the rest obliged to pay an annual tribute, and live according to the laws of *Athens* ^r.

THE next day the army, consisting of seven thousand chosen men, marched from the city to the *Pyræum*, where the fleet lay ; and there, taking leave of their friends and relations, went on board the transports amidst the shouts and acclamations of an immense multitude that had attended them from the city. When the troops were embarked, and the fleet ready to put off, the trumpet sounded, and solemn prayers were offered up for the success of the expedition ; gold and silver cups filled with wine were carried about to the whole army, both soldiers and officers drinking, according to custom, success to the undertaking (S). The usual libations being poured out, and the ceremonies appointed by law for such occasions duly performed, the ships began to sail out of the harbour one after another, the people, who lined the shore, shouting at the same time, and lifting up their hands to heaven, to wish their fellow-citizens a good voyage, and a safe return. They first sailed to the island of *Ægina*, and from thence to *Corcyra*, which they had appointed the place of rendezvous for their allies, and the transports. Upon the arrival of their confederates at *Corcyra*, they put to sea again, and made for *Tarentum* ; but, meeting there with a very indifferent reception, they sailed along the coast of *Italy* till they came to *Rhegium*, where they made some stay, with a view to prevail upon the inhabitants to succour the *Leontines*, who were originally *Chalcidians* as well as themselves. But the *Rhegians* answered, that they were determined to stand neuter, and to undertake nothing, but in concert with the other *Greek* states in *Italy*.

^r Diod. Sic. ibid.

(S) It was a custom among the *Greeks*, and some other nations, before great enterprizes to wish good success, and, at the making of leagues and treaties, to ratify what they did, by drinking to one another.

Nicias's
prudent
advice.

Opposed by
Alcibiades

And La-
machus.

The Syra-
cusians
prepare
for war.

DURING their stay here, they sent some ships to cruise off the coast of *Sicily*, in order to find out some proper and convenient place for landing the troops, and at the same time to know what treasure the *Egestines* could contribute towards carrying on the war, which had been undertaken for their sake. These, on their return, acquainted the generals, that the *Egestines* had imposed upon them, and abused their credulity, since they were a poor indigent people, and had only thirty talents in the public treasury. Hereupon a council of war being called, *Nicias* was of opinion, that they should sail to *Selinus*, which had been the first occasion of this expedition; and then, if the *Egestines* performed their promise, and supplied the army with a month's pay, to oblige the *Selinuntines* and *Egestines* to come to an agreement, and so return to *Athens*, without engaging their country in so expensive a war. By this means *Athens*, said he, will shew her readiness to assist her friends, and at the same time save her men and treasure for some more promising enterprize. *Alcibiades*, on the other hand, thinking it highly dishonourable to return home without making any conquests after they had set out with such a parade, was of opinion, that they should solicit the cities of *Sicily* to a confederacy against the *Syracusians* and *Selinuntines*; and, in case they found them disposed to come into their measures, attack either *Syracuse* or *Selinus*, the former, if they refused to restore the inhabitants of *Leontini* to their city, and the latter, if they did not conclude a peace with the *Egestines*. *Lamachus* offered a third opinion, which perhaps was the most prudent; he was for sailing directly to *Syracuse*, and laying siege to the city before the inhabitants had time to prepare for their defence. But, the opinion of *Alcibiades* prevailing, they set sail for *Sicily*.

ADVICE of this expedition coming to *Syracuse* from all quarters, it was thought so improbable there, that no one would give credit to it. But, as it was daily more and more confirmed, the *Syracusians* began seriously to think in what manner they should oppose so great a power. They sent deputies to every part of the island, asking succours against an enemy, who, as was evident from such great preparations, could have nothing less in view than the subjecting of the whole island; they garisoned all the forts and castles in the country, reviewed their troops, made ready their arms and

* DIOD. SIC. *ibid.* PLUT. in *Nic.* THUCYD. I. vi.

engines, and, in short, prepared all things, as if the enemy had been already in the heart of their country^t.

In the mean time the *Athenian* fleet arriving in *Sicily*, the *The Athenians land* land-forces were put ashore near *Catana*, which city they took by surprize; *Naxos* opened its gates to them; *Hyccara*, in *Sicily*, a small town belonging to the *Sicanians*, was taken by storm, and reduce several places. and all the inhabitants sold for slaves. These were the only exploits of this campaign; which being ended, and the winter now drawing on, the *Athenian* generals thought it adviseable to take up their quarters in some place near *Syracuse*, that they might be in a readiness to undertake the siege of that place early in the spring. But in the mean time *Alcibiades*, *Alcibiades recalled.* as we have already related^u, being called home to take his trial, the command of the army was left to *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These, advancing towards *Syracuse*, possessed themselves of an advantageous post by the following stratagem: *Nicias and Lamachus* They sent a person, on whose fidelity they could depend, to *Syracuse*; injoining him to acquaint the *Syracusians*, as if he themselves had been dispatched from their friends in *Catana*, that the *Cataneans* had conspired to fall upon the *Athenians*, who were of a strong post by quartered in the city, in the night; and that, if the *Syracusians* would advance to the *Athenian* camp with all their forces, they might easily possess themselves of it in that confusion. *Stratagem.* The *Syracusians*, not suspecting any deceit, appointed a night; and, at the time agreed on, marched out with the flower of their troops to join the *Cataneans*. But the *Athenians*, in the mean time, having embarked their forces and ammunition, set sail for *Syracuse*; and, without any opposition, landed near *Olympicum*, where they fortified their camp with strong intrenchments, before the *Syracusan* forces returned from *Catana*. The *Syracusians*, finding themselves thus shamefully imposed on, marched back to *Syracuse* with great expedition, and the very next day drew up their army in battle-array before the enemy's camp. *Nicias* marched out of his trenches to give them battle, which was fought with incredible bravery on both sides. Victory was a long time doubtful; but a *The Syra-* very heavy shower of rain, accompanied with thunder and *cusians put* lightning, falling unexpectedly, so terrified the *Syracusians*, to flight the greatest part of whom had never before carried arms, that *by Nicias.* they began to retire. The *Athenians* durst not pursue them, because their horse, who were still in a body, and had not been defeated, covered their retreat. They therefore with-

^t DIOD. SIC. *ibid.* . PLUT. in Nic. THUCYD. l. vi. ^u Vol. vi. p. 468.

The Athenians reinforced.

Gylippus sent by the Lacedæmonians to the assistance of the Syracusians.

Syracuse besieged.

drew in good order, after having thrown a detachment into the temple of *Olympicum*, to prevent its being plundered *.

AFTER this battle the *Athenians*, who were not yet in a condition to attack *Syracuse*, retired with their fleet to *Naxos* and *Catana* to winter there, and in the mean time procure new supplies, both from *Athens*, and their confederates in *Sicily*. The messengers they sent to *Athens* soon returned with three hundred talents, and some troops of horse; the *Ege-
stines* likewise, and the *Siculi*, sent them a reinforcement of cavalry, and furnished their army with all sorts of provisions. On the other hand, the *Syracusians* dispatched ambassadors to *Corinth*, whence they originally came, and also to *Lacedæ-
mon*, to implore their assistance against an enemy, who aimed not only at the sovereignty of *Sicily*, but of all *Greece*. The ambassadors were kindly received in both places, especially at *Lacedæmon*, where *Alcibiades*, who had taken sanctuary in that city, enforced their demand with all his credit and elo-
quence. At his persuasion *Gylippus*, an officer of great ex-
perience, was appointed to command the reinforcement, which was designed for *Sicily*, and troops raised with a design to invade the territories of *Athens*, and thereby make a power-
ful diversion. But, before any supplies arrived in *Sicily*, *Nicias* leaving his winter-quarters, set sail for *Syracuse*; and, arriving there in the night, before the *Syracusians* had any notice of his departure from *Catana*, possessed himself of the important post of *Epipolæ* (T).

THE *Syracusians* attempted to dislodge him; but, after a sharp engagement, were driven back into the city, with the loss of three hundred men. *Nicias*, encouraged with this success, began to build a wall round the city, in order to cut off from the besieged all communication with the neighbouring country. This work was carried on with such vigour and expedition as quite terrified the *Syracusians*, who indeed made frequent sallies, but were always repulsed with great loss. The wall was at last finished, and the city blocked up on all sides. However, the besieged were not so far disheartened as not to

* DIOD. SIC. l. xiii. p. 137, 138. THUCYD. l. vi. p. 453, 454.

(T) *Epipolæ* was a hill which stood without the city, and com-
manded it. It was exceeding steep, and of very difficult access. At the time of the siege we are speaking of, it was not surround-
ed with walls, as in after-ages. The pass leading to it was called *Euryelus*. On the top of the hill was a fort called *Labdalon* (27).

(27) Thucyd. l. vi.

annoy the enemy with vigorous sallies ; in one of which they put the *Athenians* to flight, demolished great part of their works, and made a great slaughter of those who defended them ; among the rest *Lamachus*, one of their chief and best *Lama-commanders*, was slain, and several other officers of distinction. *thus slain*, Notwithstanding this advantage gained by the *Syracusians*, *Nicias*, who was now the sole general, pursued the siege ; and, after repairing his works, began a wall of circumvallation, in order to prevent any succours from being thrown into the place. He caused also the canals to be cut, by which water was conveyed into the place, which soon brought the *Syracusians* to the utmost distress. Seeing themselves therefore on the brink of ruin, and without any hopes of relief, they began to think of capitulating ; and accordingly an assembly was held to settle the articles, in order to send them to *Nicias*.

BUT, before they came to any determination, an officer, *Gylippus* by name *Gongyles*, arriving from *Corinth* on board a galley, *arrives in Sicily*. brought them the joyful news of the approach of *Gylippus*, with a force sufficient to dispel all their fears, and oblige the enemy to raise the siege. The joy which this news, so unexpected, occasioned in the city, is not to be expressed. They passed from one extreme to another ; and, instead of capitulating, began to prepare themselves for new sallies, in order to facilitate *Gylippus's* entrance into the city. While they were making these preparations, *Gylippus* appeared at the head of three thousand foot, and two hundred horse ; and, making directly for *Epipolæ*, where *Nicias* had fortified himself in a castle called *Labdalon*, drew up his small army under the walls, and then sent an herald to *Nicias*, to let him know, that he would allow him only five days to leave *Sicily*. *Nicias* did not condescend to return any answer to this message ; whereupon *Gylippus*, attacking the fort, carried it by storm, and put all the *Athenians*, who were in it, to the sword. This opened him a way into the city, where he was received *Gylippus enters Syracuse*. with loud acclamations, and honoured as the deliverer of the city. Having allowed his troops a few days rest, he marched out with his own and the *Syracusan* forces to demolish the enemy's works ; whereupon a sharp engagement ensued, in which many were killed on both sides : but at length the *Athenians* carried the day. Their victory was chiefly owing to the narrowness of the place, which made the *Syracusan* cavalry and bow-men quite unserviceable. *Gylippus*, to encourage his soldiers, reproached himself with the ill success they had met with, and publicly declared, that he, not they, had occasioned the late defeat. However, he promised to give them very soon an opportunity of retrieving both their honour and his ; and accordingly the very next day he led them

them against the enemy, and gained a very considerable victory *.

New supplies for the Syracusians from Corinth.

AFTER this success thirteen galleys arrived from *Corinth*, with considerable supplies both of men and money for the *Syracusians*; and *Gylippus*, not content to send ambassadors to the cities of *Sicily*, went himself from town to town, soliciting them to join him. By this means he raised above three thousand men; and, with these fresh supplies, returned to *Syracuse*. *Nicias*, on the other hand, finding his troops lessen daily, in proportion as those of the enemy increased, began to be disheartened, and wrote to the *Athenians* in the strongest terms, shewing, that, without powerful supplies both by sea and land, the enterprize would prove abortive, and the small army remaining be lost. His letter made a great impression on the minds of the *Athenians*, who immediately nominated two officers who served under him, *Menander* and *Euthydemus*, to assist him till other generals should be sent; for he had desired, on account of his bad state of health, a colleague, to bear part of the burden and care of the war. *Eurymedon* and *Demosthenes* were chosen to succeed *Lamachus* and *Alcibiades*. The former set out immediately, with ten galleys, and a considerable sum of money, to assure *Nicias*, that a speedy succour should be sent him; the latter was employed in raising troops, and equipping ships, in order to set sail the following spring.

Eurymedon and Demosthenes sent from Athens into Sicily.

ON the other side, the *Lacedæmonians*, having, at the instigation of *Alcibiades*, broken the truce they had made with the *Athenians*, invaded *Attica*, under the command of *Agis* and *Alcibiades*, in order to divert them from sending any supplies into *Sicily*: but they were so infatuated with the *Sicilian* expedition, that, notwithstanding the streights they were in at home, they decreed fourscore galleys, and five thousand land-forces, to be sent into that island. The *Syracusians*, hearing that the enemy was soon to be reinforced with such powerful supplies, fitted out a fleet with all possible expedition, in order to venture a sea-engagement, and destroy the *Athenian* ships that blocked up the city by sea, before they were joined by the squadron which *Demosthenes* was bringing over into *Sicily*.

A sea-fight between the Athenians and Syracusians.

With this view they sailed out, with a fleet of fourscore sail well manned; and being met by the *Athenian* fleet, consisting of sixty sail, a sharp engagement ensued, which drew the *Athenians* from their posts to the sea-side. But, while they were standing on the shore idle spectators of the combat, *Gylippus*, who foresaw this, attacked the forts unexpectedly; and, as great part of the garison had flocked to the shore, he possessed

* DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* p. 138. THUCYD. l. vi. p. 471. PLUT. in NIC. p. 534.

himself of them without great opposition, and made a dreadful slaughter of those who hastened from the shore to the assistance of their companions. Hereupon a great noise and tumult arising in the camp, the *Athenians* engaged at sea were struck with terror, and made what haste they could to gain the shore, and there assist their land-forces, in the defence of the ports: but finding, as they drew near, that *Gylippus* was already in possession of the posts they were coming to defend, they tacked about; and, with their whole fleet in line of battle, fell upon the *Syracusians*, who were pursuing them in disorder, sunk eleven of their vessels, killed great numbers of their marines, and made ample amends for the battle they had lost by land, with a complete victory by sea. After the fight both parties set up trophies; the *Athenians* for their victory by sea, and the *Syracusians* for their success by land. The *Athenians* lost, in the forts that were taken, all their treasure, and great part of their provisions and military stores.

THE *Syracusians*, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained by sea, were determined to attempt a second engagement both by sea and land, before the succours which *Demosthenes* was bringing should arrive. In order therefore to provoke them to a fight, they daily drew up their fleet in line of battle before the great harbour, where the *Athenian* fleet was anchored; and, with biting jokes and raillery, put their patience to the utmost trial. *Nicias* was against venturing a second battle, saying, that as he expected a fresh fleet every moment, and a strong reinforcement, it would betray the greatest want of judgment, should he hazard a battle without being forced to it, when his troops were inferior to those of the enemy, and already fatigued. On the other hand, *Menander* and *Euthydemus*, who had been appointed to share the command with him till the arrival of *Demosthenes*, wanting to perform some mighty exploit before they resigned their commission, represented to *Nicias*, that should they shun a battle, the reputation of the *Athenian* arms would be forfeited, and they forsaken by all their allies in *Sicily*. They were so pressing with *Nicias*, that they forced him at last to compliance; and accordingly, the fleet, consisting of seventy-five galleys, sailed out of the harbour. The first day the two fleets continued in sight of each other, without engaging; the second some vessels engaged; but neither side gained any considerable advantage. The third day the *Syracusians* drew up their navy earlier than usual; and having continued so till the day was spent, they withdrew, as they had done the day before: the *Athenians* supposed they were not to return that day, and therefore began to retire, without observing any order, when all on a sudden, the enemy's fleet, sailing out of the little harbour, fell

upon the *Athenians* before they had time to draw up in line of battle. Victory did not continue long in suspense; the *Athenians* were put to flight, after having lost seven gallies, and a great many men, some being killed, and others taken prisoners *y*.

To the disadvantage of the Athenians. THIS loss threw *Nicias* into the utmost consternation, and renewed the memory of all the misfortunes he had met with since his first coming into *Sicily*: but while he was revolving in his mind these gloomy ideas, *Demosthenes's* fleet appeared, advancing to the great haven, with such pomp and assurance of victory, as filled the enemy with dread. This fleet consisted of seventy-three gallies, having on board eight thousand men, besides mariners, and great store of provisions and warlike engines, to be employed in the siege. All the gallies were richly trimmed, and their prows adorned with costly streamers: they were manned with chosen rowers, commanded by experienced officers, and furnished, at a vast expence, with all sorts of warlike machines then used in sea-engagements. As they approached the shore, the sound of the trumpets, mixed with repeated shouts and loud acclamations, both from the fleet and the camp, made all the city resound. This air of pomp and triumph *Demosthenes* affected purposely, to strike terror into the enemy. And truly, the besieged, notwithstanding their late advantages, began now to be quite disheartened, finding they had to do with an enemy who could send such powerful succours abroad, while they had so troublesome a war on their hands at home. The common people were for putting an end to their calamities, by capitulating before the city was reduced to the last extremity, and while they could hope for tolerable terms: but *Demosthenes* did not give them time to come to any resolution; for, thinking it adviseable to take advantage of the general consternation which his arrival had occasioned, he prepared to attack the city the same day he arrived, being determined either to put a speedy end to the war, or raise the siege, and return to the relief of *Athens*, which was, in a manner, blocked up by the *Lacedæmonians*. *Nicias*, alarmed at this bold and precipitate resolution, conjured him not to be over-hasty, but to take time to weigh things maturely, that he might have no cause to repent it when it would be too late: he observed to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays; that they were in great want both of money and provisions; that their allies were ready to abandon them; and that they would be soon forced to surrender, as they had before resolved to do. This *Nicias* said, because he had certain advice sent him daily of whatever was transacted in the city: but his re-

y DIODOR. SICUL. THUCYD. & PLUT. ubi supra.

monstrances

monstrances were construed as an effect of the dilatoriness with which he had always been reproached. And, indeed, it was peculiar to him to start difficulties on all occasions, and deaden the vivacity of the troops by delays, distrusts, and timorous precautions. All the officers therefore came over to the opinion of *Demosthenes*; and *Nicias* himself was forced to acquiesce in it^z.

A GENERAL assault being resolved on, *Demosthenes* marched, in the dead of the night, to attack the important post of *Epipolæ*; and was at first attended with success, having made himself master of the castle, and cut the garison in pieces. *Gylippus*, at the first alarm, hastened to the relief of the place; but his troops being seized with a panic, which was increased by the darkness of the night, were easily repulsed, and put to flight: but as the *Athenians* advanced in disorder, to prevent their rallying, they met with a body of *Bæotians*, under the command of *Hermocrates*, an officer of great courage and experience, and were by them stoped, till the *Syracusians* who had fled, had time to recover from their surprize. Then *Gylippus* encouraging his men, brought them back to the charge, and the fight was renewed. The *Athenians*, though in disorder, stood their ground for some time; but, at last, fresh troops continually arriving from the city, they were forced to give way, and not knowing the roads, many of them either fell from the tops of the rocks, and were dashed in pieces, or were slain the next day, as they were straggling from one another, up and down the fields and woods. Two thousand *Athenians* were killed on this occasion, and a great many arms and warlike engines taken.

AFTER this overthrow *Demosthenes* was for returning to *Athens*, especially as the season was not too far advanced for crossing the sea, and they had ships sufficient to force their passage, in case the enemy should dispute it. He declared, that, in his opinion, it would be of far greater advantage to oblige the *Lacedæmonians* to raise the blockade of *Athens*, than to continue that of *Syracuse*, in which they spent their strength to no purpose. But *Nicias* had still hopes of becoming master of the city, which he knew to be in great want of all things; and besides, was under great apprehensions of the people of *Athens*, who had banished two generals in former times for returning from *Sicily*, though they had acted a very prudent part in so doing. He said, that as those who were to judge him had not been eye-witnesses of the state of affairs, they would be of a different opinion; and that those very men, who

^z THUCYD. l. vii. p. 513—518. PLUT. ubi supra & in lib. de superst. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

But is opposed by
Nicias.

then exclaimed against the difficulties they laboured under, would perhaps change their note, and accuse them of having been bribed to raise the siege. He concluded by declaring, that as for himself, he chose rather to fall gloriously by the enemy's sword, than be ignominiously condemned by the suffrages of the people. These reasons were not able to convince *Demosthenes*, who was still of opinion, that the only way left to save themselves was to quit the country: however, as he had been unsuccessful in his former advice, he was afraid of insisting upon this, and yielded to *Nicias* ^a.

The Syracusians
reinforced.

In the mean time the *Syracusians* were reinforced with powerful supplies from the *Siculi*, *Selinuntines*, *Geleans*, and *Camarineans*; which encouraged them as much as it disheartened the *Athenians*: in whose army a violent plague broke out,

The plague in the
Athenian army.

occasioned by the unwholesome air of the fens and marshes, near which they were encamped. This calamity, added to many others, made *Nicias* alter his opinion; and orders were privately issued, injoining the officers of the fleet to be in a readiness to set sail at a minute's warning. The soldiers were commanded to ship all their baggage, and be ready to go on board, upon a signal that should be given. But when all things were ready, and most part of the soldiers embarked, without the *Syracusians* having the least suspicion of their design, the moon was suddenly eclipsed; which so terrified *Nicias*, who was naturally superstitious, that he would needs consult the soothsayers before he suffered the rest of the soldiers to go on board. It was customary, on such occasions, to suspend the enterprize that was in hand for three days; but the soothsayers whom *Nicias* consulted, pronounced, that he must not set sail till three times nine days were past; which, without all doubt, was a mysterious number, in the opinion of the people ^b.

Nicias deterred, by
an eclipse,
from re-
turning to
Greece.

THE *Syracusians*, in the mean time, receiving notice of the intended departure of the *Athenians*, took fresh courage, and resolved to attack them both by sea and land. Pursuant to this resolution, they sailed out with threescore galleys against the *Athenian* fleet, consisting of fourscore and six. *Eurymedon*, who commanded the right of the *Athenian* fleet, extended his line, as he had more ships, in order to surround the opposite wing of the enemy: but being, in this attempt, separated from the rest of the fleet, he was driven by *Agatharchus*, the *Syracusan* admiral, into the gulf called *Dasion*, and there killed, with great part of his men. The death of the admiral disheartened both the soldiers and officers, who now every-where gave

The Athenian fleet
defeated,
and the
admiral
killed.

^a THUCYD. l. vii. p. 518—520. PLUT. in NIC. p. 538—542.
DIODOR. SICUL. p. 142. ^b *Idem* *ibid.*

way; and, being chased by the enemy, sheltered themselves within the haven; which, as we shall see anon, proved fatal to them. In this engagement the *Athenians* lost eighteen ships, and two thousand men. *Gylippus*, who commanded the land-army, seeing the enemy's galleys forced ashore, advanced with part of his troops, to fall upon such as landed; but was repulsed by the *Tuscan*s, who guarded that quarter, and driven into the marsh called *Lyfimelia*, where many of his men were killed by the *Tuscan*s, and *Athenians*, who flew to their assistance. Each party erected trophies, the *Syracusians* for their victory by sea, and the *Athenians* for the advantage they had gained by land: but the minds of the two nations were differently disposed; the *Syracusians*, who had been so terrified at the arrival of *Demosthenes*, seeing themselves victorious in a naval engagement, took fresh courage; on the contrary, the *Athenians*, overcome by sea, contrary to their expectation, lost all hopes, and only thought of retiring.

THE enemy, to prevent their escaping by sea, blocked up the mouth of the great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with ships and galleys joined and fastened together with anchors and iron chains. The *Athenians*, seeing themselves thus penned up on all sides, held a council of war, in which it was unanimously resolved, that they should attempt, at all adventures, to break through the fleet that shut up the harbour, and retire, with all their forces on board, to *Catana*; but if they should not succeed in this bold undertaking, to set fire to their ships, and march by land to the nearest city belonging to their allies. Pursuant to this resolution, the flower of the troops, and the most experienced among the officers, were put on board an hundred and fifteen galleys, and the rest of the army drawn up in battalia on the shore. On the other side, the *Syracusians* fitted out seventy-four galleys, which they placed, with many other vessels, behind those that stopped up the harbour; to the end that, if any of the latter were sunk, or the chains which joined them, broken, the *Athenians* might yet find themselves a second time stopped and intangled. As this engagement was to determine the fate of *Syracuse*, the walls of the harbour, and every eminence within the city, were filled with crouds of spectators. The commanders, on both sides, employed all their eloquence to animate their men. *Nicias*, leaving his post on the shore, went on board a vessel, and, sailing round the *Athenian* fleet, exhorted the commander of each galley, in particular, to behave like an *Athenian*; putting them in mind, that on their valour, in the fight now approaching, depended the safety and preservation of their wives, their children, and their country, as well as their own. *Nicias* was scarce returned to his post, when the trumpets sounded the charge, gagement.

With
great
slaughter
on both
sides.

The Athe-
nians de-
feated,
with
great loss.

charge, and the *Athenian* fleet advanced with great violence, to break the blockade at the mouth of the harbour; but the *Syracusan* gallies, which had been left within the vessels chained together, on purpose to stop the course and fury of the enemy, rowed up against them with such impetuosity, that they put both their own and the enemy's fleet into the utmost confusion. In this disorder the lines on both sides being broken, and the vessels dispersed, they engaged here and there in small squadrons: however, the fight was obstinate on both sides. The *Athenians*, seeing they were utterly lost, unless with an invincible resolution they forced their passage, despised all dangers, and fought like men in a desperate condition; on the other side, the *Syracusians*, knowing that they were observed by their parents and children, exerted their utmost efforts in defence of their country. The fight was no less dreadful than the confusion, and the slaughter great on both sides: the lamentable outcries of the wounded, and those who were perishing in the water, the noise of the oars, and the loud shouts from the ramparts and the shore, where both armies were drawn up, prevented any orders from being heard or attended to. As the battle was fought under the very walls of the city, parents were eye-witnesses of the death of their children, wives of the miserable end of their husbands; and one friend beheld another wallowing in his blood, without being able to lend him any relief. After the battle had lasted many hours, and both parties quite tired out, and no more able to manage either their arms or their oars, yet, if any of them offered to fly to the shore, they were driven back, with bitter reproaches, by their countrymen, under whose eyes they fought. The *Athenians* asked those who made to the shore, whether they intended to sail to *Athens* by land; and obliged them, though covered over with wounds, to return to the charge. The *Syracusians* met with no better treatment from their countrymen, who prevented even those from landing whose ships were quite disabled, and ready to sink, bidding them save their lives by boarding the enemy's ships, or die an honourable death in defence of their country. Thus the battle was continued the whole day; and it was by far the most bloody and obstinate which had ever been fought in those seas. At length the *Athenians* were, in spite of their utmost endeavours, driven ashore; and the city immediately acquainted with the victory, by an universal shout from the fleet, which was answered by loud acclamations of joy from the army on the shore, and the spectators on the walls. The *Athenians*, who escaped, leapt out of their broken and shattered ships, and fled to the land army. The *Syracusians* lost, on this occasion, eight ships, and had eleven disabled; the *Athenians*

nians lost threescore, and most of the rest were rendered quite unserviceable c.

IN this desperate condition, the *Athenian* officers met, to consider what measures they should take in so critical a conjuncture. *Demosthenes* was for manning with fresh soldiers the few galleys that remained, and while the *Syracusians* were under no apprehensions, on account of their late victory, to fall upon them again, and force their way out of the harbour. This was no ill advice; but *Nicias* opposed it. Others say, that the soldiers refused to obey, alleging, that it would be impossible for them to sustain a second engagement. It was thereupon determined to abandon the ships, and retire that very night, by land, to the cities of their confederates. But *Hermocrates*, commander in chief of the *Syracusan* forces, suspecting their design, ordered all his troops to be immediately drawn out, with a view to stop all the passes, and prevent their retreat. The *Syracusians* were then in the height of their rejoicings, thinking of nothing but how to divert themselves, after the toils they had sustained: they therefore unanimously declared, that they would not, upon any account whatsoever, take up arms again, till they were allowed some days rest. Hereupon *Hermocrates*, thinking it of the utmost importance not to suffer so great a body of forces to make their escape, since they might fortify themselves in some corner of the island, and there begin a new war, devised the following stratagem to gain time: he sent some horsemen to the *Athenian* camp, who were to pass for friends, and advise *Nicias* not to quit his camp, which was well fortified, since the *Syracusians* lay in ambush for him, and had seized on all the passes leading to the cities of their allies. This false advice stopped *Nicias* at once, and he did not even set out the next day, that his soldiers might have more time to refresh themselves, and carry off whatever might be necessary for their subsistence. He might have passed with great safety, had he not been thus deluded.

THE next day, *Hermocrates*, having prevailed upon his men to march out, possessed himself of the most difficult passes, fortified the avenues leading to the places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the bridges, and spread detachments of horse up-and-down the plains; so that there was not one outlet, through which the *Athenians* were not obliged to fight their way. However, as they could no longer subsist in their camp, the third day after the battle they set out, to the number of forty thousand men, leaving behind them all their galleys, and great part of their baggage. The whole army was in the utmost consternation at seeing such great numbers of

c. DIODOR. & THUCYD. *ibid.*

men,

men, either dead or dying, abandoned to wild beasts, or the cruelty of the enemy. Some, who were sick, or wounded, hanging on the necks of their friends and companions, conjured them, with many tears, to take them along with the army; others, dragging themselves after them, followed, as far as their strength allowed them, and, when this failed, had recourse to tears and sighs, calling upon the gods, as well as men, to revenge the cruelty they met with: so that every place echoed with groans and mournful lamentations. But the most melancholy part of the spectacle, and which most deserved compassion, was *Nicias* himself: that great man, dejected and worn out with a tedious illness, destitute of all necessaries, when his age and infirmities required them most, tormented not only with his own grief, but with the affliction of others, thought of nothing but how he might best comfort his soldiers, and rouse their valour. He hastened from one part of the army to the other, exhorting his men to take courage, by representing to them, that matters were not yet desperate, since other armies had escaped far greater dangers; that they ought not to grieve too immoderately for misfortunes which they had not occasioned; that, if they had offended any god, his vengeance must be satiated by this time; that fortune, after having so long favoured the enemy, would at last be tired of persecuting them, &c. Above all, he insisted upon their marching in good order, since, by a prudent and courageous retreat, which was now become their only resource, they might not only save themselves, but their country, and enable it to recover its former splendor^d.

The Athenians encouraged by Nicias. THE hopes of the desponding army being somewhat revived by this speech, they marched out in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx. The van was led by *Nicias*, and the rear by *Demosthenes*, with the baggage in the centre. They forced their passage over the river *Anapus*, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition they met with; but, being every day harassed by the *Syracusan* horse and bowmen, who were continually discharging showers of darts upon them, and finding all the outlets guarded, so that they were obliged to dispute every inch of their way, they began again to despond. *Nicias* offered the enemy battle; but *Hermocrates* and *Gylippus*, not caring to engage men whom despair made invincible, retired as soon as they saw them drawn up in battalia; but, when they began to proceed on their march, they then fell upon their rear with the utmost fury.

DEMOSTHENES and *Nicias*, seeing the miserable condition to which the army was reduced (for many were daily wounded,

‡ THUCYD. & DIODOR. *ibid.*

and,

and, besides, they were in great want of provisions, the enemy having laid waste the whole country through which they were to pass), resolved to alter their route, and, instead of pursuing their march for *Catana*, to turn towards the sea, and make the best of their way for *Camarina* and *Gela*. Accordingly, having lighted a great many fires in their camp, they retired in the dead of the night. The van-guard, led by *Nicias*, kept together, and advanced in good order; but half the rear, commanded by *Demosthenes*, fell into great confusion, and lost their way. However, they got early in the morning to the sea-side; but could have no advice of the rest of the army. In the mean time, the *Syracusians*, having intelligence of their march, followed them by break of day, and came up with *Demosthenes* about noon. The *Athenians* were then in some disorder, as not suspecting the enemy could overtake them so soon. The *Syracusians* failed not to take advantage of their confusion, and, immediately charging them with their cavalry, forced them into a narrow pass, and there surrounded them on all sides. *Demosthenes*, seeing there were no hopes of escaping, *Demosthenes* after having fought from noon to night, thought it adviseable to save the lives of so many brave men by capitulating. Accordingly, having stipulated that neither he, nor any of his men, should be put to death, or sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, they all, to the number of six thousand, laid down their arms, and surrendered.

Nicias arrived the same evening at the river *Erineus*, *Nicias* which he crossed, and encamped on an eminence, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and summoned him to surrender, as *Demosthenes* had done. *Nicias*, not believing what they told him of his colleague, obtained leave to send an horseman to inquire the truth. Upon the return of the messenger, being informed that *Demosthenes* had really surrendered, he sent an herald to the enemy's camp, offering to pay the whole charges of the war, upon condition that he was allowed to leave the country with all his forces. But, this proposal being rejected, the enemy attacked him with great vigour; and the *Athenians*, though quite tired out with their long marches, and faint with hunger, stood their ground, till night put an end to the combat. When all things seemed quiet, *Nicias* commanded his men to file off in silence; for he was there in absolute want of all necessaries: but they no sooner took up their arms, than the advanced guards of the *Syracusians* gave the alarm; whereupon the *Athenians*, seeing themselves discovered, remained there all night. However, three hundred of them broke through the enemy's guards, and

Great
slaughter
of his men.

Nicias
forced to
surrender.

marched as far as they could that night. At break of day, *Nicias* pursued his march, being galled all the way by showers of darts from all sides. When they arrived at the river *Asinarus*, they rushed into it, without any order, every one striving to get over first; and, in that confusion, the *Syracusan* cavalry, advancing full-gallop into the river, trod many of them down with their horses, cut others in pieces, and made such a dreadful havock of those unfortunate men, while they were not in a condition to make any resistance, that the *Asinarus* was, for many miles, dyed with their blood (P). On this occasion, above eighteen thousand *Athenians* were, by the merciless *Syracusians*, inhumanly butchered. *Nicias*, with a small body which escaped the slaughter, and kept together, being hemmed in on all sides, surrendered, not to the *Syracusians*, but to *Gylippus*, hoping to meet with better treatment from him, than from the *Syracusians*. The only condition he asked was, that their lives should be spared; which being granted, they threw down their arms, and surrendered. After this, the *Syracusians* detached several small bodies of horse to all parts, and these took the three hundred, who had forced their way through the guards the night before, with many others, whom they found straggling in the fields; so that, out of so numerous an army, very few had the good fortune to escape either death or servitude^f (Q).

THE *Syracusians*, upon this happy success, having erected two trophies, and fixed to them the arms of the two captive generals, returned to the city, which they entered in triumph, amidst the loud and joyful acclamations of their fellow-citizens, who flocked from all quarters to be spectators of so glorious a fight. The whole city returned thanks to the gods in the most solemn manner, for having auspiciously ended the greatest war they had ever been engaged in, and put a period to their calamities with a signal and complete victory^g.

^f THUCYD. & DIOD. *ibid.*

^g DIOD. SIC. *ibid.*

(P) Our historian tells us, that the *Athenians* were so tormented with drought, occasioned by their long and quick march, that, unmindful of their present danger, they seemed more intent on quenching their thirst than saving their lives; though what they drank was rather the blood of their companions than the waters of the stream.

(Q) The *Athenians*, it seems, were displeased with their general for surrendering in this manner, since his name was omitted in a public monument, where the names were engraved of those commanders who had lost their lives in the service of their country (1).

(1) Pausan. l. i.

THE next day, an assembly was called, to determine the *The af-*
 fate of the captives; when one *Diocles*, a man of great esteem *sembly in*
 and authority among the people, was of opinion, that the two *Syracuse*
Athenian generals should be first whipped with rods, and then *divided in*
 put to death; that the rest should be shut up in the quarries, *their sen-*
 and there allowed only two small measures of flour, and one of *timents*
 water, a day; and that the inhabitants of the island, who had *concerning*
 joined them, should be sold for slaves. This opinion was stre- *the priso-*
 nuously opposed by *Hermocrates*, to whom the *Syracusians* were *ners.*
 chiefly indebted for their late victory. He was a man highly
 esteemed for his eminent probity and justice; but, nevertheless,
 so incensed was the multitude against the *Athenians*, that they
 would not suffer him to continue his speech. *Hermocrates*
 being thus interrupted by the shouts and clamours which echoed
 from all parts of the assembly, a venerable old man, by name
Nicolaus, who had lost in this war two sons, the only heirs to
 his name and estate, rose up, supported by two of his servants.
 He no sooner offered to speak, than there was a profound
 silence, no one doubting but he would pronounce a bitter inve-
 ctive against the prisoners. *Nicolaus*, seeing the eyes of the
 whole multitude fixed upon him, in a most pathetic speech,
 sued for their pardon (R); and the people seemed to be moved
 to

(R) "Dear countrymen, said he,
 " you see me now appear here,
 " supported by the hands of my
 " slaves, who formerly made my
 " appearance supported by those
 " of my beloved children; but
 " they are now gone, and I de-
 " prived of the only comfort of
 " my old age. However, tho'
 " I am every day desiring they
 " were alive, yet I cannot help
 " thinking them happy for hav-
 " ing sacrificed, in defence of
 " their country, that life which
 " they must have one day parted
 " with by the law of nature.
 " They are happy, and I alone
 " miserable, who have lost my
 " children, and with them all
 " hopes of posterity. And since
 " I have born so great a part in
 " the calamities of this war, I
 " shall ever hate and detest the
 " *Athenians*, who, without any
 " provocation, kindled it in the
 Vol. VII.

" very heart of our country.
 " They indeed deserve the se-
 " verest treatment: but have not
 " the gods, the just avengers of
 " crimes, already punished their
 " injustice, and revenged our
 " sufferings sufficiently? They
 " invaded us with a fleet of two
 " hundred sail, and an army of
 " forty thousand men; and not
 " one ship, not one man, has
 " made his escape to carry home
 " the news of their destruction.
 " Have they not therefore suf-
 " fered already above the de-
 " gree and measure of their of-
 " fence? and will you, O *Syra-*
 " *cusians*, be so hard-hearted as
 " to insult them in their distress,
 " and treat them inhumanly
 " while they lie prostrate at your
 " feet? You have shewn your
 " bravery and valour in reduc-
 " ing them to the state they are
 " now in; let your mercy and
 P p " com-

to compassion: but the enemies of the *Athenians* expatiating on their inveterate hatred to the *Syracusians*, and the many calamities which they had brought upon them, the people returned to their former resolution, and followed the advice of *Diocles*. The generals were first whipped, and then put to

“ compassion exert themselves
 “ as much as your courage has
 “ done. But what do I say,
 “ mercy and compassion? you
 “ are bound in justice to treat
 “ them with humanity, and re-
 “ ject with horror the very
 “ thought of putting them to
 “ death. When their generals
 “ laid down their arms and sur-
 “ rendered, did you not pro-
 “ mise to spare their lives? and
 “ if we put them to death, shall
 “ we not be eternally branded
 “ with the just reproach of hav-
 “ ing violated the law of na-
 “ tions, and dishonoured our
 “ victory with the blackest
 “ perfidy? What then, you
 “ will ask, is to be done with
 “ the captives? My opinion is,
 “ and I hope it will not seem
 “ strange to any here present,
 “ that they be all dismissed, and
 “ suffered to return unhurt to
 “ their country. Let it be said
 “ in all nations, that we have
 “ overcome the *Athenians* not
 “ only in arms, but in mercy
 “ and humanity. Thus our
 “ enemies will not only be cen-
 “ sured by others, but will even
 “ condemn themselves, for hav-
 “ ing attempted to destroy men
 “ of so merciful a temper. To
 “ use that severity, which some
 “ unthinking men have advised,
 “ is intailing the hatred of so
 “ great and powerful a nation
 “ on our posterity, which is no
 “ way safe, the issues of war
 “ being so uncertain, that the
 “ conquerors are often, by a
 “ sudden change of fortune,
 “ brought lower than the con-
 “ quered, as the event of this
 “ war has shewn. Those who
 “ besieged us in our capital, are,
 “ by an unexpected turn of for-
 “ tune, become our prisoners.
 “ It is therefore great prudence
 “ to shew compassion for the mi-
 “ series of others, if we expect
 “ to find the same ourselves in
 “ their condition. As for *Ni-*
 “ *cias*, you all know, that he
 “ pleaded your cause in the as-
 “ sembly of the *Athenians*, and
 “ did all that lay in his power
 “ to dissuade his countrymen
 “ from this expedition: how
 “ base then and ungenerous
 “ would it be to condemn this
 “ worthy man to death, for
 “ obeying the commands of his
 “ superiors, though contrary to
 “ his own opinion and inclina-
 “ tion? How hard-hearted must
 “ that man be, whose anger is
 “ not asswaged in seeing so re-
 “ nowned a general, lately the
 “ admiration of *Greece*, loaded
 “ with irons, and suffering under
 “ the miserable condition of a
 “ slave, as if fortune in his life
 “ gloried to shew the greatness
 “ of her power! Since there-
 “ fore, under her kind auspices,
 “ we have triumphed over our
 “ enemies, let us carry it with
 “ humanity and moderation, and
 “ not insult, with the cruelty of
 “ barbarians, over those who are
 “ of the same stock with our-
 “ selves (2).”

(2) *Diodor. Sic. ibid.*

death; all compassionate men bewailing the hard lot of two such illustrious personages, especially of *Nicias*, who, as our author tells us, of all men of his time least deserved to be brought to so great a degree of misery (S). The other prisoners were thrust down into the quarries, where, crouded upon one another, they suffered inexpressible miseries for the space of eight months. They were there ever exposed to the inclemencies of the air, and alterations of the weather; scorched in the day-time by the burning rays of the sun, and frozen in the nights by the colds of autumn; poisoned by the stench of their own excrements, and the bodies of those who died of their wounds, and of diseases, and lay together in heaps; in fine, tormented with hunger and thirst, their allowance being scarce sufficient to keep them alive. Most of them died of the hardships they suffered; others were taken out of the quarries, and, being sold for slaves, met with a most generous treatment from their masters, who, moved with compassion, and thinking they had already sufficiently atoned for any fault they could be guilty of, restored them to their antient liberty.

SUCH was the issue of this war, after it had lasted near three years, and cost the *Athenians* an immense treasure, without their reaping any thing by it but shame and dishonour. The *Syracusians* rewarded their allies, especially the *Lacedæmonians*, with great part of the spoils: what remained was divided among their own soldiers, and hung up in their temples, as monuments of the victory they had obtained by the powerful assistance of the deities worshiped there. *Gylippus*, on his return to *Lacedæmon*, was accompanied by five-and-thirty *Syracusan* galleys, which were to be employed, under the conduct of *Hermocrates*, against the *Athenians*; but this fleet was intirely defeated in a sea-engagement near *Abydus*, and the commanders obliged to return to the defence of their own country, which was soon involved in a new war.

(S) *Thucydides* says, that *Gylippus* pleaded their cause with a great deal of eloquence, out of gratitude with regard to *Nicias*, who, after the overthrow which the *Lacedæmonians* received at *Pylus*, had persuaded the *Athenians* to restore the captives to their liberty; out of generosity with respect to *Demosthenes*, who had ever been a professed enemy to the *Spartans*. On the other hand, *Diodorus Siculus* tells us,

that *Gylippus*, seeing the people greatly affected by the speech of *Nicolaus*, and inclined to pardon the captives, effaced the good impressions he had made in their minds, and, by a most bitter invective against the *Athenians*, which our historian sets down at length, so prejudiced the assembly against the generals, that they were immediately put to death.

Year of
the flood
1935.
Bef. Chr.
413.

The Carthaginian war.

The Egestines recur to the Carthaginians;

Who attempt to create a misunderstanding between the Selinuntines and Syracusians;

but without success.

THE *Egestines*, who had called the *Athenians* into *Sicily*, and constantly adhered to them during the whole course of the war, dreading the resentment of the *Syracusians*, and being anew attacked by the *Selinuntines*, who laid claim to great part of their territories, had recourse to the *Carthaginians*, offering to put their city into their hands, and declaring, that they had rather live subject to *Carthage* than to *Syracuse*. After their ambassadors had delivered this message to the senate, the *Carthaginians* were greatly perplexed what to resolve. On one side, they were desirous of getting foot anew in *Sicily*, and possessing themselves of a city, which lay so convenient for them. On the other, they feared the power of the *Syracusians*, who had lately obtained so signal a victory over the *Athenians*, and would not fail to assist their antient allies the *Selinuntines*. At last, the desire of enlarging their dominions prevailed, and the *Egestines* were promised succours. But, before the *Carthaginians* came to an open rupture, they attempted to sow seeds of division between the *Selinuntines* and *Syracusians*. With this view, they sent ambassadors to *Syracuse*, intreating that city to compose the differences of the contending parties in an amicable manner, and oblige the *Selinuntines* to content themselves with that portion of the lands in question, which they should think fit to allow them. They hoped, that, if the *Selinuntines* should decline the arbitration of the *Syracusians*, that would occasion a misunderstanding between the two cities; whence the *Syracusians* would not think themselves obliged to lend any assistance to the *Selinuntines*, who had refused to stand to their arbitration; nor the *Selinuntines* have the confidence to recur to them, after they had thus affronted them, by rejecting their mediation.

BUT this trick of *Punic* policy did not succeed: the *Syracusians* indeed interposed their good offices; but, finding the *Selinuntines* unwilling to come to an accommodation upon the terms they proposed, and remembering their eminent services during the late war, they would neither compel them to it, nor, for so slight a cause, renounce their alliance. Hereupon the *Carthaginians*, being resolved at all events to get possession of *Egesta*, sent to the *Egestines* five thousand men from *Africa*, and eight hundred from *Campania*. The latter had been hired by the *Chalcidians* to assist the *Athenians* against the *Syracusians*; but, after their overthrow, sailing back to *Campania*, staid there, in hopes that some state might soon stand in need of their assistance. Accordingly, the *Carthaginians* took them into their service, bought them horses, and placed them in garison at *Egesta*. These, in conjunction with the five thousand *Africans*, falling unexpectedly upon the *Selinuntines*, put them to flight, killed a thousand of them on the spot, and took

all their baggage. Upon this open rupture between the two cities, both dispatched ambassadors to solicit succours from their confederates, the *Selinuntines* from the *Syracusians*, and the *Egestines* from the *Carthaginians*; which being promised on both sides, a most dreadful war broke out between the *Egestines* and *Carthaginians* on one hand, and the *Selinuntines* and *Syracusians* on the other.

THE *Carthaginians*, foreseeing the greatness of the undertaking they were to embark in, committed the whole management of the war to *Hannibal*, empowering him to raise what forces he thought fit. He was grandson to *Hamilcar*, who had been defeated and killed by *Gelon*, before *Himera*, as we have related above, and son to *Gisco*, who, being banished his country, had retired to *Selinus*, where he died for want of necessaries. As he bore therefore a natural hatred to all the *Greeks*, and was desirous to wipe off, by his own valour, the disgrace of that defeat, which he considered as a stain upon his family, he was indefatigable all that summer, and the ensuing winter, in raising forces, not only in *Africa*, but in *Spain* and *Italy*, and making the other necessary preparations; inso-much that, in the beginning of the spring, he had no fewer than three hundred thousand men under his standard. These, with an immense store of provisions, engines, arms, and all other things necessary for such an undertaking, he put on board threescore long galleys, and fifteen hundred transports; and, setting sail as soon as the season would allow, crossed the sea, and landed safe at a place called the *Well of Lilybæum*, where the city of *Lilybæum* was afterwards built. After he had landed his forces, he caused all his ships to be drawn ashore, for fear of giving umbrage to the *Syracusians*; and then, being joined by the *Egestines*, marched strait to *Selinus*; which city he invested, and began to batter the walls with incredible fury. The *Selinuntines*, who had been the only people in *Sicily* that had sided with the *Carthaginians* against *Gelon*, did not think they would have come to such extremities; and therefore were at first, struck with great terror. However, as they were not altogether without hopes, but expected speedy succours from *Syracuse*, and other confederate cities, they all joined as one man, and made a vigorous defence; even the women and children, regardless of danger, appeared on the ramparts, ready to sacrifice their lives in the defence of their country¹.

As the walls were incessantly battered day and night by the rams, and other warlike engines, a breach was soon opened; and the first who entered it were the *Campanians*, out of an ambition of distinguishing themselves above the rest: but they

¹ DIOD. SIC. l. xiii. c. 6, & 7.

The Se-
linuntines
defend
their city
with
great
bravery ;

were repulsed with great loss, as were the *Africans* and *Spaniards*, whom *Hannibal* sent to support them. The fight lasted from noon to night, when *Hannibal* sounded the retreat. In the mean time, the *Selinuntines* sent expresses to *Agrigentum*, *Gela*, and *Syracuse*, acquainting them with the state of affairs. The *Agrigentines* and *Geleans* immediately armed their troops ; but waited for the *Syracusan* auxiliaries, with a design to fall upon the enemy with united forces. The *Syracusians* likewise, without delay, drew together what forces they could ; but, as they did not think them sufficient to relieve effectually the besieged, whom they apprehended to be in no imminent danger, they put off their march for some days, till they got together a stronger force. But *Hannibal*, as soon as it was light, renewing the assault, possessed himself of the breach which had been made the day before, and of another which his rams had opened near it, and, from thence charging the besieged, obliged them to give ground ; but could not put them in disorder, nor enter the city. Many fell on both sides ; but the *Carthaginians* were constantly supplied with fresh men : whereas the *Selinuntines* had none to relieve them, being all employed at once in defending the breaches. Thus the assault was daily renewed for the space of nine days, with incredible slaughter.

but in the
end it is
taken and
raised.

At length the besieged being quite tired out, the *Iberians*, after a long contest, lodged themselves on the ramparts. From thence they advanced into the city ; but, finding all the streets and passages barricadoed, and being, at the same time, sorely galled by showers of tiles and stones thrown by the women from the tops of the houses, they were obliged to retire to the ramparts. The next day, they returned to the charge very early, and, by continually pouring fresh men into the city, forced the *Selinuntines* to abandon the narrow streets, and pursued them into the market-place, where they made a stand, and were all to a man cut in pieces. Two thousand six hundred had, by the favour of the night, made their escape to *Agrigentum*, before the enemy had forced the narrow passes ; so that there was not now one single man left alive in the city. The *Carthaginians* therefore, ranging in all parts without restraint, rifled the houses, and then set fire to them, and either threw into the flames the women and children they found in them, or, dragging them into the streets, put them all, without distinction, to the sword. Neither did this satiate their inhuman cruelty, which they carried so far as to mangle in a barbarous manner even the dead bodies, some of them carrying about with them numbers of heads tied round their girdles, and others, out of ostentation, bearing the heads of the slain on the points of their swords and spears. The city was raised two hundred and fifty years after it had been built, and the few

Barbarity
of the
Carthagi-
nians.

women

women and children, who outlived this fatal day, were carried away captives. Those, who fled to *Agrigentum*, were received there with great humanity and tenderness, and abundantly supplied with all necessaries out of the public stores ^m (U).

HANNIBAL, having thus taken and demolished *Selinus*, ^{Himera} marched with all his army to *Himera*, extremely desirous to ^{besieged.} revenge on that city the death of his grandfather *Hamilcar*, who had been slain there by *Gelon*, with an hundred and fifty thousand *Carthaginians*. On his march, he was joined by twenty thousand *Siculi* and *Sicani*, whom he sent, with the main body of the army, to lay siege to the city, while he, with a body of forty thousand men, encamped on a rising ground at a small distance from it. The *Syracusians* had sent four thousand men to the assistance of the *Himereans*, under the conduct of *Diocles*, before the city was invested; and the other confederates had likewise sent what troops they could well spare: wherefore the inhabitants, encouraged by these succours, and dreading to undergo the same fate as the *Selinuntines*, made a most vigorous defence. The *Carthaginians* ^{Makes a} made several breaches in the wall; but were constantly re- ^{vigorous} pulsed for several days successively, without being able to gain ^{defence.} an inch of ground. This did not a little discourage the enemy, notwithstanding their late success at *Selinus*; which the *Himereans* observing, made a sally with ten thousand men, cut many of the *Carthaginians* in pieces, and put the whole army to flight, pursuing them with great slaughter to the hill, where *Hannibal* was encamped. That general, seeing his army in

^m DION. SIC. *ibid.*

(U) A few days after the city was taken, three thousand *Syracusians* arrived at *Agrigentum*, on their march to the relief of *Selinus*; but, understanding that the city was taken, they sent ambassadors to *Hannibal*, to treat of the redemption of the captives, and to beg of him that he would at least spare the temples. *Hannibal* returned answer, that since the *Selinuntines* had not been able to defend their own liberty, they deserved to be treated like slaves; and that the gods, provoked at their wickedness, had forsaken both the city and temples; whence it would be no sacrilege to strip them of their ornaments.

The *Syracusians*, not satisfied with this answer, sent a second embassy; and, on that occasion, employed one *Empediones* of *Selinus*, who had always been of the *Carthaginian* party, and advised the citizens to open their gates to them, when they first appeared before the city. *Hannibal* received him with great demonstrations of kindness, restored him his estate, pardoned all those prisoners who were any-way related to him, and permitted the others, who had fled to *Agrigentum*, to return, and people the city anew, upon paying to the *Carthaginians* an annual tribute.

confusion, hastened to their relief; upon which the battle was begun anew, and continued for some hours, victory inclining to neither side. At length the *Himereans*, being overpowered with numbers, gave ground; but three thousand of them kept their posts, and covered the retreat of their companions, sustaining the shock of the whole *Carthaginian* army, and were all slain upon the spot.

Part of
the Syra-
cusan
troops re-
turn from
Himera
to Syra-
cuse.

AFTER this engagement, five-and-twenty gallies appeared off *Himera*, and a report was spread all over the city, and the enemy's camp, that the *Syracusians*, with all their forces, were coming to the relief of the city. Hereupon *Hannibal*, having put the flower of his troops on board his gallies, prepared to sail for *Syracuse*, hoping to surprise the city, now that it wanted, as he supposed, sufficient forces to defend it: but those gallies proved to be the remainder of the fleet, which the *Syracusians* had sent some time before to the aid of the *Lacedæmonians* ^m. As they touched at *Himera*, *Diocles*, commander in chief of the *Syracusan* auxiliaries there, advised them to sail with all speed to *Syracuse*, lest *Hannibal* should make any attempt upon that city. He thought it also adviseable to leave *Himera* for a while, and, with one half of his forces, to return to *Syracuse* on the gallies, leaving the other half behind him, which he thought sufficient to hold out, till he, after putting his own city in a state of defence, should return. This the besieged took very ill; but could not prevail upon *Diocles* to alter his measures.

Himera
in the
mean time
is taken
and rased.
Cruelty of
the Car-
thagini-
ans.

UPON his departure, the *Carthaginians* doubled their attacks, and battered the walls night and day, without intermission. On the other hand, the besieged, believing the ships would return speedily, were indefatigable in defending the walls, repairing the breaches, and repulsing the enemy. Thus they held out against the repeated assaults and utmost efforts of above three hundred thousand men, till the day the fleet appeared, when the *Carthaginians*, summoning all their courage and resolution, gave a general assault; and, with their numbers, bearing all down before them, drove the citizens from the ramparts, and, in spite of their utmost efforts, entered the city sword in hand. There is no sort of cruelty which the barbarous *Carthaginians* and *Iberians* did not practise on this occasion: all they met, without regard to sex or age, were inhumanly murdered; and the slaughter was so merciless, that the very chanel in the streets flowed with blood. After they had plundered the temples and houses, and leveled the city with the ground, *Hannibal* caused three thousand of the captives to be carried to the place where his grandfather had been defeated and killed by *Gelon's* cavalry, and there first exposed them to the insults of his barbarians, and then caused them to be cruelly massacred ⁿ.

^m See before, p. 579.

ⁿ Diop. Src. ibid.

THUS ended this campaign; after which *Hannibal*, dismissing the *Siculi* and confederates, and disbanding the *Campanians*, embarked his troops, and set sail for *Africa*. When he arrived at *Carthage*, the whole city went out to meet him, and received him with loud and joyful acclamations, as a general that had performed greater things in so short a time, than any ever before him.

ABOUT this time, disturbances arose in *Syracuse*, occasioned by the return of *Hermocrates*. This brave officer had signalized himself in the war against the *Athenians*, and had been afterwards sent, with a fleet of thirty-five galleys, as we have mentioned above, to the aid of the *Lacedæmonians*. During his absence, the contrary faction, headed by *Diocles* (W) prevailing, he was tried, and, without so much as being heard, condemned to banishment. As he was a man of great probity, and had, on all occasions, been very serviceable to his country, many of the citizens sought to have him recalled, knowing that his enemies had prevailed on the ungrateful multitude to banish him, merely on account of his virtue, which gave them no small

(W) *Diocles* was a man of great authority among the people. By his advice the form of government was altered after the first *Carthaginian* war, and the magistrates, contrary to the ancient custom, chosen by lot. He also instituted laws for the *Syracusians*, which were observed not only in the city of *Syracuse*, but in most of the free states of *Sicily*, *Diocles* being highly esteemed by all for his wisdom and probity. Others, after his time, made laws, namely, *Cephalus*, who flourished under *Timoleon*; and *Polydorus*, who was cotemporary with *Hiero*; but these were only called interpreters of the law, which was written in such obsolete language as was hardly understood: the title of lawgiver was bestowed upon none but *Diocles*. He is said to have been a man of an inexorable nature and great severity. Among the many laws he made, one was, that if any man came armed into the court where the public assemblies were held, he should be put to death, even though he had done it inadvertently. Not long after the publication of this law, some of the neighbouring people having invaded the territories of *Syracuse*, *Diocles* put on his armour to march out against them; but in the mean time a tumult arising in the court, he hastened thither to appease it with his sword by his side; which one there present observing, cried out, that he transgressed the laws which he himself had made. Whereupon *Diocles* drawing his sword, answered, that he would confirm them with his blood; and ran himself through in the court. After his death divine honours were paid to him, and a temple erected to his memory, which was afterwards pulled down by *Dionysius*, when he surrounded the city with a new wall (28).

(28) *Diod. Sic. l. xiii. c. 4.*

*Attempts
to return
by force,
and is
killed.*

umbrage : but all their endeavours proving unsuccessful, *Hermocrates* himself returned into *Sicily* ; and, having raised an army of six thousand men, by the advice of his friends, he advanced to *Syracuse*, and surpris'd one of the gates of the city ; but the adverse party, running to arms, and falling furiously upon his small army, cut most of them in pieces, and slew *Hermocrates* himself. All those, who had declared in his favour, were condemned to perpetual banishment, and, among the rest, his son-in-law *Dionysius*, who made the *Syracusians* pay dear for the excesses they committed on this occasion, as we shall see in the sequel of this history °.

*The Car-
thagini-
ans return
to Sicily.*

THE late success of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* revived the design which they had ever entertained of subduing the whole island. With this view, they began to make new preparations, and raise another army, committing the whole management of the war to the same *Hannibal* : but, as he pleaded his great age, and shewed himself unwilling to take upon him the command, and return to *Sicily*, they joined in commission with him *Imilcar* the son of *Hanno*, one of the same family. These two generals, being plentifully supplied with money, and empowered to raise what forces they thought necessary for so great an undertaking, not only made great levies at home, but sent officers, with large sums, into *Spain*, *Italy*, *Libya*, *Sardinia*, and the *Balearic* islands, to hire numerous bodies of mercenaries. When all their forces were mustered at *Carthage*, the army was found to consist of three hundred thousand chosen men, as *Ephorus* informs us ; but *Timæus* says, that they amounted only to an hundred and twenty thousand, or thereabouts. All things being got ready, the troops were embarked on a thousand transports, which, under the convoy of a numerous squadron of gallies, arriving safe in *Sicily*, landed on the coast of *Agrigentum*, and marched strait to that city P.

THE *Syracusians*, and their confederates, had sent ambassadors to *Carthage*, to complain of the late hostilities practis'd upon them by *Hannibal*, and persuade the senate to forbear sending any troops into *Sicily*. But, the *Carthaginians* returning a doubtful answer to this embassy, the *Syracusians* had put themselves in a posture of defence, and were prepared to give the enemy a warm reception ; the *Agrigentines* especially, expecting this great storm would first discharge itself upon them, had carefully provided all things necessary for the sustaining of a long siege, following therein the directions of *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, an officer of great courage and experience. *Hannibal*, on his arrival before the city, sent ambassadors to the *Agrigentines*, inviting them either to join him, or stand

° Diod. Sic. ibid. P Idem ibid.

neuter, declaring he would be well satisfied with either, and Agrigen-
forbear all hostilities, if they only agreed to a treaty of amity ^{and be-}
and friendship. But both proposals being rejected, *Imilcar* ^{sieged;}
and *Hannibal*, after having viewed the walls, and found a
place where they thought it would be no hard matter to make
a breach, began to batter them with incredible fury.

BUT the defence was no less vigorous than the attack: the ^{but makes}
besieged, in the first sally they made, burnt all the enemy's ^{a vigorous}
engines, destroyed the towers they had raised against the city, ^{defence.}
and, after having made a great slaughter in the camp, return-
ed in good order into the city. Hereupon *Hannibal* com-
manded all the tombs, and stately monuments, standing round
the city, to be demolished, and mounts to be raised with the
rubbish as high as the walls. Soon after the plague broke out
in the army, and, in a short time, carried off a great number *Hannibal*
of the soldiers, and the general himself (Q). ^{dies.}

IN the mean time the *Syracusians*, having raised an army of ^{The Syra-}
above thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, sent them ^{cusians}
to the relief of the besieged, under the command of one *Daph-* ^{send an}
neus. *Imilcar*, upon intelligence of their approach, detached ^{army to}
all the *Iberians* and *Campanians*, with forty thousand *Cartha-* ^{the relief}
ginians, injoining them to engage the enemy in the plains of ^{of the be-}
the river *Himera*. Pursuant to his orders the *Syracusians* were ^{sieged;}
attacked a few hours after they had passed the river, as they
were advancing in good order through those large plains, to-
wards *Agrigentum*. The dispute was sharp, and the victory a
long time doubtful, the enemies being far superior in number
to the *Syracusians*: but at length the latter carried the day, and
pursued the *Carthaginians*, with great slaughter, to the very ^{who de-}
walls of *Agrigentum*. Upon the approach of the *Syracusians*, ^{feat the}
that body which was carrying on the siege, abandoning their ^{Cartha-}
posts, saved themselves by flight to *Imilcar's* camp, which was ^{ginians.}
pitched on the neighbouring hills. *Daphneus* pursued them in
good order, with a design to attack the camp; but, finding it
strongly fortified, he thought it more adviseable to guard all

(Q) The *Carthaginian* sooth-
sayers interpreted this disaster as
a punishment inflicted by the
gods in revenge of the injuries
done to the dead. Wherefore
Imilcar, in whom the whole
power was now vested, ordered
supplications to be made accord-
ing to the practice of *Carthage*,
and a boy to be sacrificed to *Sa-*
turn, in compliance with a cu-
stom which had long obtained

among the *Carthaginians*. By his
orders *Neptune* likewise was ap-
peased, and several priests thrown
into the sea, as the most pleasing
victims to that deity. *Imilcar*
having, as he imagined, by these
cruelties atoned for the sacrileges
of *Hannibal*, and pacified the
gods, the assaults were renewed
with more vigour than ever, and
the city reduced to great streights.

the

The Carthaginians reduced to great streights.

the avenues leading to it with his cavalry ; and, by that means, oblige the enemy either to perish with famine, or come out of their lines, and venture an engagement. Accordingly, all the passages being blocked up, and the convoys intercepted, that numerous army was soon brought to such streights, that the *Campanians*, and other mercenaries, began to mutiny ; and, going in a body to *Imilcar's* tent, threatened to join the enemy, if they had not their usual allowance of bread. The general, with much ado, prevailed upon them to bear patiently their present want for a few days, assuring them they should be very soon plentifully supplied with all sorts of provisions.

Intercept the Syracusian fleet, laden with provisions.

HE had been informed, that the *Syracusians* were then loading many ships with corn, to be sent to *Agrigentum* ; and did not in the least doubt but he should intercept the convoy, the *Syracusians* not suspecting that he would attempt any thing by sea. Accordingly he dispatched messengers to *Motya* and *Panormus*, where his fleet lay, injoining the commanders to man the galleys with all possible expedition, and lie in wait, at an appointed place, for the ships that were to bring the provisions. His orders were put in execution ; and, forty galleys being speedily equipped, the *Syracusian* fleet, consisting of three-score transports, laden with corn, and all sorts of provisions, was intercepted. As this unexpected relief gave the *Carthaginians* fresh courage, so it greatly disheartened the *Agrigentines*,

Agrigentum distressed for want of provisions.

who having already held out for the space of eight months, were in great want of all things, and without hopes of being relieved so quickly as their present necessity required. Eight hundred *Campanians*, who had formerly served under *Hannibal*, but were now in the service of the *Agrigentines*, observing the desperate condition the city was reduced to, went all over in a body to the *Carthaginians* : *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian* was said to have been bribed with fifteen talents by the *Carthaginians*, and to have advised the *Campanians*, and other *Italian* mercenaries, to desert, since they were likely to be starved in the city, without the least prospect of rendering any service to those who had hired them. Thus the mercenaries falling off, and the inhabitants desponding for want of necessities, a council of war was summoned ; when it was judged absolutely impossible to hold out, there not being provisions enough in the public stores to support the soldiery and people two days longer. Some were therefore for attacking the *Carthaginians* in their camp, others for abandoning the city, and transporting the inhabitants to some place of safety. This opinion prevailed ; and the following night was fixed for their departure.

THIS resolution, when publicly known, threw the whole city into the utmost consternation ; lamentable outcries were heard

heard in every house; and the grief and dread they were all seized with, in seeing themselves obliged to abandon their native country, their goods and estates, is not to be expressed. *The inhabitants* They were inconsolable to find themselves stripped, at once, of all their riches; but as life was still dearer, and they expected no mercy from so cruel an enemy, they complied with the resolution which had been taken in the council. What above all grieved them, was the necessity they were under of leaving behind them the aged and sick, who, they knew, would be treated by the enemy with the utmost cruelty. Many, not finding in their heart to abandon their sick parents and relations, stayed behind, to comfort them at their death, and then die by them; the rest, being guarded by the *Syracusan* troops, marched out, and arrived safe at *Gela*, where they were received with great kindness and humanity, and plentifully supplied with all necessaries, at the expence of the public. *and retire to Gela.* The *Syracusians* afterwards granted them the city of *Leontini*, and its rich territory.

THE *Syracusan* army was no sooner retired, but *Imilcar*, *The Car-* marching out of his trenches, entered the city, not without thaginisome fear and jealousy; and put all those he found in it to the sword, not sparing even such as fled to the temples. Among these was *Gellias* (X), a citizen famous for his wealth and in-

(X) *Gellias* was the richest citizen of *Agrigentum*, and is said to have built several rooms in his house, of an extraordinary size, for public entertainments, placing his servants at the gates, and charging them to invite all those who went by to be his guests. Five hundred horsemen from *Gela* happening to pass through *Agrigentum* in winter-time, he not only entertained them with great magnificence, but furnished them all on their departure, as it was rainy weather, with cloaks and coats out of his wardrobe. *Polyclitus* the historian, as quoted by *Diodorus*, tells us, that when he served among the troops of *Agrigentum*, he saw a wine-cellar in his house, which contained three

hundred great vessels full of wine, each of which held an hundred *amphoræ*. This *Gellias*, as our author informs us, was of a very mean presence, but endowed with extraordinary parts. Being once sent with the character of ambassador to the *Centuripines*, when he appeared in the assembly, all who were present burst out in a loud laugh; so ridiculous was his aspect. But *Gellias* told them, that they ought not to be surpris'd at his mean figure and appearance, since the *Agrigentines* always sent the most comely and handsome men to the noblest cities, but to those that were insignificant and of no account, such as himself (29).

(29) *Diod. Sic. l. xiii. c. 12.*

tegrity, who seeing that the *Carthaginians*, without respecting the gods, plundered their temples, and murdered those who had taken sanctuary in them, set fire to the temple of *Minerva*, and consumed in the flames both himself and the immense riches of that stately edifice. However, the booty which the enemy found in the place, was prodigious, and such as might be expected in one of the most opulent cities of *Sicily*, which contained two hundred thousand inhabitants, and had never before been plundered, or even besieged. An incredible number of pictures, vases, and statues, done by the greatest masters of those times, fell into the enemy's hands, the *Agrigentines* having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. Among other curiosities was the famous bull of *Phalaris*, which was sent to *Carthage* ^a (Y).

IMILCAR having thus gained the city, after an eight months siege, a little before the winter solstice, did not presently raise it; but there took up his winter-quarters, to give his army the necessary refreshment. In the mean time, the deplorable fate of *Agrigentum* being publicly known, the whole island was struck with terror; and many of the inhabitants, forsaking their native cities, fled to *Syracuse*, or retired with their families and effects to *Italy*. Those who took sanctuary in *Syracuse* were treated with extraordinary kindness, and the chief men among them made free of the city: among them were many *Agrigentines*, who filled the city with their complaints against the *Syracusan* commanders, as if they had betrayed *Agrigentum* into the enemy's hands. This raised such disturbances in *Syracuse* as gave *Dionysius* a fair opportunity of seizing on the sovereign power, and depriving the inhabitants of that liberty which they had long abused, and, by degrees, turned into an unbridled licentiousness. The power of the populace was so great, that the most worthy citizens had either abandoned their native country, or led at home a private life, through

^a DIOD. SIC. *ibid.*

(Y) *Timæus* endeavoured to prove in his history, as our author tells us, that there never had been any such bull, and bitterly inveighed against those historians who were so credulous as to believe such a fable. But the truth of their accounts was afterwards made plain; for *Scipio Africanus*, when he raised *Car-*

thage, about two hundred and threescore years after the destruction of *Agrigentum*, found, among other things, this very bull, and restored it to the inhabitants of *Agrigentum*, where it was still to be seen when *Diodorus* wrote his history; that is, in the reign of *Augustus* (30).

(30) *Diod. ibid. c. 13.*

fear of giving them any jealousy, or incurring their displeasure. The eminent services of their best commanders were often rewarded with death or banishment, the capricious multitude being led, by their groundless suspicions, to treat as enemies even those to whom they were indebted for their lives and safety: but *Dionysius* found means to curb their insolence, and to punish them as well for their cruelty towards strangers, as for their ingratitude towards their own citizens.

The END of the SEVENTH VOLUME.

Diod. Sic. lib. 13.

(Y) Timæus endeavoured to prove in his history, as our author tells us, that there never had been any such bull, and bitterly inveighed against those historians who were so credulous as to believe such a fable. But the truth of their accounts was afterwards made plain, for when Timæus, when he raised Car-

thage, about two hundred and threescore years after the destruction of Syracuse, found among other things, this very bull, and restored it to the inhabitants of Syracuse, where it was still to be seen when Diodorus wrote his history: that is, in the reign of Augustus (30).



Gr. P. M. B

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